

The Babees Book,

Aristotle's A B C, Urbanitatis, Stans Puer ad Mensam,
The Yntille Childrenes Yntil Boke,

The Bokes of Aurture

of

Hugh Rhodes and John Russell,

Wynkyn de Worde's Boke of Keruynge,
The Booke of Demeanor, The Boke of Curtasye,
Seager's Schoole of Vertue, &c. &c.

with some

French & Latin Poems on like Subjects,

and some

Forewords on Education in Early England.

EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL, M.A.,

TRIN. HALL, CAMBRIDGE.

Influenced by Dr. Woodcutts.

LONDON:

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9. Thynne on Chaucer's Works, ab. 1598, ed. Dr Kingsley.
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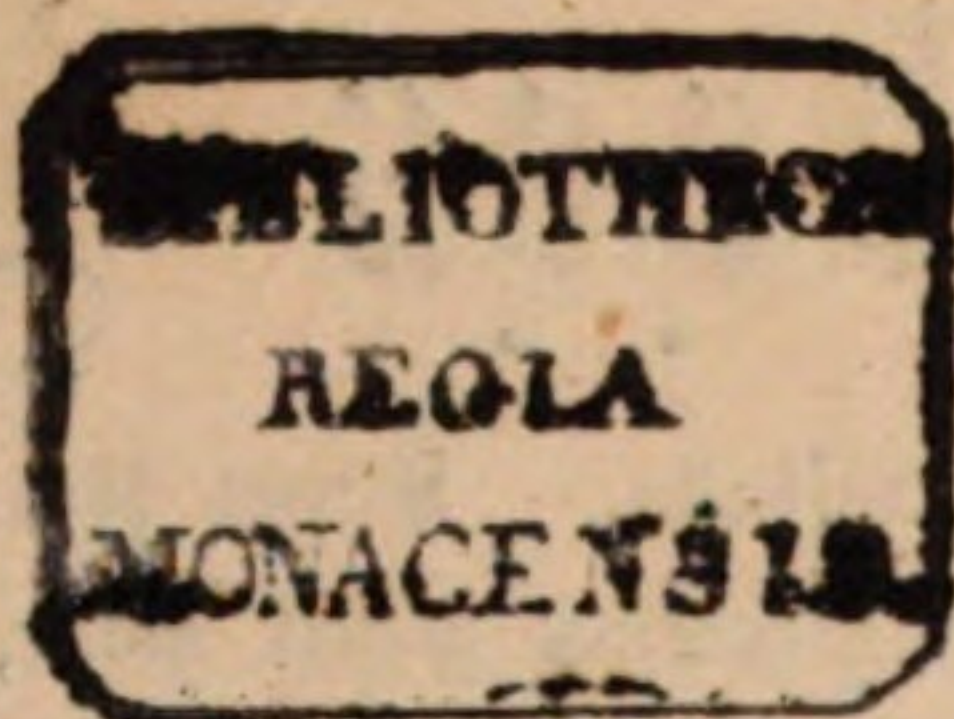
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DEDICATED

TO

THE HISTORIAN OF "THE EARLY & MIDDLE AGES OF ENGLAND,"

Charles H. Pearson, Esq., M.A.,

FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD, LATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT
KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON,

IN ADMIRATION OF HIS LEARNING

AND

IN GRATITUDE FOR HIS HELP,

BY THE EDITOR.

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FOREWORDS.

“THE naturall maister Aristotell saith that euery body be the course of nature is enclyned to here & se all that refressheth & quickeneth the spretys of man¹ / wherfor I haue thus in this boke folowinge²” gathered together divers treatises touching the Manners & Meals of Englishmen in former days, & have added therto divers figures of men of old, at meat & in bed,³ to the end that, to my fellows here & to come, the home life of their forefathers may be somewhat more plain, & their own minds somewhat rejoiced.

The treatises here collected consist of two main ones—John Russell’s *Boke of Nurture* and Hugh Rhodes’s *Boke of Nurture*, to which I have written separate prefaces⁴—and certain shorter poems addressed partly to those whom Cotgrave calls “*Enfans de famille*, Yonkers of account, youthes of good houses, children of rich parents

¹ The first sentence of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* is ‘All men by nature are actuated by the desire of knowledge.’ Mr Skeat’s note on l. 78 of *Partenay*, p. 228.

² Lawrens Andrewe. *The noble lyfe & natures of man, of bestes, &c.* Johnes Desborrowe. Andewarpe.

³ The woodcuts are Messrs Virtue’s, and have been used in Mr Thomas Wright’s *History of Domestic Manners and Customs*, &c.

⁴ If any one thinks it a bore to read these Prefaces, I can assure him it was a much greater bore to have to hunt up the material for them, and set aside other pressing business for it. But the Boke of Curtasye binding on editors does not allow them to present to their readers a text with no coat and trowsers on. If any Members should take offence at any expressions in this or any future Preface of mine, as a few did at some words in the last I wrote, I ask such Members to consider the first maxim in their Boke of Curtasye, *Don’t look a gift horse in the mouth*. Prefaces are gift horses; and if mine buck or shy now and then, I ask their riders to sit steady, and take it easy. On the present one at least they’ll be carried across some fresh country worth seeing.

(yet alie),” partly to merchants’ sons and good wives’ daughters, partly to schoolboys, partly to people in general, or at least those of them who were willing to take advice as to how they should mend their manners and live a healthy life.

The persons to whom the first poems of the present collection are addressed, the

yonge Babees, whome bloode Royalle
Withe grace, feture, and hyhe habylite
Hathe enourmyd,

the “Bele Babees” and “swete Children,” may be likened to the “young gentylmen, Henxmen,—VI Enfautes, or more, as it shall please the Kinge,”—at Edward the Fourth’s Court; and the authors or translators of the Bokes in this volume, somewhat to that sovereign’s Maistyr of Henxmen, whose duty it was

“to shew the schooles¹ of urbanitie and nourtur of Englonde, to lerne them to ryde clenely and surely; to drawe them also to justes; to lerne them were theyre harneys; to haue all curtesy in wordes, dedes, and degrees; dilygently to kepe them in rules of goynges and sittinges, after they be of honour. Moreover to teche them sondry languages, and othyr lerninges vertuous, to harping, to pype, sing, daunce, and with other honest and temperate behaviour and patience; and to kepe dayly and wekely with these children dew convenity, with corrections in theyre chambres, according to suche gentylmen; and eche of them to be used to that thinge of vertue that he shall be moste apt to lerne, with remembraunce dayly of Goddes servyce accustomed. This maistyr sittith in the halle, next unto these Henxmen, at the same boarde, to have his respecte unto theyre demeanynges, howe manerly they ete and drinke, and to theyre communication and other formes curiall, after *the booke of urbanitie*.” (Liber Niger in *Household Ordinances*, p. 45.)

That these young Henxmen were gentlemen, is expressly stated,²

¹ scholars?

² Sir H. Nicolas, in his Glossary to his *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII.*, p. 327, col. 2, says, “No word has been more commented upon than ‘Henchmen’ or Henxmen. Without entering into the controversy, it may be sufficient to state, that in the reign of Henry the Eighth it meant the pages of honour. They were the sons of gentlemen, and in public processions always walked near the monarch’s horse: a correct idea may be formed of their appearance from the representation of them in one of the pictures in the meeting room of the Society of Antiquarians. It seems from these entries (p. 79, * 125, 182, 209, 230, 265) that they lodged in the

* p. 79, Item the same daye paied to Johnson the mayster of the kingis barge for the Rent of the house where the henxe men lye xl s.

and they had "everyche of them an honest servaunt to keepe theyre chambre and harneys, and to aray hym in this courte whyles theyre maisters be present in courte." I suppose that when they grew up, some became Esquires, and then their teaching would prove of use, for

"These Esquiers of houshold of old [were] accustomed, wynter and sumer, in aftyрноones and in eveninges, to drawe to lordes chambres within courte, there to kepe honest company aftyр theyre cunnyng, in talkyng of cronycles of Kings and of other polycyes, or in pypeyng or harpyng, synging, or other actes martialles, to help occupy the courte, and accompany straungers, tyll the tyme require of departing."

But that a higher station than an Esquier's was in store for some of these henchmen, may be known from the history of one of them. Thomas Howard, eldest son of Sir John Howard, knight (who was afterwards Duke of Norfolk, and killed at Bosworth Field), was among these henchmen or pages, 'enfauntes' six or more, of Edward IV.'s. He was made Duke of Norfolk for his splendid victory over the Scots at Flodden, and Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard were his granddaughters. Among the 'other lerninges vertuous' taught

house of Johnson, the master of the king's barge, and that the rent of it was 40s. per annum. Observations on the word will be found in Spelman's *Etymol.*, Pegge's *Curialia*, from the Liber Niger, Edw. IV., Lodge's *Illustrations*, vol. i. p. 359, the *Northumberland Household Book*, Blount's *Glossary*."

The *Promptorium* has "Heyncemann (henchemanne) *Gerolocista*, *duorum generum (gerolocista)*," and Mr Way in his note says, "The pages of distinguished personages were called henxmen, as Spelman supposes, from Ger. *hengst*, a war-horse, or according to Bp. Percy, from their place being at the side or *haunch* of their lord." See the rest of Mr Way's note. He is a most provokingly careful editor. If ever you hit on a plum in your wanderings through other books you are sure to find it afterwards in one of Mr Way's notes when you bethink yourself of turning to the *Promptorium*.

In Lord Percy's Household (*North. H. Book*, p. 362) the Henchemen are mentioned next to the Earl's own sons and their tutor (?) in the list of "Persones that shall attende upon my Lorde at his Borde Daily, ande have no more but his Revercion Except Brede and Drynk."

My Lordes Secounde Son to serve as Kerver.

My Lordes Thurde Son as Sewer.

A Gentillman that shall attende upon my Lord's Eldest Son in the rewarde, and appoynted Bicause he shall allwayes be with my Lord's Sonnes for seynge the Orderynge of them.

My Lordes first *Hauneshman* to serve as Cupberer to my Lorde.

My Lords ij^{de} *Hanshman* to serve as Cupberer to my Lady.

See also p. 300, p. 254, The *Hansmen* to be at the fyndynge of my Lord, p. 47.

him at Edward's court was no doubt that of drawing, for we find that 'He was buried with much pomp at Thetford Abbey under a tomb designed by himself and master Clarke, master of the works at King's College, Cambridge, & Wassel a freemason of Bury S. Edmund's.' Cooper's *Ath. Cant.*, i. p. 29, col. 2.

The question of the social rank of these Bele Babees, children, and *Pueri* who stood at tables, opens up the whole subject of upper-class education in early times in England. It is a subject that, so far as I can find, has never yet been separately treated¹, and I therefore throw together such few notices as the kindness of friends² and my own chance grubbings have collected; these as a sort of stopgap till the appearance of Mr Anstey's volume of early Oxford Statutes in the *Chronicles and Memorials*, a volume which will, I trust, give us a complete account of early education in our land. If it should not, I hope that Mr Quick will carry his pedagogic researches past Henry VIII.'s time, or that one of our own members will take the subject up. It is worthy of being thoroughly worked out. For convenience' sake, the notices I have mentioned are arranged under six heads:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Education in Nobles' houses. | 4. At Foreign Universities, p. xl. |
| 2. At Home and at Private Tutors', p. xvii. | 5. At Monastic and Cathedral Schools, p. xli. |
| 3. At English Universities, p. xxvi. | 6. At Grammar Schools, p. lii. |

One consideration should be premised, that manly exercises, manners and courtesy, music and singing, knowledge of the order of precedence of ranks, and ability to carve, were in early times more important than Latin and Philosophy. 'Aylmar þe kyng' gives these directions to Athelbrus, his steward, as to Horn's education:

¹ When writing this I had forgotten Warton's section on the Revival of Learning in England before and at the Reformation, *Hist. English Poetry*, v. iii. ed. 1840. It should be read by all who take an interest in the subject. Mr Bruce also refers to Kynaston's *Museum Minervæ*. P.S.—Mr Bullein and Mr Watts have since referred me to Henry, who has in each volume of his *History of England* a regular account of learning in England, the Colleges and Schools founded, and the learned men who flourished, in the period of which each volume treats. Had I seen these earlier I should not have got the following extracts together; but as they are for the most part not in Henry, they will serve as a supplement to him.

² First of these is Mr Charles H. Pearson, then the Rev. Prof. Brewer, and Mr William Chappell.

Stiwarde, tak nu here
Mi fundlyng for to lere 228

Of þine mestere,
Of wude *and* of riwere ;
And tech him to harpe
Wiþ his nayles scharpe ; 232

Biuore me to kerue,
And of þe cupe serue ;
þu tech him of alle þe liste (craft, AS. *list*)
þat þu eue of wiste ; 236

[*And*] his feiren þou wise (mates thou teach)
Into opere seruise.

Horn þu underuonge,
And tech him of harpe *and* songe. 240

King Horn, E. E. T. Soc., 1866, ed. Lumby, p. 7.¹

So in Romances and Ballads of later date, we find

The child was taught great nurterye ;
a Master had him vnder his care,
& taught him *curtesie*.

Tryamore, in Bp. Percy's Folio MS. vol. ii. ed. 1867.

It was the worthy Lord of learen,
he was a lord of hie degree ;
he had noe more children but one sonne,
he sett him to schoole to learne *curtesie*.

Lord of Learne, Bp. Percy's Folio MS. vol. i. p. 182, ed. 1867.

Chaucer's Squire, as we know, at twenty years of age

hadde ben somtyme in chivachie,
In Flaundres, in Artoys, and in Picardie,
And born him wel, as in so litel space,
In hope to stonden in his lady grace . . .
Syngynge he was, or flowtynge, al the day . .
Wel cowde he sitte on hors, and wel cowde ryde.
He cowde songes wel make and endite,
Justne and eek daunce, and wel purtray and write . . .
Curteys he was, lowly, and servysable,
And carf befor his fadur at the table.²

Which of these accomplishments would Cambridge or Oxford teach ?
Music alone. That, as Harrison says, was one of the Quadrivials,

¹ Mr Wm. Chappell gave me the reference.

² In the Romance of Blonde of Oxford, Jean of Dammartin is taken into the service of the Earl of Oxford as *escuier*, esquire. He waits at table on knights, squires, valets, boys and messengers. After table, the ladies keep him to talk French with them.

‘arithmetike, musike, geometrie, and astronomie.’ The Trivium was grammar, rhetoric and logic.

X 1. The chief places of education for the sons of our nobility and gentry were the houses of other nobles, and specially those of the Chancellors of our Kings, men not only able to read and write, talk Latin and French themselves, but in whose hands the Court patronage lay. As early as Henry the Second’s time (A.D. 1154-62), if not before¹, this system prevailed. A friend notes that Fitz-Stephen says of Becket :

“The nobles of the realm of England and of neighbouring kingdoms used to send their sons to serve the Chancellor, whom he trained with honourable bringing-up and learning ; and when they had received the knight’s belt, sent them back with honour to their fathers and kindred : some he used to keep. The king himself, his master, entrusted to him his son, the heir of the realm, to be brought up ; whom he had with him, with many sons of nobles of the same age, and their proper retinue and masters and proper servants in the honour due.”—*Vita S. Thomæ*, pp. 189, 190, ed. Giles.

Roger de Hoveden, a Yorkshireman, who was a clerk or secretary to Henry the Second, says of Richard the Lionheart’s unpopular chancellor, Longchamps the Bishop of Ely :

“All the sons of the nobles acted as his servants, with downcast looks, nor dared they to look upward towards the heavens unless it so happened that they were addressing him ; and if they attended to anything else they were pricked with a goad, which their lord held in his hand, fully mindful of his grandfather of pious memory, who, being of servile condition in the district of Beauvais, had, for his occupation, to guide the plough and whip up the oxen ; and who at length, to gain his liberty, fled to the Norman territory.” (Riley’s *Hoveden*, ii. 232, quoted in *The Cornhill Magazine*, vol. xv. p. 165.)²

¹ It was in part a principle of Anglo-Saxon society at the earliest period, and attaches itself to that other universal principle of fosterage. A Teuton chieftain always gathered round him a troop of young retainers in his hall who were voluntary servants, and they were, in fact, almost the only servants he would allow to touch his person. T. Wright.

² Compare Skelton’s account of Wolsey’s treatment of the Nobles, in *Why come ye not to Courte* (quoted in Ellis’s *Letters*, v. ii. p. 3).

—“ Our barons be so bolde,
Into a mouse hole they wold
Runne away and creep
Like a mainy of sheep :
Dare not look out a dur

For drede of the maystife cur,
For drede of the boucher’s dog

“ For and this curre do gnarl,
They must stande all afar

All Chancellors were not brutes of this kind, but we must remember that young people were subjected to rough treatment in early days. Even so late as Henry VI.'s time, Agnes Paston sends to London on the 28th of January, 1457, to pray the master of her son of 15, that if the boy "hath not done well, nor will not amend," his master Greenfield "will truly belash him till he will amend." And of the same lady's treatment of her marriageable daughter, Elizabeth, Clere writes on the 29th of June, 1454,

"She (the daughter) was never in so great sorrow as she is now-a-days, for she may not speak with no man, whosoever come, ne not may see nor speak with my man, nor with servants of her mother's, but that she beareth her on hand otherwise than she meaneth; and she hath since Easter the most part been beaten once in the week or twice, and sometimes twice on a day, and her head broken in two or three places." (v. i. p. 50, col. 1, ed. 1840.)

The treatment of Lady Jane Grey by her parents was also very severe, as she told Ascham, though she took it meekly, as her sweet nature was :

"One of the greatest benefites that God ever gave me, is, that he sent me so sharpe and severe Parentes, and so jentle a scholemaster. For when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speake, kepe silence, sit, stand, or go, eate, drinke, be merie or sad, be sewyng, plaiyng, dauncing, or doing anie thing els, I must do it, as it were, in soch weight, mesure, and number, even so perfitelie as God made the world, or els I am so sharplie taunted, so cruellie threatened, yea presentlie some tymes, with pinches, nippes, and bobbes, and other waies which I will not name for the honor I beare them, so without measure misordered, that I thinke my self in hell till tyme cum that I must go to *M. Elmer*, who teacheth me so jentlie, so pleasantlie, with soch faire allurementes to learning, that I thinke all the tyme nothing whiles I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall on weeping."—*The Scholemaster*, ed. Mayor.

The inordinate beating¹ of boys by schoolmasters—whom he

To holde up their hand at the bar.
For all their noble bloude,
He pluckes them by the hood
And shakes them by the eare,
And bryngs them in such feare;
He bayteth them lyke a beare,

Like an Ox or a Bul.
Their wittes, he sayth, are dul;
He sayth they have no brayne
Their estate to maintaine:
And make to bowe the knee
Before his Majestie."

¹ Compare also the quotation from *Piers Plowman's Crede*, under No 5, p. xlv, and Palsgrave, 1530 A.D., 'I mase, I stonysshe, *Je bestourne*. You mased the boye so sore with beatyng that he coulede not speake a worde.' See a gross instance of

calls in different places 'sharp, fond, & lewd'¹—Ascham denounces strongly in the first book of his *Scholemaster*, and he contrasts their folly in beating into their scholars the hatred of learning with the practice of the wise riders who by gentle allurements breed them up in the love of riding. Indeed, the origin of his book was Sir Wm. Cecil's saying to him "I have strange news brought me this morning, that divers scholars of Eton be run away from the school for fear of beating."

Sir Peter Carew, says Mr Froude, being rather a troublesome boy, was chained in the Haccombe dog-kennel till he ran away from it.

But to return to the training of young men in nobles' houses. I take the following from Fiddes's Appendix to his Life of Wolsey :

John de Athon, upon the Constitutions of *Othobon*, tit. 23, in respect to the Goods of such who dyed intestate, and upon the Word *Barones*, has the following Passage concerning *Grodsted* Bishop of *Lincoln*² (who died 9th Oct., 1253),—

"Robert surnamed Grodsted of holy memory, late Bishop of Lincoln, when King Henry asked him, as if in wonder, where he learnt the Nurture in which he had instructed the sons of nobles (&) peers of the Realm, whom he kept about him as pages (*domisellos*³),—since he was not descended from a noble lineage, but from humble (parents)—is said to have answered fearlessly, 'In the house or guest-

cruelty cited from Erasmus's Letters, by Staunton, in his *Great Schools of England*, p. 179-80.

¹ "And therefore do I the more lament that soch [hard] wittes commonlie be either kepte from learning by fond fathers, or bet from learning by lewde scholemasters," ed. Mayor, p. 19. But Ascham reproves parents for paying their masters so badly: "it is pitie, that commonlie more care is had, yea and that emonges verie wise men, to finde out rather a cunnynge man for their horse than a cunnyng man for their children. They say nay in worde, but they do so in deede. For, to the one they will gladlie give a stipend of 200. Crounes by yeare, and loth to offer to the other, 200. shillings. God, that sitteth in heauen, laugheth their choice to skorne, and rewardeth their liberalitie as it should: for he suffereth them to have tame and well ordered horse, but wilde and unfortunate Children." *Ib.* p. 20.

²⁻² *Sanctæ memoriæ Robertum Cognominatum Grodsted dudum Lincolnienstem Episcopum, Regi Henrico quasi admirando, cum interrogavit, ubi Noraturam didicit, quâ Filios Nobilium Procerum Regni, quos secum habuit Domisellos, instruxerat, cum non de nobili prosapia, sed de simplicibus traxisset Originem, fertur intrepide respondisse, In Domo seu Hospitio Majorum Regum quam sit Rex Angliæ; Quia Regum, David, Salomonis, & aliorum, vivendi morem didicerat ex Intelligentia scripturarum.*

³ DOMICELLUS, Domnicellus, diminutivum a *Domnus*. Gloss. antiquæ MSS.: *Heriles, Domini minores, quod possumus aliter dicere Domnicelli, Ugutio: Domicelli et Domicellæ dicuntur, quando pulchri juvenes magnatum sunt sicut servientes. Sic porro primitus appellabant magnatum, atque adeo Regum filios. Du Cange.*

chambers of greater kings than the King of England'; because he had learnt from understanding the scriptures the manner of life of David, Solomon, & other Kings²."

Reyner, in his *Apostol. Bened.* from *Saunders* acquaints us, that the Sons of the Nobility were placed with *Whiting* Abbot of *Glastenbury* for their Education, who was contemporary with the Cardinal, and which Method of Education was continued for some Time afterward.

There is in the Custody of the present Earl of *Stafford*, a Nobleman of the greatest Humanity and Goodness, an Original of Instructions, by the Earl of *Arundell*, written in the Year 1620, for the Benefit of his younger Son, the Earl of *Stafford's* Grandfather, under this Title;

*Instructions for you my Son William, how to behave
your self at Norwich.*

In these Instructions is the following paragraph, "You shall in all Things reverence honour and obey my Lord Bishop of *Norwich*, as you would do any of your Parents, esteeming whatsoever He shall tell or Command you, as if your Grandmother of *Arundell*, your Mother, or my self, should say it; and in all things esteem your self as my Lord's Page; a breeding which youths of my house far superior to you were accustomed unto, as my Grandfather of *Norfolk*, and his Brother my good Uncle of *Northampton* were both bred as Pages with Bishoppes, &c."

Sir Thomas More, who was born in 1480, was brought up in the house of Cardinal Morton. Roper says that he was

"received into the house of the right reverend, wise, and learned prelate Cardinal Morton, where, though he was young of years, yet would he at Christmas-tide suddenly sometimes step in among the players, and never studying for the matter make a part of his own there presently among them, which made the lookers on more sport than all the players beside. In whose wit and towardness the Cardinal much delighting would say of him unto the nobles that divers times dined with him, *This child here waiting at the table, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous man.* Whereupon for his better furtherance in learning he placed him at Oxford, &c." (Roper's *Life of More*, ed. Singer, 1822, p. 3.)

Cresacre More in his *Life of More* (ed. 1828, p. 17) states the same thing more fully, and gives the remark of the Cardinal more accurately, thus:—"that that boy there waiting on him, whoever should live to see it, would prove a marvellous rare man."¹

Through Wolsey's household, says Professor Brewer, almost all the

¹ Mr Bruce sends me the More extracts.

Officials of Henry the Eighth's time passed. Cavendish, in his *Life of Wolsey* (vol. i. p. 38, ed. Singer, 1825) says of the Cardinal, "And at meals, there was continually in his chamber a board kept for his Chamberlains, and Gentlemen Ushers, having with them *a mess of the young Lords*, and another for gentlemen." Among these young Lords, we learn at p. 57, was

"my Lord Percy, the son and heir of the Earl of Northumberland, [who] then attended upon the Lord Cardinal, and was also his servitor; and when it chanced the Lord Cardinal at any time to repair to the court, the Lord Percy would then resort for his pastime unto the queen's chamber, and there would fall in dalliance among the queen's maidens, being at the last more conversant with Mistress Anne Boleyn than with any other; so that there grew such a secret love between them that, at length they were insured together, intending to marry¹."

Among the persons daily attendant upon Wolsey in his house, down-lying and up-rising, Cavendish enumerates "of Lords nine or ten, who had each of them allowed two servants; and the Earl of Derby had allowed five men" (p. 36-7). On this Singer prints a note, which looks like a guess, signed *Grove*, "Those Lords that were placed in the great and privy chambers were *Wards*, and as such paid for their board and education." It will be seen below that he had a particular officer called "Instructor of his Wards" (*Cavendish*, p. 38, l. 2). Why I suppose the note to be a guess is, because at p. 33 Cavendish has stated that Wolsey "had also a great number daily attending upon him, both of noblemen and worthy gentlemen, of great estimation and possessions,—with no small number of the tallest yeomen that he could get in all his realm; in so much that well was that nobleman and gentleman that might prefer any tall and comely yeoman unto his service."

In the household of the Earl of Northumberland in 1511 were "... yong gentlemen at their fryndes fynding,² in my lords house for

¹ How Wolsey broke off the *insurance* is very well told. Mistress Anne was "sent home again to her father for a season; *whereat she smoked*"; but she "was revoked unto the Court," and "after she knew the king's pleasure and the great love that he bare her *in the bottom of his stomach*, then she began to look very hault and stout, having all manner of jewels or rich apparel that might be gotten with money" (p. 67).

² Under the heading "Gentylmen of Houshold, viz. Kervers, Sewars, Cupberers, and Gentillmen Waiters" in the *North. Household Books*, p. 40, we find

the hoole yere" and "Haunsmen ande Yong Gentlemen at thir Fryndes fynding v[j] (As to say, Hanshmen iij. And Yong Gentlemen iij" p. 254,) no doubt for the purpose of learning manners, &c. And that such youths would be found in the house of every noble of importance I believe, for as Walter Mapes (? ab. 1160-90 A.D.) says of the great nobles, in his poem *De diversis ordinibus hominum*, the example of manners goes out from their houses, *Exemplar morum domibus procedit eorum*. That these houses were in some instances only the finishing schools for our well-born young men after previous teaching at home and at College is possible (though the cases of Sir Thomas More and Ascham are exactly the other way), but the Lord Percy last named had a schoolmaster in his house, "The Maister of Grammer j", p. 254; "Lyverays for the Maister of Gramer¹ in Housholde: Item Half a Loof of Houshold Breide, a Pottell of Beere, and two White Lyghts," p. 97. "Every Scolemaister techyng Grammer in the Hous C s." (p. 47, 51). Edward IV.'s henxmen were taught grammar; and if the Pastons are to be taken as a type of their class, our nobles and gentry at the end of the 15th century must have been able to read and write freely. Chaucer's Squire could write, and though the custom of sealing deeds and not signing them prevailed, more or less, till Henry VIII.'s time, it is doubtful whether this implied inability of the sealers to write. Mr Chappell says that in Henry VIII.'s time half our nobility were then writing ballads. Still, the bad spelling and grammar of most of the letters up to that period, and the general ignorance of our upper classes were, says Professor Brewer, the reason why the whole government of the country was in the hands of ecclesiastics. Even in Henry the Eighth's

Item, Gentillmen in Housholde ix, Viz. ij Carvers for my Loords Boorde, and a Servant bitwixt theym both, *except thai be at their frendis fyndyng*, and than ather of theym to have a Servant.—Two Sewars for my Lordis Boorde, and a Servant bitwixt theym, *except they be at their Friendis fyndynge*, and than ather of theym to have a Servant.—ij Cupberers for my Lorde and my Lady, and a Servant allowed bitwixt theym, *except they be at their Frendis fyndynge*, And than ather of theym to have a Servant allowid.

Under the next heading "My Lordis Hansmen at the fyndynge of my Lorde, and Yonge Gentyllmen at there Frendys fyndynge," is

Item, my Lordis Hansmen iij. Yonge Gentyllmen in Houshold at their Frendis fyndynge ij = v.

¹ Grammar usually means Latin. T. Wright.

time, Sir Thomas Boleyn is said to have been the only noble at Court who could speak French with any degree of fluency, and so was learned enough to be sent on an embassy abroad. But this may be questioned. Yet Wolsey, speaking to his Lord Chamberlain and Comptroller when they

“showed him that it seemed to them there should be some noble-men and strangers [Henry VIII. and his courtiers masked] arrived at his bridge, as ambassadors from some foreign prince. With that, quoth the Cardinal, ‘I shall desire you, *because ye can speak French*, to take the pains to go down into the hall to encounter and to receive them, according to their estates, and to conduct them into this chamber’ (*Cavendish*, p. 51). Then spake my Lord Chamberlain unto them *in French*, declaring my Lord Cardinal’s mind (p. 53).”

The general¹ opinion of our gentry as to the study of Letters, before and about 1500 A.D., is probably well represented by the opinion of one of them stated by Pace, in his Prefatory Letter to Colet, prefixed to the former’s *De Fructu*².

¹ The exceptions must have been many and marked.

² *Richardi Pacei, invictissimi Regis Angliæ primarii Secretarii, eiusque apud Elvetios Oratoris, De Fructu qui ex Doctrinæ percipitur, Liber.*

Colophon. *Basileæ apud Io. Frobenium, mense VIII. bri. an. M.D.XVII.*

Restat ut iam tibi explicem, quid me moueat ad libellum hoc titulo conscribendum et publicandum. Quum duobus annis plus minus iam præteritis, ex Romana urbe in patriam redijssem, inter-fui cuidam conuiuio multis incognitus. Vbi quum satis fuisset potatum, unus, nescio quis, ex conuiuiis, non imprudens, ut ex uerbis uultuque conijcere licuit, cœpit mentionem facere de liberis suis bene instituendis. Et primum omnium, bonum præceptorem illis sibi quærendum, & scholam omnino frequentandam censuit. Aderat forte unus ex his, quos nos generosos uocamus, & qui semper cornu aliquod a tergo pendens gestant, acsi etiam inter prandendum uenarentur. Is audita literarum laude, percitus repentina ira, furibundus prorupit in hæc uerba. Quid nugaris, inquit, amice? abeant in malam rem istæ stultæ literæ, omnes docti sunt mendici, etiam Erasmus ille doctissimus (ut audio) pauper est, & in quadam sua epistola vocat τὴν κατάρατον πενίαν uxorem suam, id est, execrandam paupertatem, & uehementer conqueritur se non posse illam humeris suis usque in βαθυκῆτα πόντον, id est, profundum mare excutere. (Corpus dei iuro) uolo filius meus pendeat potius, quam literis studeat. Decet enim generosorum filios, apte inflare cornu, perite uenari, accipitrem pulchre gestare & educare. Studia uero literarum, rusticorum filiis sunt relinquenda. Hic ego cohibere me non potui, quin aliquid homini loquacissimo, in defensionem bonarum literarum, responderem. Non uideris, inquam, mihi bone uir recte sentire, nam si ueniret ad regem aliquis uir exterius, quales sunt principum oratores, & ei dandum esset responsum, filius tuus sic ut tu uis, institutus, inflaret duntaxat cornu, & rusticorum filij docti, ad respondendum uocarentur, ac filio tuo uenatori uel aucupi longe anteponerentur, & sua erudita

It remains that I now explain to you what moves me to compile and publish a treatise with this title. When, two years ago, more or less, I had returned to my native land from the city of Rome, I was present at a certain feast, a stranger to many; where, when enough had been drunk, one or other of the guests—no fool, as one might infer from his words and countenance—began to talk of educating his children well. And, first of all, he thought that he must search out a good teacher for them, and that they should at any rate attend school. There happened to be present one of those whom we call gentle-men (*generosos*), and who always carry some horn hanging at their backs, as though they would hunt during dinner. He, hearing letters praised, roused with sudden anger, burst out furiously with these words. “Why do you talk nonsense, friend?” he said; “A curse on those stupid letters! all learned men are beggars: even Erasmus, the most learned of all, is a beggar (as I hear), and in a certain letter of his calls τὴν κατὰρατον πενίαν (that is, execrable poverty) his wife, and vehemently complains that he cannot shake her off his shoulders right into βαθυκήτεα πόντον, that is, into the deep sea. I swear by God’s body I’d rather that my son should hang than study letters. For it becomes the sons of gentlemen to blow the horn nicely (*apte*), to hunt skilfully, and elegantly carry and train a hawk. But the study of letters should be left to the sons of rustics.” At this point I could not restrain myself from answering something to this most talkative man, in defence of good letters. “You do not seem to me, good man,” I said, “to think rightly. For if any foreigner were to come to the king, such as the ambassadors (*oratores*) of princes are, and an answer had to be given to him, your son, if he were educated as you wish, could only blow his horn, and the learned sons of rustics would be called to answer, and would be far preferred to your hunter or fowler son; and they, enjoying their learned liberty, would say to your face, ‘We prefer to be learned, and, thanks to our learning, no fools, than boast of our fool-like nobility.’” Then he upon this, looking round, said, “Who is this person that is talking like this? I don’t know the fellow.” And when some one whispered in his ear who I was, he muttered something or other in a low voice to himself; and finding a fool to listen to him, he then caught hold of a cup of wine. And when he

usi libertate, tibi in faciem dicerent, Nos malumus docti esse, & per doctrinam non imprudentes, quam stulta gloriari nobilitate. Tum ille hincinde circumspiciens, Quis est iste, inquit, qui hæc loquitur? hominem non cognosco. Et quum diceretur in aurem ei quisnam essem, nescio quid submissa uoce sibimet susurrans, & stulto usus auditore, illico arripuit uini poculum. Et quum nihil haberet respondendum, cœpit bibere, & in alia sermonem transferre. Et sic me liberauit, non Apollo, ut Horatium a garrulo, sed Bacchus a uesani hominis disputatione, quam diutius longe duraturam uehementer timebam.

Professor Brewer gives me the reference.

could get nothing to answer, he began to drink, and change the conversation to other things. And thus I was freed from the disputing of this mad fellow,—which I was dreadfully afraid would have lasted a long time,—not by Apollo, like Horace was from his babbler, but by Bacchus.

On the general subject it should be noted that Fleta mentions nothing about boarders or apprentices in his account of household economy; nor does the *Liber Contrarotulatoris Garderobæ Edw. I^{mi}* mention any young noblemen as part of the King's household. That among tradesmen in later times, putting out their children in other houses, and apprenticeships, were the rule, we know from many statements and allusions in our literature, and "The Italian Relation of England" (temp. Hen. VII.) mentions that the Duke of Suffolk was boarded out to a rich old widow, who persuaded him to marry her (p. 27). It also says

The want of affection in the English is strongly manifested towards their children; for after having kept them at home till they arrive at the age of 7 or 9 years at the utmost, they put them out, both males and females, to hard service in the houses of other people, binding them generally for another 7 or 9 years. And these are called apprentices, and during that time they perform all the most menial offices; and few are born who are exempted from this fate, for every one, however rich he may be, sends away his children into the houses of others, whilst he, in return, receives those of strangers into his own. And on inquiring their reason for this severity, they answered that they did it in order that their children might learn better manners. But I, for my part, believe that they do it because they like to enjoy all their comforts themselves, and that they are better served by strangers than they would be by their own children. Besides which, the English being great epicures, and very avaricious by nature, indulge in the most delicate fare themselves and give their household the coarsest bread, and beer, and cold meat baked on Sunday for the week, which, however, they allow them in great abundance. That if they had their own children at home, they would be obliged to give them the same food they made use of for themselves. That if the English sent their children away from home to learn virtue and good manners, and took them back again when their apprenticeship was over, they might, perhaps, be excused; but they never return, for the girls are settled by their patrons, and the boys make the best marriages they can, and, assisted by their patrons, not by their fathers, they also open a house and strive diligently by this means to make some fortune for themselves; whence it proceeds that, having no hope of their paternal inheritance, that all become so

greedy of gain that they feel no shame in asking, almost "for the love of God," for the smallest sums of money; and to this it may be attributed, that there is no injury that can be committed against the lower orders of the English, that may not be atoned for by money.—*A Relation of the Island of England* (Camden Society, 1847), pp. 24-6.

"This evidently refers to tradesmen.¹ The note by the Editor² however says it was the case with the children of the first nobility, and gives the terms for the Duke of Buckingham's children with Mrs Hexstall. The document only shows that Mrs Hexstall boarded them by contract 'during the time of absence of my Lord and my Ladie.'"

The Earl of Essex says in a letter to Lord Burleigh, 1576, printed in Murdin's *State Papers*, p. 301-2.

"Neverthelesse, uppon the assured Confidence, that your love to me shall dissend to my Childrenne, and that your Lordship will declare yourself a Frend to me, both alive and dead, I have willed Mr *Waterhouse* to shew unto you how you may with Honor and Equity do good to my Sonne *Hereford*, and how to bind him with perpetual Friendship to you and your House. And to the Ende I wold have his Love towardes those which are dissended from you spring up and increase with his Yeares, I have wished his Education to be in your Household, though the same had not bene allotted to your Lordship as Master of the Wardes; and that the whole Tyme, which he shold spend in *England* in his Minority, might be devided in Attendance uppon my Lord *Chamberlayne* and you, to the End, that as he might frame himself to the Example of my Lord of *Sussex* in all the Actions of his Life, tending either to the Warres, or to the Institution of a Nobleman, so that he might also reverence your Lordship for your Wisdome and Gravyty, and lay up your Counsells and Advises in the Treasury of his Hart."

That girls, as well as boys, were sent out to noblemen's houses for their education, is evident from Margaret Paston's letter of the 3rd of April, 1469, to Sir John Paston, "Also I would ye should purvey for your sister [*Margery*] to be with my Lady of Oxford, or with my Lady of Bedford, or in some other worshipful place whereas ye think best, and I will help to her finding, for we be either of us weary of other." Alice Crane's Letter, in the Paston Letters, v. i. p.

¹ As to agricultural labourers and their children A.D. 1388-1406, see below, p. xlvii.

² Readers will find it advisable to verify for themselves some of the statements in this Editor's notes, &c.

35, ed. 1840, also supports this view, as does Sir John Heveningham's to Margaret Paston, asking her to take his cousin Anneys Loveday for some time as a boarder till a mistress could be found for her. "If that it please you to have her with you to into the time that a mistress may be purveyed for her, I pray you thereof, and I shall content you for her board that ye shall be well pleased." Similarly Anne Boleyn and her sister were sent to Margaret of Savoy, aunt of Charles V., who lived at Brussels, to learn courtesy, &c., says Prof. Brewer. Sir Roger Twysden says that Anne was "Not above seven yeares of age, Anno 1514," when she went abroad. He adds :

"It should seeme by some that she served three in France successively ; Mary of England maryed to Lewis the twelfth, an. 1514, with whome she went out of England, but Lewis dying the first of January following, and that Queene (being) to returne home, sooner than either Sir Thomas Bullen or some other of her frendes liked she should, she was preferred to Clauda, daughter to Lewis XII. and wife to Francis I. then Queene (it is likely upon the commendation of Mary the Dowager), who not long after dying, an. 1524, not yet weary of France she went to live with Marguerite, Dutchess of Alançon and Berry, a Lady much commended for her favor towards good letters, but never enough for the Protestant religion then in the infancy—from her, if I am not deceived, she first learnt the grounds of the Protestant religion ; so that England may seem to owe some part of her happyness derived from that Lady." (Twysden's Notes quoted by Singer in his ed. of Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, 1825, p. 57.)

As Henry VIII. fell in love with his wife's maid of honour,— "began to kindle the brand of amours" at the light of Anne Boleyn's beauty, "her excellent gesture and behaviour,"—so we find in later times rich young men became enamoured of poor young women staying in the same house with them. Mr Bruce sends me an instance :

"the young lady was niece, you will perceive, to a well-beneficed clergyman, and a thriving gentleman well-advanced in the public service. She had lost her mother, and her father was in debt and difficulties. She was therefore placed by the influence of her uncles in a well-known family in Wiltshire."

State Papers. Dom. Car. I. Vol. cccli. No. 29. Dr Matthew Nicholas, afterwards Dean of St Paul's, to Edward Nicholas, Clerk of the Council, and afterwards Secretary of State. Dated, West Dean, April 4, 1637.

"I have spoken with Miss Evelyn since I wrote last unto you, and enquired of her the cause which moued her to displace my coson

Hunton. She told me much accordinge to what she had sayd unto my coson Hunton, with this addition, that she had respect in it as well unto her good as her owne convenience, for hauinge nowe noe employment for her but her needle, she founde that sittinge still at her worke made her sickly, and therefore thought she might doe better in another seruice where she might haue the orderinge of an huswifely charge, for *which* (she told me) she had made her very able. I expressed myselfe tender of the disgrace *which* would lay uppon my coson in beinge displaced in such a manner by warninge giuen, wherof whatsoeuer were the cause, it would be imagined by all that knowe it not, to be in her ill carriage, and wished she had done me that fauour as to haue acquainted me with her intents in such time as I might haue taken some course to haue disposed of her before it had bin knowne that she was to leaue her: she slubbered it ouer with a slight excuse that she had acquainted my wife but for my satisfaction she told me that she would be as mindfull of her when God should call her as if she were with her, and in testimony of her good likinge of her seruice she would allowe her forty shillings yearly towarde her maintainance as longe as herself should liue. I am soe well acquainted with what she hath as yet disposed to her by will, and soe little value forty shillings to my coson Hunton's credit, as I gaue her noe thankes. Mr Downes (I heare) is sent for home by his father with an intent to keepe him with him, but I doe imagine that when my coson Hunton shall be other where disposed off, he shall returne; for my conceit is stronge that the feare of his beinge match'd to his disadvantage, who was placed with Mr Evelyn a youth to be bred for his preferment, hath caused this alteration; howsoeuer there be noe wordes made of it. I confess that when I have bin told of the good will that was obserued betweene my coson Hunton and Mr Downes, I did put it by with my coson Huntons protestation to the contrary, and was willinge by that neglect to have suffered it to have come to pass (if it mought have bin) because I thought it would haue bin to her aduantage, but nowe that the busines is come to this issue (as whatsoeuer be pretended I am confident this is the cause of my cosons partinge) I begin to quæstion my discretion. . . . Good brother, let me haue your aduise what to do."

2. *Home and Private Education.* Of these, more or less must have been going on all over England, by private tutors at home, or in the houses of the latter. "In five years (after my baptism) I was handed over by my father to Siward, a noble priest, to be trained in letters, to whose mastery I was subdued during five years learning the first rudiments. But in the eleventh year of my age I was given up by my own father for the love of God, and destined to enter the service of the eternal King."—*Orderic*, vol. ii. p. 301, ed. Prevost.

From Adam de Marisco's Letters, 53, we find that Henry and Almeric, the eldest and youngest sons of the Earl of Montfort, were put under Grosseteste for tuition, he being then a Bishop. At Paris, John of Salisbury (who died in 1180) gained a living by teaching the sons of noblemen,—(*instruendos suscepam*, ?took them in to board).—*Metalogicus*, lib. 11, c. 10.

Henry of Huntingdon says, "Richard, the king's (Henry I.'s) bastard son, was honourably brought up (*festive nutritus*) by our Bishop Robert (Blote of Lincoln), and duly revered by me and others in the same household I lived in."—*Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 696. Giraldus Cambrensis speaks of beating his *coetanei et conscolares terræ suæ*, of being reproved for idleness by his uncle, the Bishop of St David's, and of being constantly chaffed by two of his uncle's chaplains, who used to decline *durus* and *stultus* to him. Also he alludes to the rod. Probably there was some sort of school at either Pembroke or St David's.—*De Rebus a se Gestis*, lib. 1, c. 2.¹

The Statutes of a Gild of young Scholars formed to burn lights in honour of some saint or other, and to help one another in sickness, old age, and to burial, will be printed for us by Mr Toulmin Smith in the Early English Text Society's books this year.

Under this head of Private Tuition we may class the houses of Abbots, where boys of good birth were educated. In his History of English Poetry, section 36, vol. iii. p. 9, ed. 1840, Warton says:

"It appears to have been customary for the governors of the most considerable convents, especially those that were honoured with the mitre, to receive into their own private lodgings the sons of the principal families of the neighbourhood for education. About the year 1450, Thomas Bromele, abbot of the mitred monastery of Hyde near Winchester, entertained in his own abbatial house within that monastery eight young gentlemen, or *gentiles pueri*, who were placed there for the purpose of literary instruction, and constantly dined at the abbot's table. I will not scruple to give the original words, which are more particular and expressive, of the obscure record which preserves this curious anecdote of monastic life. '*Pro octo gentilibus pueris apud dominum abbatem studii causa perhendinantibus, et ad mensam domini victitantibus, cum garcionibus suis ipsos comitantibus, hoc anno, xviii. ixs. Capiendo pro*² . . ." This, by the way,

¹ The foregoing three extracts are sent me by a friend.

² From a fragment of the Computus Camerarii Abbat. Hidens. in Archiv. Wulves. apud Winton. ut supr. (? Hist. Reg. Angl. edit. Hearne, p. 74.)

was more extraordinary, as William of Wykeham's celebrated seminary was so near. And this seems to have been an established practice of the abbot of Glastonbury, "whose apartment in the abbey was a kind of well-disciplined court, where the sons of noblemen and young gentlemen were wont to be sent for virtuous education, who returned thence home excellently accomplished."¹ Richard Whiting, the last abbot of Glastonbury, who was cruelly executed by the king, during the course of his government educated near three hundred ingenuous youths, who constituted a part of his family; beside many others whom he liberally supported at the universities.² Whitgift, the most excellent and learned archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was educated under Robert Whitgift his uncle, abbot of the Augustine monastery of black canons at Wellhow in Lincolnshire, "who," says Strype "had several other young gentlemen under his care for education." (Strype's Whitgift, v. i. ch. i. p. 3.)

Of Lydgate—about 1420-30 A.D. I suppose—Prof. Morley says in his *English Writers*, vol. ii. Pt. I. p. 423 :

"After studying at Oxford, Paris, and Padua, and after mastering with special delight the writings of such poets as Dante, Boccaccio, and Alain Chartier, Lydgate opened at his monastery of Bury St Edmund's a school of rhetoric in which he taught young nobles literature and the art of versifying !"

Richard Pace says in his *De Fructu*, 1517:

"Now the learning of music too demands its place, especially from me whom it distinguished when a boy amongst boys. For Thomas Langton, bishop of Winchester (the predecessor of him who is now living), whose secretary I was, when he had marked that I was making a proficiency in music far beyond my age (as himself—perchance from his too great affection for me—would point out and repeatedly say), 'The talent of this lad,' he said, 'is born for greater things,' and a few days afterwards he sent me, to pursue the study of literature, into Italy, to the school at Padua, which then was at its greatest prime, and benevolently supplied the annual expenses, as he showed wonderful favour to all men of letters, and in his day played the part of a second Mæcenas, well remembering (as he oftentimes said) that he had been advanced to the episcopal dignity on account of his learning. For he had gained, with the highest commendation, the distinctions of each law³ (as they say now-a-days). Also he so highly prized the study of Humanity⁴ that he had boys and youths

¹ Hist. and Antiq. of Glastonbury. Oxon. 1722, 8vo, p. 98.

² Reyner, Apostolat. Benedict. Tract. 1, sect. ii. p. 224. Sanders de Schism. page 176.

³ *utriusque juris*, Canon and Civil.

⁴ *Lit. humaniores*. Latin is still called so in Scotch, and French (I think), universities. J. W. Hales.

instructed in it at a school in his house; And he was vastly delighted to hear the scholars repeat to him at night the lessons given them by the teacher during the day. In this competition he who had borne himself notably went away with a present of something suitable to his character, and with commendation expressed in the most refined language; for that excellent governor had ever in his mouth the maxim that merit grows with praise."¹

Palsgrave in 1530 speaks of "maister Petrus Vallensys, scole maister to his [Charles, Duke of Suffolk's] excellent yong sonne the Erle of Lyncolne."

Roger Ascham, author of the *Scholemaster*, &c., born in 1515,

"was received at a very youthful age into the family of Sir Antony Wingfield, who furnished money for his education, and placed Roger, together with his own sons, under a tutor whose name was Bond. The boy had by nature a taste for books, and showed his good taste by reading English in preference to Latin, with wonderful eagerness. This was the more remarkable from the fact that Latin was still the language of literature, and it is not likely that the few English books written at that time were at all largely spread abroad in places far away from the Universities and Cathedral towns. In or about the year 1530, Mr Bond the domestic tutor resigned the charge of young Roger, who was now about fifteen years old, and by the advice and pecuniary aid of his kind patron Sir Antony, he was enabled to enter St John's College, Cambridge, at that time the most famous seminary of learning in all England. . . he took his bachelor's degree in 1531, Feb. 18, in the 18th year of his age ["being a boy, new bachelor of art," he says himself,] a time of life at which it is now more common to enter the University than to take a degree, but which, according to the modes of education

¹ (*Pace de Fructu*, p. 27.) *Exigit iam suum musica quoque doctrina locum, a me præsertim, quem puerum inter pueros illustravit. Nam Thomas Langton Vyntoniensis episcopus, decessor huius qui nunc [1517 A.D.] uiuit, cui eram a manu minister, quum notasset me longe supra ætatem (ut ipse nimis fortasse amans mei iudicabat, & dictitabat) in musicis proficere, Huius, inquit, pueri ingenium ad maiora natum est. & paucos post dies in Italiam ad Patauinum gymnasium, quod tunc florentissimum erat, ad bonas literas discendas me misit, annuasque impensas benigne suppeditauit, ut omnibus literatis mirifice fauebat, & ætate sua alterum Mecenatem agebat, probe memor (ut frequenter dictitabat) sese doctrinæ causa ad episcopalem dignitatem prouectum. Adeptus enim fuerat per summam laudem, utriusque iuris (ut nunc loquuntur) insignia. Item humaniores literas tanti aestimabat, ut domestica schola pueros & iuuenes illis erudiendos curarit. Et summo-pere oblectabatur audire scholasticos dictata interdiu a præceptore, sibi nocta reddere. In quo certamine qui præclare se gesserat, is aliqua re personæ suæ accommodata, donatus abibat, & humanissimis uerbis laudatus. Habebet enim semper in ore ille optimus Præsul, uirtutem laudatam crescere.*

then in use, was not thought premature. On the 23rd of March following, he was elected fellow of the College." Giles's *Life of Ascham*, Works, vol. i. p. xi-xiv.

Dr Clement and his wife were brought up in Sir T. More's house. Clement was taken from St Paul's school, London, appointed tutor to More's children, and afterwards to his daughter Margaret, p. 402, col. 1.

What a young nobleman learnt in Henry the Eighth's time may be gathered from the following extracts (partly given by Mr Froude, *Hist.*, v. i. p. 39-40) from the letters of young Gregory Cromwell's tutor, to his father, the Earl of Essex, the King's Chief Secretary.

"The order of his studie, as the houres lymyted for the Frenche tongue, writinge, plaienge att weapons, castinge of accomptes, pastimes of instruments, and suche others, hath bene devised and directed by the prudent wisdome of Mr Southwell; who with a ffatherly zeale and amitie muche desiringe to have hime a sonne worthy suche parents, ceaseth not aswell concerninge all other things for hime mete and necessary, as also in lerninge, t'expresse his tendre love and affection towards hime, serchinge by all meanes possible howe he may moste proffitte, dailie heringe hime to rede sumwhatt in thenglishe tongue, and advertisenge hime of the naturell and true kynde of pronuntiacion therof, expoundinge also and declaringe the etimologie and native signification of suche wordes as we have borrowed of the Latines or Frenche menne, not evyn so comonly used in our quotidiene speche. Mr Cheney and Mr Charles in lyke wise endevoireth and emploiet themselves, accompanienge Mr Gregory in lerninge, amonge whome ther is a perpetuall contention, strife, and conflicte, and in maner of an honest envie who shall do beste, not oonly in the ffrenche tongue (wherin Mr Vallence after a wonderesly compendious, facile, prompte, and redy waye, nott withoute painfull delegence and laborious industrie doth enstructe them) but also in writynge, playenge at weapons, and all other theire exercises, so that if continuance in this bihalf may take place, whereas the laste Diana, this shall (I truste) be consecrated to Apollo and the Muses, to theire no small profecte and your good contentation and pleasure. And thus I beseche the Lord to have you in his moste gracious tuition.

At Reisinge in Norff[olk] the last daie of Aprill.

Your faithfull and most bounden servaunte

HENRY DOWES.

To his right honorable maister Mr Thomas Crumwell
chief Secretary vnto the King's Maiestie."

Ellis, *Original Letters*. Series I. vol. i. p. 341-3.

The next Letter gives further details of Gregory's studies—

"But forcause somer was spente in the servyce of the wylde goddes, it is so moche to be regarded after what fashion yeouth is educate and browght upp, in whiche tyme that that is lerned (for the moste parte) will nott all holelie be forgotten in the older yeres, I thinke it my dutie to asserteyne yo^r Maistershippe how he spendith his tyme. And firste, after he hath herde Masse he taketh a lecture of a Diologe of Erasmus Colloquium, called Pietas Puerilis, whereinne is described a veray picture of oone that sholde be vertuouselie brought upp; and forcause it is so necessary for hime, I do not onelie cause him to rede it over, but also to practise the preceptes of the same, and I have also translated it into Englishe, so that he may conferre theime both to-githers, whereof (as lerned men affirme) cometh no smalle profecte¹ . . after that, he exerciseth his hande in writing one or two houres, and redith uppon Fabian's Chronicle as longe; the residue of the day he doth spende uppon the lute and virginalls. When he rideth (as he doth very ofte) I tell hime by the way some historie of the Romanes or the Greekes, whiche I cause him to reherse agayn in a tale. For his recreation he useth to hawke and hunte, and shote in his long bowe, which frameth and succedeth so well with hime that he semeth to be therunto given by nature."

Ellis, i. 343-4.

Of the course of study of 'well-bred youths' in the early years of Elizabeth's reign we have an interesting account by Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, father of the great Bacon, in a Paper by Mr J. Payne Collier in the *Archæologia*, vol. 36, Part 2, p. 339, Article xxxi.² "Before he became Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon had been Attorney of that Court" [the Court of Wards and Liveries] "a most lucrative appointment; and on the 27th May, 1561, he addressed a letter to Sir William Cecil, then recently (Jan., 1561) made Master of the Wards, followed by a paper thus entitled:—'Articles devised for the bringing up in vertue and learning of the Queenes Majesties Wardes, being heires males, and whose landes, descending in possession and coming to the Queenes Majestie, shall amount to the cleere yearly value of c. markes, or above.'" Sir Nicholas asks the new Master of Wards to reform what he justly calls most "preposterous" abuses in the department:—"That the proceeding hath bin preposterous, appeareth by this: the chiefe thinge, and most of price, in wardeship, is the wardes mynde; the next to that, his bodie; the

¹ Ascham praises most the practice of double translation, from Latin into English, and then back from English into Latin.—*Scholemaster*, p. 90, 178, ed. Giles.

² Mr Wm. Chappell gives me the reference, and part of the extract.

last and meanest, his land. Nowe, hitherto the chiefe care of governaunce hath bin to the land, being the meaneste ; and to the bodie, being the better, very small ; but to the mynde, being the best, none at all, which methinkes is playnely to sett the carte before the horse" (p. 343). Mr Collier then summarises Bacon's Articles for the bringing up of the Wards thus : "The wards are to attend divine service at six in the morning : nothing is said about breakfast,¹ but they are to study Latin until eleven ; to dine between 11 and 12 ; to study with the music-master from 12 till 2 ; from 2 to 3 they are to be with the French master ; and from 3 to 5 with the Latin and Greek masters. At 5 they are to go to evening prayers ; then they are to sup ; to be allowed honest pastimes till 8 ; and, last of all, before they go to bed at 9, they are again to apply themselves to music under the instruction of the master. At and after the age of 16 they were to attend lectures upon temporal and civil law, as well as *de disciplinâ militari*. It is not necessary to insert farther details ; but what I have stated will serve to show how well-bred youths of that period were usually brought up, and how disgracefully the duty of education as regards wards was neglected. . . It may appear singular that in these articles drawn up by Sir Nicholas, so much stress is laid upon instruction in music² ; but it only serves to confirm the notion that the science was then most industriously cultivated by nearly every class of society." Pace in 1517 requires that every one should study it, but should join with it some other study, as Astrology or Astronomy. He says also that the greatest part of the art had perished by men's negligence ; "For all that our musicians do now-a-days, is almost trivial if compared with what the old ones (*antiqui*) did, so that now hardly one or two (*unus aut alter*) can be found who know what harmony is, though the word is always on their tongue." (*De Fructu*, p. 54-5.) Ascham, while lamenting in 1545 (*Toxophilus*, p. 29) 'that the laudable custom of

¹ When did *breakfast* get its name, and its first notice as a regular meal? I do not remember having seen the name in the early part of *Household Ordinances*, or any other work earlier than the *Northumberland Household Book*.

² On Musical Education, see the early pages of Mr Chappell's *Popular Music*, and the note in *Archæol.*, vol. xx, p. 60-1, with its references. 'Music constituted a part of the *quadrivium*, a branch of their system of education.'

England to teach children their plain song and prick-song' is 'so decayed throughout all the realm as it is,' denounces the great practise of instrumental music by older students: "the minstrelsy of lutes, pipes, harps, and all other that standeth by such nice, fine, minikin fingering, (such as the most part of scholars whom I know use, if they use any,) is far more fit, for the womanishness of it, to dwell in the Court among ladies, than for any great thing in it which should help good and sad study, to abide in the University among scholars."

By 1574 our rich people, according to Harrison, attended properly to the education of their children. After speaking "of our women, whose beautie commonlie exceedeth the fairest of those of the maine," he says:

"This neuerthelesse I vtterlie mislike in the poorer sort of them, for the wealthier doo sildome offend herein: that being of themselves without competent wit, they are so carelesse in the education of their children (wherein their husbands also are to be blamed,) by means whereof verie manie of them neither fearing God, neither regarding either manners or obedience, do oftentimes come to confusion, which (if anie correction or discipline had beene vsed toward them in youth) might haue prooued good members of their common-wealth & countrie, by their good seruice and industrie."—*Descr. of Britaine*, Holinshed, i. 115, col. 2.

This is borne out by Ascham, who says that young men up to 17 were well looked after, but after that age were turned loose to get into all the mischief they liked:

"In deede, from seven to seventene, yong gentlemen commonlie be carefullie enough brought up: But from seventene to seven and twentie (the most dangerous tyme of all a mans life, and most slipperie to stay well in) they have commonlie the rein of all licens in their owne hand, and speciallie soch as do live in the Court. And that which is most to be merveled at, commonlie the wisest and also best men be found the fondest fathers in this behalfe. And if som good father wold seek some remedie herein, yet the mother (if the household of our Lady) had rather, yea, and will to, have her sonne cunnyng and bold, in making him to lyve trimlie when he is yong, than by learning and travell to be able to serve his Prince & his countrie, both wiselie in peace, and stoutlie in warre, whan he is old.

"The fault is in your selves, ye noble mens sonnes, and therefore ye deserve the greater blame, that commonlie the meaner mens children cum to be the wisest counsellours, and greatest doers, in the weightie affaires of this realme."—*Scholemaster*, ed. Mayor, p. 39-40.

Note lastly, on this subject of private tuition, that Mulcaster in

his *Elementarie*, 1582, complains greatly of rich people aping the custom of princes in having private tutors for their boys, and withdrawing them from public schools where the spirit of emulation against other boys would make them work. The course he recommends is, that rich people should send their sons, with their tutors, to the public schools, and so get the advantage of both kinds of tuition.

Girls' Home Education. The earliest notice of an English Governess that any friend has found for me is in "the 34th Letter of Osbert de Clare in Stephen's reign, A.D. 1135-54. He mentions what seems to be a Governess of his children, '*quædam matrona quæ liberos ejus (sc. militis, Herberti de Furcis) educare consueverat.*' She appears to be treated as one of the family: e. g. they wait for her when she goes into a chapel to pray. I think a nurse would have been '*ancilla quæ liberos ejus nutriendos suscepit.*'" Walter de Bibbesworth was the tutor of the "lady Dionysia de Monchensi, a Kentish heiress, the daughter of William de Monchensi, baron of Swanescombe, and related, apparently, to the Valences, earls of Pembroke, and wrote his French Grammar, or rather Vocabulary¹, for her. She married Hugh de Vere, the second son of Robert, fifth earl of Oxford. (Wright.) Lady Jane Grey was taught by a tutor at home, as we have seen. Palsgrave was tutor to Henry VIII.'s "most dere and most entirely beloved suster, quene Mary, douagier of France," and no doubt wrote his *Lesclaircissement de la Langue Francoise* mainly for her, though also "desirous to do some humble service unto the nobilitie of this victorious realme, and universally unto all other estates of this my natyfe country." Giles Du Guez, or as Palsgrave says to Henry VIII., "the synguler clerke, maister Gyles Dewes, somtyme instructor to your noble grace in this selfe tong, at the especiall instaunce and request of dyvers of your highe estates and noble men, hath also for his partye written in this matter." His book is entitled "An Introductory for to lerne to rede, to pronounce & to speke French trewly: compyled for the Right high, excellent, and most vertuous lady The Lady Mary of

¹ Le treytyz ke moun sire Gauter de Bibbesworthe fist à MA DAME DYONISIE DE MOUNCHENSY, pur aprise de langage.

Englande, doughter to our most gracious soverayn Lorde Kyng Henry the Eight."

3. *English University Education.* In early days Cambridge and Oxford must be looked on, I suppose, as mainly the great schools for boys, and the generality of scholars as poor men's children,¹ like Chaucer's 'poore scolares tuo that dwelten in the soler-halle of Cantebregge,' his Clerk of Oxenford, and those students, gifts to whom are considered as one of the regular burdens on the husbandman, in "God speed the Plough." Mr Froude says, *Hist. of England*, I. 37 :

"The universities were well filled, by the sons of yeomen chiefly. The cost of supporting them at the colleges was little, and wealthy men took a pride in helping forward any boys of promise² (*Latimer's Sermons*, p. 64). It seems clear also, as the Reformation drew nearer, while the clergy were sinking lower and lower, a marked change for the better became perceptible in a portion at least of the laity."

But Grosseteste mentions a "noble" scholar at Oxford (*Epist.* 129), and Edward the Black Prince and Henry V. are said to have been students of Queen's College, Oxford. Wolsey himself was a College tutor at Oxford, and had among his pupils the sons of the Marquess of Dorset, who afterwards gave him his first preferment, the living of Lymington. (Chappell.)

¹ Later on, the proportions of poor and rich changed, as may be inferred from the extract from Harrison below. In the 'exact account of the whole number (2920) of Scholars and Students in the University of Oxford taken anno 1612 in the Long Vacation, the *Studentes* of Christ Church are 100, the *Pauperes Scholares et alii Servientes* 41; at Magdalene the latter are 76; at New College 18, to 70 *Socii*; at Brasenose (*Æneasense Coll.*) the *Communarii* are 145, and the *Pauperes Scholares* 17; at Exeter, the latter are 37, to 134 *Communarii*; at St John's, 20 to 43; at Lincoln the *Communarii* are 60, to 27 *Batellatores et Pauperes Scholares.*' *Collectanea Curiosa*, v. i. p. 196-203.

² Was this in return for the raised rents that Ascham so bitterly complains of the new possessors of the monastic lands screwing out of their tenants, and thereby ruining the yeomen? He says to the Duke of Somerset on Nov. 21, 1547 (ed. Giles, i. p. 140-1),

Qui auctores sunt tantæ miseræ? . . . Sunt illi qui hodie passim, in Anglia, prædia monasteriorum gravissimis annuis redditibus auxerunt. Hinc omnium rerum exauctum pretium; hi homines expilant totam rempublicam. Villici et coloni universi laborant, parcunt, corradunt, ut istis satisfaciant. . . . Hinc tot familiæ dissipatæ, tot domus collapsæ . . . Hinc, quod omnium miserrimum est, nobile illud decus et robur Angliæ, nomen, inquam, *Yomanorum Anglorum*, fractum et collisum est. . . . NAM VITA, QUÆ NUNC VIVITUR A PLURIMIS, NON VITA, SED MISERIA EST.

When will these words cease to be true of our land? They should be burnt into all our hearts.

The legend runs that the first school at Oxford was founded by King Alfred¹, and that Oxford was a place of study in the time of Edward the Confessor (1041-66). If one may quote a book now considered to be 'a monkish forgery and an exploded authority,' Ingulfus, who was Abbot of Croyland, in the Isle of Ely, under William the Conqueror, says of himself that he was educated first at Westminster, and then passed to Oxford, where he made proficiency in such books of Aristotle as were then accessible to students,² and in the first two books of Tully's *Rhetoric*.—*Malden*, *On the Origin of Universities*, 1835, p. 71.

In 1201 Oxford is called a *University*, and said to have contained 3000 scholars; in 1253 its first College (University) is founded. In 1244, Hen. III. grants it its first privileges as a corporate body, and confirms and extends them in 1245. In his reign, Wood says the number of scholars amounted to 30,000, a number no doubt greatly exaggerated.

In the reign of Stephen it is said that Vacarius, a Lombard by birth, who had studied the civil law at Bologna, came into England, and formed a school of law at Oxford³. . . he remained in England in the reign of Henry II. On account of the difficulty and expense of obtaining copies of the original books of the Roman law, and *the poverty of his English scholars*, Vacarius [ab. 1149, A.D.] compiled an abridgment of the Digests and Codex, in which their most essential parts were preserved, with some difference of arrangement, and illustrated from other law-books. . . It bore on its title that it was "*pauperibus presertim destinatus*;" and hence the Oxford students of law obtained the name of *Pauperists*.—*Malden*, p. 72-3.

Roger Bacon (who died 1248) speaks of a young fellow who came

¹ "He placed Æthelweard, his youngest son, who was fond of learning, together with the sons of his nobility, and of many persons of inferior rank, in schools which he had established with great wisdom and foresight, and provided with able masters. In these schools the youth were instructed in reading and writing both the Saxon and Latin languages, and in other liberal arts, before they arrived at sufficient strength of body for hunting, and other manly exercises becoming their rank." Henry, *History of England*, vol. ii. pp. 354-5 (quoted from Asser).

² None were so. T. Wright.

³ Professor Rogers says: "There is *no* evidence that Vacarius lectured at Oxford. The statement is a mistake made by Hallam on a passage in John of Salisbury quoted by Selden."

to him, aged 15, not having wherewithal to live, or finding proper masters: "because he was obliged to serve those who gave him necessaries, during two years found no one to teach him a word in the things he learned."—*Opus Tertium*, cap. xx. In 1214 the Commonalty of Oxford agreed to pay 52s. yearly for the use of poor scholars, and to give 100 of them a meal of bread, ale, and pottage, with one large dish of flesh or fish, every St Nicholas day.—*Wood's An.* i. 185. *Wood's Annals* (ed. Gutch, v. i. p. 619-20) also notes that in 1461 A.D. divers Scholars were forced to get a license under the Chancellor's hand and seal (according to the Stat. 12 Ric. II., A.D. 1388, *Ib.*, p. 519) to beg: and Sir Thos. More says "then may wee yet, like poor Scholars of Oxford, go a begging with our baggs & wallets, & sing salve Regina at rich mens dores." On this point we may also compare the Statutes of Walter de Merton for his College at Oxford, A.D. 1274, ed. Halliwell, 1843, p. 19:

Cap. 13. De admissione scholarium.

Hoc etiam in eadem domo specialiter observari volo et decerno, ut circa eos, qui ad hujusmodi eleemosinæ participationem admittendi fuerint, diligenti sollicitudine caveatur, ne qui præter castos, honestos, pacificos, humiles, *indigentes*, ad studium habiles ac proficere volentes, admittantur. Ad quorum agnitionem singulis, cum in dicta societate fuerint admittendi sustentationis gratia in eadem, ad annum unum utpote probationis causa primitus concedatur, ut sic demum si in dictis conditionibus laudabiliter se habuerint, in dictam congregationem admittantur.

See also cap. 31, against horses of scholars being kept.

Lodgings were let according to the joint valuation of 2 Magistri (scholars) and two townsmen (probi et legales homines de Villa). *Wood*, i. 255. An. 15 Hen. III. A.D. 1230-1.

In the beginning of the 15th century it had become the established rule that every scholar must be a member of some college or hall. The scholars who attended the public lectures of the university, without entering themselves at any college or hall, were called *chamber dekyns*, as in Paris they were called martinets; and frequent enactments were made against them.—*Malden*, p. 85, ref. to *Wood's Annals*, 1408, -13, -22, and 1512, &c.

The following are the dates of the foundations of the different Colleges at Oxford as given in the University Calendar:—

University College, 1253-80 ¹	Magdalen	..	1458
Balliol Coll., betw. 1263 & 1268	The King's Hall and Col- } lege of Brasenose	..	1509
Merton College, founded at Maldon, in Surrey, in 1264, removed to Oxford	Corpus Christi College	..	1516
in 1274	Christ Church	..	1526
Exeter College 1314	Trinity College	..	1554
Oriel 1326	St John's	..	1555
The Queen's College .. 1340	Jesus	..	1571
New 1386	Wadham	..	1613
Lincoln 1427	Pembroke	..	1624
All Souls 1437	Worcester	..	1714

HALLS.

St Edmund Hall 1317	Magdalen Hall	..	1487
St Mary's 1333	St Alban	..	after 1547
New Inn 1438			

'The Paston Letters' do not give us much information about studies or life at Oxford, but they do give us material for estimating the cost of a student there (ii. 124²); they show us the tutor reporting to a mother her son's progress in learning (ii. 130), and note the custom of a man, when made bachelor, giving a feast: "I was made bachelor . . on Friday was se'nnight (18 June, 1479), and I made my feast on the Monday after (21 June). I was promised venison against my feast, of my Lady Harcourt, and of another person too, but I was deceived of both; but my guests held them pleased with such meat as they had, blessed be God." The letter as to the costs is dated May 19, 1478.

"I marvel sore that you sent me no word of the letter which I sent to you by Master William Brown at Easter. I sent you word that time that I should send you mine expenses particularly; but as at this time the bearer hereof had a letter suddenly that he should come home, & therefore I could have no leisure to send them to you on that wise, & therefore I shall write to you in this letter the whole sum of my expenses since I was with you till Easter last past, and

¹ This College is said to have been founded in the year 872, by Alfred the Great. It was restored by William of Durham, said to have been Archdeacon of Durham; but respecting whom little authentic information has been preserved, except that he was Rector of Wearmouth in that county, and that he died in 1249, bequeathing a sum of money to provide a permanent endowment for the maintenance of a certain number of "Masters." The first purchase with this bequest was made in 1253, and the first Statutes are dated 1280.—*Oxford Univ. Calendar*, 1865, p. 167.

² I refer to the modernized edition published by Charles Knight in two volumes.

also the receipts, reckoning the twenty shillings that I had of you to Oxon wards, with the bishop's finding :—

	£	s.	d.
The whole sum of receipts is	5	17	6
And the whole sum of expenses is	6	5	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
And that [=what] cometh over my receipts & my expenses I have borrowed of Master Edmund, & it draweth to		8	0

and yet I reckon none expenses since Easter ; but as for them, they be not great."

On this account Fenn says,

"he (Wm. Paston) had expended £6 5s. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. from the time he left his mother to Easter last, which this year fell on the 22nd March, from which time it was now two months, & of the expenses 'since incurred' he says 'they be not great.' We may therefore conclude the former account was from the Michaelmas preceding, and a moderate one ; if so, we may fairly estimate his university education at £100 a-year of our present money. I mean that £12 10s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. would then procure as many necessaries and comforts as £100 will at this day."

What was the basis of Fenn's calculation he does not say. In 1468, the estimates for the Duke of Clarence's household expenses give these prices, among others :

	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Wheat, a quarter	6	0	now, say	3	0	0
Ale, a gallon		1 $\frac{1}{2}$	"		1	0
Beves, less hide and tallow, each	10	0	"	15	0	0*
Muttons " "	1	4	"	2	10	0*
Velys " "	2	6	"	4	0	0*
Porkes " "	2	0	"	5	0	0
Rice, a pound		3	"			5
Sugar "		6	"			6
Holland, an ell (6d., 8d., 16d.)		10	"		1	3
Diapre " "	4	6	"		3	0
Towelles " "	1	8	"		1	6
Napkyns, a dozen, 12s., £1, £2,	17	4	"	2	0	0
	£2	7	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	£31	17	8

This sum would make the things named nearly 14 times as dear now as in 1468, and raise Fenn's £100 to about £180 ; but no reliance can be placed on this estimate because we know nothing of the condition of the beves, muttons, veles, and porkys, then, as con-

* Poor ones.

trusted with ours. Possibly they were half the size and half the weight. Still, I have referred the question to Professor Thorold Rogers, author of the *History of Prices* 1250-1400 A.D., and he says :

“ In the year to which you refer (1478) bread was very dear, 50 per cent. above the average. But on the whole, wheat prices in the 15th century were lower than in the 14th. Fenn’s calculation, a little below the mark for wheat, is still less below it in most of the second necessities of life. The multiple of wheat is about 9, that of meat at least 24, those of butter and cheese nearly as much. But that of clothing is not more than 6, that of linen from 4 to 5. Taking however one thing with another, 12 is a safe general multiplier.”

This would make the cost of young Paston’s university education £150 11s. 6d. a year.

Mr Whiston would raise Fenn’s estimate of £100 to £200. He says that the rent of land in Kent in 1540 was a shilling or eighteen-pence an acre,—see *Valor Ecclesiasticus*,—and that the tithes and glebes of the Dean and Chapter of Rochester, which were worth about £480 a-year in 1542, are now worth £19,000.

The remaining Oxford letter in the Paston volumes seems to allude to the students bearing part of the expenses of the degree, or the feast at it, of a person related to royal family.

“ I supposed, when that I sent my letter to my brother John, that the Queen’s brother should have proceeded at Midsummer, and therefore I beseeched her to send me some money, *for it will be some cost to me*, but not much.”

The first school at Cambridge is said to have been founded by Edward the Elder, the son of Alfred, but on no good authority. In 1223 the term *University* was applied to the place. The dates of the foundations of its Colleges, as given in its Calendar, are :

St Peter’s 1257	St Catherine’s Hall . . . 1473
(date of charter, 1264)	Jesus 1496
Clare Hall 1326	Christ’s 1505
Pembroke 1347	St John’s 1511
Caius 1349	Magdalene 1519
Trinity Hall 1350	Trinity 1546
Corpus Christi 1351	Emmanuel 1584
King’s 1441	Sidney 1598
Queen’s 1446	Downing 1800
(refounded 1465)	

Lord Henry Brandon, son of the Duke of Suffolk, died of the

sweating sickness then prevalent in the University, on the 16th July, 1551, while a student of Cambridge. His brother, Lord Charles Brandon, died on the same day. Their removal to Buckden was too late to save them (*Ath. Cant.*, i. 105, 541). Of them Ascham says 'two noble Primeroses of Nobilitie, the yong Duke of Suffolke and Lord *H. Matrevers* were soch two examples to the Courte for learnyng, as our tyme may rather wishe, than look for agayne.'—*Scholemaster*, ed. Mayor, p. 62. Besides these two young noblemen, the first 104 pages of Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses* disclose only one other, Lord Derby's son, and the following names of sons of knights: ¹

CAMBRIDGE MEN.

1443 Thomas Rotherham, Fellow of King's, son of Sir Thomas Rotherham, knight, and Alice his wife.

1494 Reginald Bray, high-steward of the university of Oxford, son of Sir Richard Bray, knight, and the lady Joan his second wife.

¹ Other well-born men, in the *Ath. Cant.*, then connected with the University, or supposed to be, were,

1504 Sir Roger Ormston, knight, died. Had been High Steward of the University.

1504 Sir John Mordaunt, High Steward.

1478 George Fitzhugh, 4th son of Henry lord Fitzhugh, admitted B.A.

1488 Robert Leyburn, born of a knightly family, Fellow of Pembroke-hall, and proctor.

1457 John Argentine, of an ancient and knightly family, was elected from Eton to King's.

1504 Robert Fairfax, of an ancient family in Yorkshire, took the degree of Mus. Doc.

1496 Christopher Baynbrigg, of a good family at Hilton, near Appleby, educated at and Provost of Queen's, Oxford, incorporated of Cambridge.

1517 Sir Wm. Fynderne, knight, died, and was a benefactor to Clare Hall, in which it is supposed he had been educated.

1481 Robert Rede, of an ancient Northumbrian family, was sometime of Buckingham College, and the Fellow of King's-hall (?), and was autumn reader at Lincoln's Inn in 1481.

ab. 1460 Marmaduke Constable, son of Sir Robert Constable, knight, believed to have been educated at Cambridge.

„ So, Edward Stafford, heir of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, is also believed to have been educated at Cambridge, because his father was a munificent patron of the University, constantly maintaining, or assisting to maintain, scholars therein.

„ So, Thomas Howard, son of Sir John Howard, knight, and afterwards Duke of Norfolk, who defeated the Scots at Flodden, is believed, &c.

1484 John Skelton, the poet, probably of an ancient Cumberland family.

1520? Henry Howard, son of Lord Thomas Howard, ultimately Duke of Norfolk. Nothing is known as to the place of his education. If it were either of the English Universities, the presumption is in favour of Cambridge.

The only tradesman's son mentioned is,

1504 Sir Richard Empson, son of Peter Empson, a sieve-maker, High-Steward.

- 1502 Humphrey Fitzwilliam, of Pembroke Hall, Vice-Chancellor, *appears* to have been the son of Sir Richard Fitzwilliam of Ecclesfield, and Elizabeth his wife.
- ab. 1468 Richard Redman, son of Sir Richard Redman and Elizabeth [Aldburgh] his wife ; made Bp. of St Asaph.
- 1492 Thomas Savage, son of Sir John Savage, knight, Bp. of Rochester. Was LL.D. ? educated at Cambridge.
- 1485 James Stanley, younger son of Thomas Earl of Derby, educated at both universities, graduated at Cambridge, and became prebendary of Holywell in 1485, Bp. of Ely in 1506.
- 1497 William Coningsby, son of Sir Humphrey Coningsby, elected from Eton to King's.
- 1507 Thomas Elyot, son of Sir Richard Elyot, made M.A.
- ab. 1520 George Blagge, son of Sir Robert Blagge.

Queen Elizabeth's favourite, Lord Essex, was at Trinity College, Cambridge. See his letter of May 13, from there, in Ellis, series II. v. iii. p. 73 ; the furniture of his room, and his expenses, in the note p. 73-4 ; and his Tutor's letter asking for new clothes for 'my Lord,' or else 'he shall not onely be thrid bare, but ragged.'

Archbp. Whitgift¹, when B.D. at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, A.D. 1563, "bestowed some of his time and abilities in the instruction of ingenious youth, sent to the college for education, in good learning and Christian manners. And among such his pupils, were two noblemen's sons, viz. the Lord Herbert, son and heir to the Earl of Pembroke ; and John, son and heir to the Lord North." (*Life*, by Strype, ed. 1822, vol. i. p. 14.)

While Whitgift was Master of Trinity, Strype says he had bred up under him not only several Bishops, but also "the Earls of Worcester and Cumberland, the Lord Zouch, the Lord Dunboy of Ireland, Sir Nicolas and Sir Francis Bacon. To which I may add one more, namely, the son of Sir Nicolas White, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, who married a Devereux." (*Life*, i. 157, ed. 1822.)

A search through the whole of the first volume of Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, comprising a period of nearly 100 years, has resulted in the following meagre list of men of noble or knightly birth who distinguished themselves. There are besides many men of "genteel

¹ Whitgift himself, born 1530, was educated at St Paul's school, then sent back to his father in the country, and sent up to Cambridge in 1548 or 1549.

parents," some of trader-ones, many friars, some Winchester men, but no Eton ones, educated at Oxford.

- 1478 Edmund Dudley, son of John Dudley, Esq., 2nd son of John Lord Dudley, of Dudley Castle in Staffordshire.
- ab. 1483 John Colet, the eldest son of Sir Henry Colet, twice lord mayor of London . . was educated in grammaticals, partly in London or Westminster.
- „ Nicholas Vaux, son of Sir Will. Vaux of Harwedon in Northamptonshire (not the Poet, Lord Vaux).
- end of John Bouchier, Lord Berners, eldest son of Sir John
Edw. IV. Bouchier, knight, Lord Berners of Hertfordshire . . was instructed in several sorts of learning in the university in the latter end of K. Edw. IV.; in whose reign, and before, were the sons of divers of the English nobility educated in academical literature in Baliol Coll.,¹ wherein, as 'tis probable, this our author was instructed also.
- 1497 Thomas More, son of Sir John More, knight. (*The Sir Thomas More.*)
- ? ab. 1510 George Bulleyn, son and heir of Sir Tho. Bullen, and sister of Anne Bulleyn.
- ? „ Henry Parker, son of Sir William Parker, knight.
- 1515 Christopher Seintgerman, son of Sir Henry Seintgerman, knight.
- ? ab. 1520 Thomas Wyatt, son of Henry Wyatt of Alington Castle in Kent, knight and baronet, migrated from St John's, Cambridge.²
- 1538³ John Heron, a Kentish man born, near of kin to Sir John Heron, knight.
- ? ab. 1520 Edward Seymoure, son of Sir John Seymoure, or St Maure of Wolf-hall in Wilts, knight, was educated in trivials, and partly in quadrivials for some time in this university. He was Jane Seymour's brother, and afterwards Duke of Somerset, and was beheaded on Jan. 22, 1552-3.
- 1534 John Philpot, son of Sir Pet. Philpot, knight of the Bath. Fellow of New Coll.
- ab. 15— Henry Lord Stafford (author of the *Mirror for Magistrates*), the only son of Edward, Duke of Bucks, 'received

¹ No proof of this is given.

² Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, son and heir of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, 'was for a time student in Cardinal Coll. as the constant tradition has been among us.' p. 153, col. 1.

³ Andrew Borde, who writes himself *Andreas Perforatus*, was born, as it seems, at Pevensey, commonly called Pensey [now Pemsey], in Sussex, and not unlikely educated in Wykeham's school near to Winchester, brought up at Oxford (as he saith in his *Introduction to Knowledge*, cap. 35), p. 170, col. 2, and note.

his education in both the universities, especially in that of Cambridge, to which his father had been a benefactor.'

1515 Reynold Pole (the Cardinal), a younger son of Sir Rich. Pole.

? ab. 1530 Anthony Browne, son of Sir Weston Browne, of Abbes-
roding and of Langenhoo in Essex, knight.

ab. 1574 Patrick Plunket, baron of Dunsary in Ireland, son of Rob.
Plunket, baron of the same place.

ab. 1570 Philip Sidney (the poet), son of Sir Henry Sidney.

? John Smythe, son of Sir Clem. Smythe.

(Peter Levens or Levins, our *Manipulus* or Rhyming-
Dictionary man, became a student in the university, an.
1552, was elected probationer-fellow of Mag. Coll. into
a Yorkshire place, 18 Jan. 1557, being then bach. of
arts, and on the 19th Jan. 1559 was admitted true and
perpetual fellow. In 1560 he left his fellowship. *Ath.*
Ox. p. 547, col. 2.)

? ab. 1570 Reynolde Scot, a younger son of Sir John Scot of Scots-
hall, near to Smeeth in Kent.

1590 Hayward Townshend, eldest son of Sir Henry Townshend,
knight.

ab. 1587 Francis Tresham (of Gunpowder Plot notoriety), son of Sir
Thomas Tresham, knight.

The number of friars and monks at the Universities before the
Reformation, and especially at Oxford, must have been large. Tanner
says,

In our universities . . . were taught divinity and canon law
(then, t. Hen. III., much in vogue), and the friers resorting thither
in great numbers and applying themselves closely to their studies,
outdid the monks in all fashionable knowledge. But the monks
quickly perceived it, and went also to the universities and studied
hard, that they might not be run down by the friers.¹ And as the

¹ See Mat. Paris, p. 665, though he speaks there chiefly of monks * beyond sea.

* As appears from Wood's *Fasti Oxon.*

The following names of Oxford men educated at monkish or friars' schools, or
of their bodies, occur in the first volume of Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*, ed. Bliss :

p. 6, col. 2. William Beeth, educated among the Dominicans or Black Friars
from his youth, and afterwards their provincial master or chief
governor.

p. 7, col. 2. Richard Bardney, a Benedictine of Lincolnshire.

p. 11, col. 2. John Sowle, a Carme of London.

p. 14, col. 1. William Galeon, an Austin friar of Lynn Regis.

p. 18, col. 2. Henry Bradshaw, one of the Benedictine monks of St Werberg's,
Chester.

p. 19, col. 1. John Harley, of the order of the Preaching or Dominican, commonly
called Black, Friars.

friers got houses in the universities, the monks also got colleges founded and endowed there¹ for the education of their novices, where they were for some years instructed in grammar, philosophy, and school divinity, and then returning home, improved their knowledge by their private studies, to the service of God and the credit of their respective societies. So that a little before the Reformation, the greatest part of the proceeders in divinity at Oxford were monks and Regular canons.

By Harrison's time, A.D. 1577², rich men's sons had not only pressed into the Universities, but were scrooging poor men's sons out of the endowments meant only for the poor, learning the lessons that Mr Whiston so well shows our Cathedral dignitaries have carried out

¹ It was customary then at Oxford for the Religious to have schools that bore the name of their respective orders; as the Augustine, Benedictine, Carmelite, and Franciscan schools; and there were schools also appropriated to the benefit of particular Religious houses, as the Dorchester and Eynsham schools, &c. The monks of Gloucester had Gloucester convent, and the novices of Pershore an apartment in the same house. So likewise the young monks of Canterbury, Westminster, Durham, St Albans, &c. Kennet's Paroch. Antiq., p. 214. So also Leland saith, Itin. vol. vi. p. 28, that at Stamford the names of Peterborough Hall, Semplingham, and Vauldey yet remain, as places whither the Religious of those houses sent their scholars to study. Tanner, Notitia Monastica, Preface, p. xxvi. note *w*.

² The abuse was of far earlier date than this. Compare Mr Halliwell's quotation in his 'Merton Statutes,' from his edition of 'the Poems of John Awdelay, the blind poet of Haghmon Monastery in the 14th century,'

Now 3if a pore mon set hys son to Oxford to scole,
Bothe the fader and the moder hyndryd they schal be;
And 3if ther falle a benefyse, hit schal be 3if a fole,
To a clerke of a kechyn, ore into the chaunceré . . .
Clerkys that han cunyng,
. . . thai mai get no vaunsyng
Without symony.

p. 54, col. 2. Thomas Spenser, a Carthusian at Henton in Somersetshire; 'whence for a time he receded to Oxford (as several of his order did) to improve himself, or to pass a course, in theology.'

p. 94, col. 2. John Kynton, a Minorite or Grey-friar.

p. 101, col. 1. John Rycks, " "

p. 107, col. 1. John Forest, a Franciscan of Greenwich.

p. 189, col. 1. John Griffen, a Cistercian.

p. 278, col. 2. Cardinal Pole, educated among the Carthusians, and Carmelites or 'White-fryers.'

p. 363, col. 2. William Barlowe, an Austin of St Osith in Essex.

p. 630, col. 2. Henry Walpoole and Richard Walpoole, Jesuits.

The 5th Lord Percy, he of the *Household Book*, in the year 1520 founded an annual stipend of 10 marcs for 3 years, for a *Pedagogus sive Magister, docens ac legens Grammaticam et Philosophiam canonicis et fratribus* of the monastery of Alnwick (Warton, ii. 492).

with the stipends of their choristers, boys and men. “*Les gros poissons mangent les menus*. Pro. Poore men are (easily) supplanted by the rich, the weake by the strong, the meane by the mighty.”¹ (Cotgrave, u. *manger*.) The law of “natural selection” prevails. Who shall say nay in a Christian land professing the principles of the great “Inventor of Philanthropy”? Whitgift for one, see his *Life of Strype*, Bk. I. chap. xiii. p. 148-50, ed. 1822. In 1589 an act 31 Eliz. c. 6, was passed to endeavour to prevent the abuse, but, like modern Election-bribery Acts with their abuse, did not do it.

“at this present, of one sort & other, there are about three thousand students nourished in them both (as by a late serveie it manifestlie appeared). They [the Colleges at our Universities] were created by their founders at the first, onelie for pore men’s sons, whose parents were not able to bring them up unto learning: but now they have the least benefit of them, by reason the rich do so ineroch upon them. And so farre hath this inconvenience spread itself, that it is in my time an hard matter for a pore man’s child to come by a fellowship (though he be neuer so good a scholer & worthie of that roome.) Such packing also is used at elections, that not he which best deserveth, but he that hath most friends, though he be the worst scholer, is alwaies surest to speed; which will turne in the end to the overthrow of learning. That some gentlemen also, whose friends have been in times past benefactors to certeine of those houses, doe intrude into the disposition of their estates, without all respect of order or statutes devised by the founders, onelie thereby to place whome they think good (and not without some hope of gaine) the case is too too evident, and their attempt would soone take place, if their superiors did not provide to bridle their indevors. In some grammar schooles likewise, which send scholers to these universities, it is lamentable to see what briberie is used; for yer the scholer can be preferred, such briberye is made, that pore men’s children are commonly shut out, and the richer sort received (who in times past thought it dishonour to live as it were upon almes) and yet being placed, most of them studie little other than histories, tables, dice & trifles, as men that make not the living by their studie the end of their purposes; which is a lamentable bearing. Besides this, being for the most part either gentlemen, or rich men’s sonnes, they oft bring the universities into much slander.”² For

¹ Compare Chaucer: ‘wherfore, as seith Senek, ther is nothing more covenable to a man of heigh estate than debonairté and pité; and therefore thise flies than men clepen bees, whan thay make here king, they chesen oon that hath no pricke wherwith he may styng.’—*Persones Tale*, Poet. Works, ed. Morris, iii. 301.

² Ascham complains of the harm that rich men’s sons did in his time at Cambridge. Writing to Archbp. Cranmer in 1545, he complains of two *gravissima im-*

standing upon their reputation and libertie, they ruffle and roist it out, exceeding in apparell, and hanting riotous companie (which draweth them from their bookes into an other trade). And for excuse, when they are charged with breach of all good order, thinke it sufficient to saie, that they be gentlemen, which grieveth manie not a little. But to proceed with the rest.

“Everie one of these colleges haue in like manner their professors or readers of the tongs and severall sciences, as they call them, which dailie trade up the youth there abiding privatlie in their halles, to the end they may be able afterwards (when their turne commeth about, which is after twelve termes) to show themselves abroad, by going from thence into the common schooles and publike disputations (as it were *In aream*) there to trie their skilles, and declare how they have profited since their coming thither.

“Moreover in the publike schooles of both the universities, there are found at the prince’s charge (and that verie largelie) five professors & readers, that is to saie, of divinitie, of the civill law, physicke, the Hebrew and the Greek tongues. And for the other lectures, as of philosophie, logike, rhetorike and the quadriuals, although the latter (I mean, arithmetike, musike, geometrie and astronomie, and with them all skill in the perspectives are now smallie regarded in either of them) the universities themselves do allowe competent stipends to such as reade the same, whereby they are sufficiently provided for, touching the maintenance of their estates, and no less encouraged to be diligent in their functions.”

On the introduction of the study of Greek into the Universities, Dr S. Knight says in his *Life of Colet*:

“As for *Oxford*, its own *History* and *Antiquities* sufficiently confess, that nothing was known there but *Latin*, and that in the most

pedimenta to their course of study: (1.) that so few old men will stop up to encourage study by their example; (2.) “quod illi fere omnes qui huc Cantabrigiam confluent, pueri sunt, divitumque filii, et hi etiam qui nunquam inducunt animum suum, ut abundanti aliqua perfectaue eruditione perpoliantur, sed ut ad alia reipublicæ munera obeunda levi aliqua et inchoata cognitione paratiores efficiantur. Et hic singularis quædam injuria bifariam academici intentata est; vel quia hoc modo omnis expletæ absolutæque doctrinæ spes longe ante messem, in ipsa quasi herbescenti viriditate, præciditur; vel quia omnis pauperum inopumque expectatio, quorum ætates omnes in literarum studio conteruntur, ab his fucis eorum sedes occupantibus, exclusa illusaue præripitur. Ingenium, enim, doctrina, inopia judicium, nil quicquam domi valent, ubi gratia, favor, magnatum literæ, et aliæ persimiles extraordinariæ illegitimæque rationes vim foris adferunt. Hinc quoque illud accedit incommodum, quod quidam prudentes viri nimis ægre ferunt partem aliquam regiæ pecuniæ in collegiorum socios inpartiri; quasi illi non maxime indigeant, aut quasi ulla spes perfectæ eruditionis in ullis aliis residere potest, quam in his, qui in perpetuo literarum studio perpetuum vitæ suæ tabernaculum collocarunt. Ed. Giles, i. p. 69-70. See also p. 121-2.

depraved Style of the *School-men*. *Cornelius Vitellius*, an *Italian*, was the first who taught *Greek* in that University¹; and from him the famous *Grocyne* learned the first Elements thereof.

“In *Cambridge*, *Erasmus* was the first who taught the *Greek Grammar*. And so very low was the State of Learning in that University, that (as he tells a Friend) about the Year 1485, the Beginning of *Hen. VII.* Reign, there was nothing taught in that publick Seminary besides *Alexander's Parva Logicalia*, (as they called them) the old *Axioms* of *Aristotle*, and the *Questions* of *John Scotus*, till in Process of time *good Letters* were brought in, and some Knowledge of the *Mathematicks*; as also *Aristotle* in a new Dress, and some Skill in the *Greek Tongue*; and, by Degrees, a Multitude of *Authors*, whose *Names* before had not been heard of.²

“It is certain that even *Erasmus* himself did little understand *Greek*, when he came first into *England*, in 1497 (13 *Hen. VII.*), and that our Countryman *Linacer* taught it him, being just returned from *Italy* with great Skill in that Language: Which *Linacer* and *William Grocyne* were the two only Tutors that were able to teach it.” *Saml. Knight, Life of Dr John Colet*, pp. 17, 18.

The age at which boys went up to the University seems to have varied greatly. When Oxford students were forbidden to play marbles they could not have been very old. But in “*The Mirror of the Periods of Man's Life*” (? ab. 1430 A.D.), in the Society's *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ* of this year, we find the going-up age put at twenty.

Quod resoun, in age of .xx. 3eer,
Goo to oxenford, or lerne lawe³.

This is confirmed by young Paston's being at Eton at nineteen (see below, p. lvi). In 1612, Brinsley (*Grammar Schoole*, p. 307) puts the age at fifteen, and says,

“such onely should be sent to the Vniuersities, who proue most ingenuous and towardly, and who, in a loue of learning, will begin to

¹ *Antea enim Cornelius Vitellius, homo Italus Corneli, quod est maritimum Hetruriæ Oppidum, natus nobili Prosapia, vir optimus graciosusque, omnium primus Oxonii bonas literas docuerat.* [Pol. Verg. lib. xxvi.]

² *Ante annos ferme triginta, nihil tradebatur in schola Cantabrigiensi, præter Alexandri Parva Logicalia, ut vocant, & vetera illa Aristotelis dictata, Scoticasque Quæstiones. Progressu temporis accesserunt bonæ literæ; accessit Matheseos Cognitio; accessit novus, aut certe novatus, Aristoteles; accessit Græcarum literarum peritia; accesserunt Autores tam multi, quorum olim ne nomina quidem tenebantur, &c.* [Erasmi Epist. Henrico Bovillo, Dat. Roffæ Cal. Sept. 1516.]

³ Sir John Fortescue's description of the study of law at Westminster and in the Inns of Chancery is in chapters 48-9 of his *De laudibus legum Angliæ*.

take paines of themselves, hauing attained in some sort the former parts of learning ; being good Grammarians at least, able to vnderstand, write and speake Latine in good sort.

“Such as haue good discretion how to gouerne themselves there, and to moderate their expenses ; which is seldome times before 15 yeeres of age ; which is also the youngest age admitted by the statutes of the Vniuersity, as I take it.”

4. *Foreign University Education.* That some of our nobles sent their sons to be educated in the French universities (whence they sometimes imported foreign vices into England¹) is witnessed by some verses in a Latin Poem “in MS. Digby, No. 4 (Bodleian Library) of the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century,” printed by Mr Thomas Wright in his *Anecdota Literaria*, p. 38.

Filii nobilium, dum sunt juniores,
Mittuntur in Franciam fieri doctores ;
Quos prece vel pretio domant corruptores,
Sic prætaxatos referunt artaxata mores.

An English *nation* or set of students of the Faculty of Arts at Paris existed in 1169 ; after 1430 the name was changed to the German nation. Besides the students from the French provinces subject to the English, as Poictou, Guienne, &c., it included the English, Scottish, Irish, Poles, Germans, &c.—*Encyc. Brit.* John of Salisbury (born 1110) says that he was twelve years studying at Paris on his own account. Thomas a Becket, as a young man, studied at Paris. Giraldus Cambrensis (born 1147) went to Paris for education ; so did Alexander Neckham (died 1227). Henry says,

“The English, in particular, were so numerous, that they occupied several schools or colleges ; and made so distinguished a figure by their genius and learning, as well as by their generous manner of living, that they attracted the notice of all strangers. This appears from the following verses, describing the behaviour of a stranger on

¹ Mores habent barbarus, Latinus et Græcus ;
Si sacerdos, ut plebs est, cæcum ducit cæcus :
Se mares effeminant, et equa fit equus,
Expectes ab homine usque ad pecus.

Et quia non metuunt animæ discrimen,
Principes in habitum verterunt hoc crimen,
Varium viro turpiter jungit novus hymen,
Exagitata procul non intrat fœmina limen.

his first arrival in Paris, composed by Negel Wircker, an English student there, A.D. 1170 :—

The stranger dress'd, the city first surveys,
A church he enters, to his God he prays.
Next to the schools he hastens, each he views,
With care examines, anxious which to chuse.
The English most attract his prying eyes,
Their manners, words, and looks, pronounce them wise.
Theirs is the open hand, the bounteous mind ;
Theirs solid sense, with sparkling wit combin'd.
Their graver studies jovial banquets crown,
Their rankling cares in flowing bowls they drown.¹

Montpelier was another University whither Englishmen resorted, and is to be remembered by us if only for the memory of Andrew Borde, M.D., some bits of whose quaintness are in the notes to Russell in the present volume.

Padua is to be noted for Pace's sake. He is supposed to have been born in 1482.

Later, the custom of sending young noblemen and gentlemen to Italy—to travel, not to take a degree—was introduced, and Ascham's condemnation of it, when no tutor accompanied the youths, is too well known to need quoting. The Italians' saying, *Inglese Italianato è un diavolo incarnato*, sums it up.²

5. *Monastic and Cathedral Schools.* Herbert Losing, Bp. of Thetford, afterwards Norwich, between 1091 and 1119, in his 37th Letter restores his schools at Thetford to Dean Bund, and directs that no other schools be opened there.

Tanner (*Not. Mon.* p. xx. ed. Nasmith), when mentioning “the use and advantage of these Religious houses”—under which term

¹ Pixus et ablutus tandem progressus in urbem,
Intrat in ecclesiam, vota precesque facit.
Inde scholas adiens, secum deliberat, utrum
Expediat potius illa vel ista schola.
Et quia subtiles sensu considerat Anglos,
Pluribus ex causis se sociavit iis.
Moribus egregii, verbo vultuque venusti,
Ingenio pollent, consilioque vigent.
Dona pluunt populis, et detestantur avaros,
Fercula multiplicant, et sine lege bibunt.

A. Wood, *Antiq. Oxon.*, p. 55, in Henry's Hist. of Eng., vol. iii. p. 440-1.

² That Colet used his travels abroad, A.D. 1493-7, for a different purpose, see his Life by Dr Knight, pp. 23-4.

“are comprehended, cathedral and collegiate churches, abbies, priories, colleges, hospitals, preceptories (Knights Templars’ houses), and frieries”—says,

“Secondly, They were schools of learning & education ; for every convent had one person or more appointed for this purpose ; and all the neighbours that desired it, might have their children taught grammar and church musick without any expence to them.¹

In the nunneries also young women were taught to work, and to read English, and sometimes Latin also. So that not only the lower rank of people, who could not pay for their learning, but most of the noblemen and gentlemen’s daughters were educated in those places.”²

¹ Fuller, book vi. p. 297. Collier, vol. ii. p. 165. Stillingfleet’s Orig. Britan. p. 206. Bishop Lloyd of Church Government, p. 160. This was provided for as early as A.D. 747, by the seventh canon of council of Clovesho, as Wilkins’s Councils, vol. i. p. 95. See also the notes upon that canon, in Johnson’s Collection of canons, &c. In Tavistock abbey there was a Saxon school, as Willis, i. 171. Tanner. (Charlemagne in his Capitularies ordained that each Monastery should maintain a School, where should be taught ‘la grammaire, le calcule, et la musique.’ See Dèmoget’s *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, p. 44, ed. Hachette. R. Whiston.) Henry says “these teachers of the cathedral schools were called *The scholastics* of the diocess ; and all the youth in it who were designed for the church, were intituled to the benefit of their instructions.* Thus, for example, William de Monte, who had been a professor at Paris, and taught theology with so much reputation in the reign of Henry II., at Lincoln, was the scholastic of that cathedral. By the eighteenth canon of the third general council of Lateran, A.D. 1179, it was decreed, That such scholastics should be settled in all cathedrals, with sufficient revenues for their support ; and that they should have authority to superintend all the school-masters of the diocess, and grant them licences, without which none should presume to teach. The laborious authors of the literary history of France have collected a very distinct account of the scholastics who presided in the principal cathedral-schools of that kingdom in the twelfth century, among whom we meet with many of the most illustrious names for learning of that age. . . . The sciences that were taught in these cathedral schools were such as were most necessary to qualify their pupils for performing the duties of the sacerdotal office, as Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Theology, and Church-Music.”—*Ibid.* p. 442.

² Fuller and Collier, as before ; Bishop Burnet (Reform. vol. i. p. . .) saith so of Godstow. Archbishop Greenfield ordered that young gentlewomen who came to the nunneries either for piety or breeding, should wear white veils, to distinguish them from the professed, who wore black ones, 11 Kal. Jul. anno pontif. 6. M. Hutton. ex registr. ejus, p. 207. In the accounts of the cellaress of Carhow, near Norwich, there is an account of what was received “pro prehensionibus,” or the board of young ladies and their servants for education “rec. de domina Margeria Wederly prehensionat, ibidem xi. septimanas xiii s. iv d. . . pro mensa unius famulæ dictæ Margeriæ per iii. septimanas viii d. per sept.” &c. Tanner.

* Du Cange, Gloss. voc. *Scholasticus*.

As Lydgate (born at Lydgate in Suffolk, six or seven miles from Newmarket) was ordained subdeacon in the Benedictine monastery of Bury St Edmunds in 1389¹, he was probably sent as a boy to a monastic school. At any rate, as he sketches his early escapades—apple-stealing, playing truant, &c.,—for us in his *Testament*², I shall quote the youth's bit of the poem here:—

Harleian MS. 2255, fol. 60.

- D**uryng the tyme / of this sesoun ver
 I meene the sesoun / of my yeerys greene
 Gynnyng fro childhood / strechithe³ vp so fer
 to þe yeerys / accountyd ful Fifteene
 bexperience / as it was weel seene
 The gerisshe sesoun / straunge of condiciouns
 Dispoosyd to many vnbridlyd passiouns
- [fol. 60 b.] ¶ Voyd of resoun / yove to wilfulnesse
 Froward to vertu / of thrift gaf⁴ litil heede
 loth to lerne / lovid no besynesse
 Sauf pley or merthe / straunge to spelle or reede
 Folwyng al appetites / longyng to childheede
 lihtly tournyng wylde / and seelde sad
 Weepyng for nouht / and anoon afftir glad
- ¶ For litil wroth / to stryve with my felawe
 As my passiouns / did my bridil leede
 Of the yeerde somtyme / I Stood in awe
 to be scooryd⁵ / that was al my dreede
 loth toward scole / lost my tyme in deede
 lik a yong colt / that ran with-owte brydil
 Made my freendys / ther good to spend in ydil /
- ¶ I hadde in custom / to come to scole late
 Nat for to lerne / but for a contenaunce
 with my felawys / reedy to debate
 to Iangle and Iape / was set al my plesaunce
 wherof rebukyd / this was my chevisaunce
 to forge a lesyng / and therupon to muse
 whan I trespasyd / my silven to excuse
- [fol. 61.] ¶ To my bettre / did no reverence
 Of my sovereigns / gaf no fors at al
- In my boyhood,
 up to 15,
 I loved no work
 but play,
 yet I was afraid
 of being scored by
 the rod.
 I came to school
 late,
 talked,
 lied to get off
 blame,
 and mocked my
 masters.

¹ Morley's *English Writers*, vol. ii. Pt. I. p. 421.

² Edited by Mr Halliwell in his 'Selection from the Minor Poems of Dan John Lydgate.' Percy Society, 1840, quoted by Prof. Morley.

³ stretched. (These collations are from Harl. 218, fol. 65, back.)

⁴ toke.

⁵ skoured.

- I stole apples and grapes,
 played tricks and mocked people,
 liked counting cherry-stones better than church.
 Late to rise, I was ;
 dirty at dinner,
 deaf to the snubbings of my friends,
 [fol. 61 b.]
 reckless in God's service,
 chief shammer of illness when I was well,
 always unsteady,
 ill-conducted,
 sparing none for my pleasure.
- wex obstynat / by inobedience
 Ran in to garydns / applys ther I stal
 To gadre frutys / sparyd hegg¹ nor wal
 to plukke grapys / in othir mennys vynes
 Was moor reedy / than for to seyn² matynes
- ¶ My lust was al / to scorne folk and iape
 Shrewde tornys / evir among to vse
 to Skoffe and mowe³ / lyk a wantoun Ape
 whan I did evil / othre I did⁴ accuse
 My wittys five / in wast I did abuse⁵
 Rediere chirstoonys / for to⁶ telle
 Than gon to chirche / or heere the sacry⁷ belle
- ¶ Loth to ryse / lother to bedde at eve
 with vnwassh handys⁸ / reedy to dyneer
 My *pater noster* / my *Crede* / or my beleeve
 Cast at the⁹ Cok / loo this was my maneer
 Wavid with eche wynd / as doth a reed speer
 Snybbyd¹⁰ of my frendys / such techchys forta-
 mende¹¹
 Made deff ere / lyst nat / to them attende
- ¶ A child resemblyng / which was nat lyk to thryve
 Froward to god / reklees¹² in his servise
 loth to correccioun / slouhe my sylf to shryve
 Al good thewys / reedy to despise
 Cheef bellewedir / of feyned¹³ trwaundise
 this is to meene / my silf I cowde feyne
 Syk lyk a trwaunt / felte¹⁴ no maneer peyne
- ¶ My poort my pas / my foot alwey vnstable
 my look my eyen / vns wre and vagabounde
 In al my werkys / sodeynly chaungable
 To al good thewys / contrary I was founde
 Now ovir sad / now moornyng / now iocounde
 Wilful rekles / mad¹⁵ stertyng as an hare
 To folwe my lust / for no man wold I spare.

At these monastic schools, I suppose, were educated mainly the boys whom the monks hoped would become monks, cleric or secular ; mostly the poor, the Plowman's brother who was to be the Parson, not often the ploughman himself. Once, though, made a scholar and monk there, and sent by the Monastery to the University, the workman's, if not the ploughman's, son, might rule nobles and

¹ nedar hegge.² sey.³ mowen.⁴ koude.⁵ alle vse.⁶ cheristones to.⁷ sacryng.⁸ hondes.⁹ atte.¹⁰ Snybbyng.¹¹ tamende.¹² rekkes.¹³ froward.¹⁴ and felt.¹⁵ made.

sit by kings, nay, beard them to their face. Thomas a Becket, himself the son of poor parents, was sent to be brought up in the "religious house of the Canons of Merton."

In 1392 the writer of *Piers Plowman's Crede* sketches the then state of things thus :

Now mot ich soutere hys sone · seten to schole,
And ich a beggeres brot · on the book lerne,
And worth to a writere · and with a lorde dwelle,
Other falsly to a frere · the fend for to serven ;
So of that beggares brot · a [bychop¹] shal worthen,
Among the peres of the lond · prese to sytten,
And lordes sones² lowly · to tho losels alowte,
Knyghtes crouketh hem to · and cruccheth ful lowe ;
And his syre a soutere · y-suled in grees,
His teeth with toylyng of lether · tatered as a sawe.

Now every
cobbler's son and
beggar's brat
turns writer, then
Bishop,

and lords' sons
crouch to him,
a cobbler's son !

Here I might stop the quotation, but I go on, for justice has never yet been done³ to this noble *Crede* and William's *Vision* as pictures of the life of their times,—chiefly from the profound ignorance of us English of our own language; partly from the grace, the freshness, and the brilliance of Chaucer's easier and inimitable verse :—

Alaas ! that lordes of the londe · leveth swiche wrecchen, Lords
And leveth swych lorels · for her lowe wordes.

They shulden maken [bichopes¹] · her owen bretheren
 childre, should make
 gentlemen
 Bishops,

Other of som gentil blod · And so yt best semed,
And fostre none faytours¹ · ne swich false freres,
To maken fat and fulle · and her flesh combren.

and set these
scamps

For her kynde were more · to y-clense diches
Than ben to sopers y-set first · and served with sylver.

to clean ditches,

A grete bolle-ful of benen · were beter in hys wombe,
And with the bandes⁴ of bakun · his baly for to fillen

and eat beans and
bacon-rind
instead of
peacocks,

Than pertryches or plovers · or pecockes y-rosted,
And comeren her stomakes · with curiuse drynkes

That maketh swyche harlotes · hordom usen,
And with her wikkid word · wymmen bitrayeth.

and having
women.

God wold her wonyyng · were in wildernesse,
And fals freres forboden · the fayre ladis chaumbres ;

For knewe lordes her craft · treuly I trowe

If Lords but knew
their tricks,

They shulden nought haunten her house · so ho[m]ly¹
 on nyghtes,

¹ Mr Skeat's readings. The *abbot* and *abbots* of Mr Wright's text spoil the alliteration.

² Compare the previous passages under heading 1, p. vi.

³ May Mr Skeat bring the day when it will be !

⁴ ? randes. Sk.

they'd turn these Ne bedden swich brothels · in so brode shetes,
 beggars into the But sheten her heved in the stre · to sharpen her wittes.
 straw.

There is one side of the picture, the workman's son turned monk, and clerk to a lord. Let us turn to the other side, the ploughman's son who didn't turn monk, whose head *was* 'shet' in the straw, who delved and ditched, and dunged the earth, eat bread of corn and bran, worts fleshless (vegetables, but no meat), drank water, and went miserably (*Crede*, l. 1565-71). What education did he get? To whom could he be apprenticed? What was his chance in life? Let the Statute-Book answer:—

A.D. 1388. 12^o Rich. II., Cap. v.

Item. It is ordained & assented, That he or she which used to labour at the Plough and Cart, or other Labour or Service of Husbandry *till they be of the Age of Twelve Years, that from thenceforth they shall abide at the same Labour*, without being put to any Mystery or Handicraft; and if any Covenant or Bond of Apprentie (*so*) be from henceforth made to the Contrary, the same shall be holden for none.

A.D. 1405-6. 7^o Henri IV., Cap. xvii.

. And Whereas in the Statutes made at Canterbury among other Articles it is contained That he or she that useth to labour at the Plough or Cart, or other Labour or Service of Husbandry, till he be of the age of Twelve Years, that from the same time forth he shall abide at the same Labour, without being put to any Mystery or Handicraft; and if any Covenant or Bond be made from that time forth to the contrary, it shall be holden for none: Notwithstanding which Article, and the good Statutes afore made through all parts of the Realm, the Infants born within the Towns and Seignories of Upland, whose Fathers & Mothers have no Land nor Rent nor other Living, but only their Service or Mystery, be put by their said Fathers and Mothers and other their Friends to serve, and bound Apprentices, to divers Crafts within the Cities and Boroughs of the said Realm *sometime at the Age of Twelve Years, sometime within the said Age*, and that for the Pride of Clothing and other evil Customs that Servants do use in the same; so that there is so great Scarcity of Labourers and other Servants of Husbandry *that the Gentlemen and other People of the Realm be greatly impoverished for the Cause aforesaid*: Our Sovereign Lord the King considering the said Mischief, and willing thereupon to provide Remedy, by the advice & assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and at the request of the said Commons, hath ordained and stablished, That no Man nor Woman, of what Estate or Condition they be, shall put their Son or Daughter, of whatsoever Age he or she be, to Serve as Apprentice to no Craft nor other Labour within any City or Borough in the Realm, except he have Land or Rent to the Value of Twenty Shillings by the Year at

the least, but they shall be put to other labours as their Estates doth require, upon Pain of one Year's Imprisonment, and to make Fine and Ransom at the King's Will. And if any Covenant be made of any such Infant, of what Estate that he be, to the contrary, it shall be holden for none. Provided Always, that every Man and Woman, of what Estate or Condition that he be, shall be free to set their Son or Daughter to take Learning at any manner School that pleaseth them within the Realm.

A most gracious saving clause truly, for those children who were used to labour at the plough and cart till they were twelve years old.¹ Let us hope that some got the benefit of it!

These Acts I came across when hunting for the Statutes referred to by the *Boke of Curtasye* as fixing the hire of horses for carriage at fourpence a piece, and they caused me some surprise. They made me wonder less at the energy with which some people now are striving to erect "barriers against democracy" to prevent the return match for the old game coming off.—However improving, and however justly retributive, future legislation for the rich by the poor in the spirit of past legislation for the poor by the rich might be, it could hardly be considered pleasant, and is surely worth putting up the true barrier against, one of education in each poor man's mind. (He who americanizes us thus far will be the greatest benefactor England has had for some ages.)—These Statutes also made me think how the old spirit still lingers in England, how a friend of my own was curate in a Surrey village where the kind-hearted squire would allow none of the R's but Reading to be taught in his school; how another clergyman lately reported his Farmers' meeting on the school question: Reading and Writing might be taught, but Arithmetic not; the boys would be getting to know too

¹ Later on, men's games were settled for them as well as their trades. In A.D. 1541, the 33 Hen. VIII., cap. 9, § xvi., says,

"Be it also enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no manner of Artificer or Craftsman of any Handicraft or Occupation, Husbandman, Apprentice, Labourer, Servant at Husbandry, Journeyman or Servant of Artificer, Mariners, Fishermen, Watermen or any Serving man, shall from the said feast of the Nativity of St John Baptist play at the Tables, Tennis, Dice, Cards, Bowls, Clash, Coyting, Logating, or any other unlawful Game out of Christmas, under the Pain of xx s. to be forfeit for every Time; (2) and in Christmas to play at any of the said Games in their Master's Houses, or in their Master's Presence; (3) and also that no manner of persons shall at any time play at any Bowl or Bowls in open places out of his Garden or Orchard, upon the Pain for every Time so offending to forfeit vi s. viiii d." (For *Logating*, &c., see Strutt.)

much about wages, and that would be troublesome ; how, lastly, our gangs of children working on our Eastern-counties farms, and our bird-keeping boys of the whole South, can almost match the children of the agricultural labourer of 1388.

The early practice of the Freemasons, and other crafts, refusing to let any member take a bondsman's son as an apprentice, was founded on the reasonable apprehension that his lord would or might afterwards claim the lad, make him disclose the trade-secrets, and carry on his art for the lord's benefit. The fourth of the 'Fyftene artyculus or fyftene poyntus' of the Freemasons, printed by Mr Halliwell (p. 16), is on this subject.

Articulus quartus (MS. Bibl. Reg. 17 A, Art. I., fol. 3, &c.)

The fowrthe artycul thys moste be,
That the mayster hym wel be-se
That he *no bondemon* prentys make,
Ny for no covetyse do hym take ;
For the lord that he ys bond to,
May fache the prentes whersever he go.
3ef yn the logge he were y-take,
Muche desese hyt my3th ther make,
And suche case hyt my3th befalle
That hyt my3th greve summe or alle ;
For alle the masonus that ben there
Wol stonde togedur hol y-fere.
3ef suche won yn that craft schulde dwelle,
Of dyvers desesys 3e my3th telle.
For more 3ese thenne, and of honesté,
Take a prentes of herre ¹ degré.
By olde tyme, wryten y fynde
That the prentes schulde be of gentyl kynde ;
And so sumtyme grete lordys blod
Toke thys gemetry that ys ful good.

I should like to see the evidence of a lord's son having become a working mason, and dwelling seven years with his master 'hys craft to lurne.'

Cathedral Schools. About the pre-Reformation Schools I can find only the extract from Tanner given above, p. xlii. On the post-Reformation Schools I refer readers to Mr Whiston's *Cathedral Trusts*, 1850. He says :

¹ higher.

"The Cathedrals of England are of two kinds, those of the old and those of the new foundation: of the latter, Canterbury (the old archiepiscopal see) and Carlisle, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, and Worcester, old episcopal sees, were A.D. 1541-2 refounded, or rather reformed, by Henry VIII. . . Besides these, he created five other cathedral churches or colleges, in connexion with the five new episcopal sees of Bristol, Chester, Gloucester, Oxford, and Peterborough. He further created the see of Westminster, which was . . . subsequently (A.D. 1560) converted to a deanery collegiate by Queen Elizabeth. . . (p. 6). The preamble of the Act 31 Henry VIII. c. 9, for founding the new cathedrals, preserved in Henry's own handwriting, recites that they were established 'To the intente that Gods worde myght the better be sett forthe, *cyldren broght up in lernynge, clerces nuryshyd in the universities*, olde servantes decayed, to have lyfing, allmes housys for pour folke to be sustayned in, *Reders of grece, ebrew, and latyne to have good stypende*, dayly almes to be mynistrate, mending of hyght wayes, and exhybition for mynisters of the chyrche.' "

"A general idea of the scope and nature of the cathedral establishments, as originally planned and settled by Henry VIII., may be formed from the first chapter of the old statutes of Canterbury, which is almost identical with the corresponding chapter of the statutes of all the other cathedrals of the new foundation. It is as follows :

"On ¹ the entire number of those who have their sustentation (qui sustentantur) in the cathedral and metropolitical church of Canterbury :

"First of all we ordain and direct that there be for ever in our aforesaid church, one dean, twelve canons, six preachers, twelve minor canons, one deacon, one subdeacon, twelve lay-clerks, *one master of the choristers, ten choristers, two teachers of the boys in grammar, one of whom is to be the head master, the other, second master, fifty boys to be instructed in grammar*,² twelve poor men to be maintained at the costs and charges of the said church, two vergers, two subsacrists (*i.e.*, sextons), four servants in the church to ring the bells, and arrange all the rest, two porters, who shall also be barber-tonsors, one caterer,³ one butler, and one under butler, one cook, and one under-cook, who, indeed, in the number prescribed, are to serve in our church every one of them in his own order, according to our statutes and ordinances."

¹ Translated from the Latin copy in the British Museum, MS. Harl. 1197, art. 15, folio 319 b.

² Duodecim pauperes de sumptibus dictæ Ecclesiæ alendi.

³ Duo unus Pincernæ, et unus subpincerna, duo unus cociquus, et unus subcoquus. Sic in MS.

In the Durham statutes, as settled in the first year of Philip and Mary, the corresponding chapter is as follows :

On ¹ the total number of those who have their sustentation (qui sustentantur) in the cathedral church of Durham.

"We direct and ordain that there be for ever in the said church, one dean, twelve prebendaries, twelve minor canons, one deacon, one sub-deacon, ten clerks, (who may be either clerks or laymen,) *one master of the choristers, ten choristers, two teachers of the boys in grammar, eighteen boys to be instructed in grammar*, eight poor men to be maintained at the costs of the said church, two subsacrists, two vergers, two porters, one of whom shall also be barber-tonsor, one butler, one under-butler, one cook, and one under-cook."

"The monastic or collegiate character of the bodies thus constituted, is indicated by the names and offices of the inferior ministers above specified, who were intended to form a part of the establishment of the Common Hall, in which most of the subordinate members, including the boys to be instructed in grammar, were to take their meals. There was also another point in which the cathedrals were meant to resemble and supply the place of the old religious houses, *i. e.*, in the maintenance of a certain number of students at the universities."

R^t. WHISTON, *Cathedral Trusts and their Fulfilment*, p. 2—4.

"The nature of these schools, and the desire to perpetuate and improve them, may be inferred from 'certein articles noted for the reformation of the cathedral church of Excestr', submitted by the commissioners of Henry VIII., unto the correction of the Kynges Majestie,' as follows :

The tenth Article submitted. "That ther may be in the said Cathedral church a free songe scole, the scolemaster to have yerly of the said pastor and prechars xx. marks for his wages, and his howss free, to teache xl. children frely, to rede, to write, synge and playe upon instruments of musike, also to teache ther A. B. C. in greke and hebrew. And every of the said xl. children to have wekely xiid. for ther meat and drink, and yerly vi^s viii^d. for a gowne; they to be bownd dayly to syng *and* rede within the said Cathedral church such divine service as it may please the Kynges Majestie to allowe; the said childre to be at comons alltogether, with three prests hereaffter to be spoke off, to see them well ordered at the meat and to reforme their manners."

Article the eleventh, submitted. "That ther may be a fre grammer scole within the same Cathedral church, the scole-master to have xx^{li}. by yere and his howss fre, the ussher x^{li}. & his howss

¹ MS. No. 688 in Lambeth Library. MS. Harl. cod. 1594, art. 38, in Brit. Mus.

fre, and that the said pastor and prechars may be bound to fynd xl. children at the said grammer scole, giving to every oon of the children xiid. wekely, to go to commons within the citie at the pleasour of the frendes, so long to continew as the scolemaster do se them diligent to lerne. The pastor to appointe viii. every prechar iii. and the scolemaster iii. ; the said childre serving in the said church and going to scole, to be preferred before strangers ; provided always, that no childe be admitted to the exhibicion of the said church, whose father is knowne to be worthe in goodes above ccc^{li}., or elles may dispend above xl^{li}. yerly enheritance."—*Ibid.*, p. 10—12.

"Now £300 at that time was worth about £5,000 now, so that these schools were *designed* for the lower ranks of society, and open to the sons of the poorer gentry.

"An interesting illustration of this [and of the class-feeling in education at this time] is supplied," says Mr Whiston, "by the narrative of what took place—

"when the Cathedral Church of Canterbury was altered from monks to secular men of the clergy, viz. : prebendaries or canons, petty-canons, choristers and scholars. At this erection were present, Thomas Cranmer, archbishop, with divers other commissioners. And nominating and electing such convenient and fit persons as should serve for the furniture of the said Cathedral church according to the new foundation, it came to pass that, when they should elect the children of the Grammar school, there were of the commissioners more than one or two who would have none admitted but sons or younger brethren of gentlemen. As for other, husbandmen's children, they were more meet, they said, for the plough, and to be artificers, than to occupy the place of the learned sort ; so that they wished none else to be put to school, but only gentlemen's children. Whereunto the most reverend father, the Archbishop, being of a contrary mind, said, 'That he thought it not indifferent so to order the matter ; for,' said he, 'poor men's children are many times endued with more singular gifts of nature, which are also the gifts of God, as, with eloquence, memory, apt pronounciation, sobriety, and such like ; and also commonly more apt to apply their study, than is the gentleman's son, delicately educated.' Hereunto it was on the other part replied, 'that it was meet for the ploughman's son to go to plough, and the artificer's son to apply the trade of his parent's vocation ; and the gentleman's children are meet to have the knowledge of government and rule in the commonwealth. For we have,' said they, 'as much need of ploughmen as any other state ; and all sorts of men may not go to school.' 'I grant,' replied the Archbishop, 'much of your meaning herein as needful in a commonwealth ; but yet utterly to exclude the ploughman's son and the poor man's son from the benefits of learning, as though they were unworthy to have

the gifts of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon them as well as upon others, is as much to say, as that Almighty God should not be at liberty to bestow his great gifts of grace upon any person, nor nowhere else but as we and other men shall appoint them to be employed, according to our fancy, and not according to his most goodly will and pleasure, who giveth his gifts both of learning, and other perfections in all sciences, unto all kinds and states of people indifferently. Even so doth he many times withdraw from them and their posterity again those beneficial gifts, if they be not thankful. If we should shut up into a strait corner the bountiful grace of the Holy Ghost, and thereupon attempt to build our fancies, we should make as perfect a work thereof as those that took upon them to build the Tower of Babel ; for God would so provide that the offspring of our first-born children should peradventure become most unapt to learn, and very dolts, as I myself have seen no small number of them very dull and without all manner of capacity. And to say the truth, I take it, that none of us all here, being gentlemen born (as I think), but had our beginning that way from a low and base parentage ; and through the benefit of learning, and other civil knowledge, for the most part all gentlemen ascend to their estate.' Then it was again answered, that the most part of the nobility came up by feats of arms and martial acts. 'As though,' said the Archbishop, 'that the noble captain was always unfurnished of good learning and knowledge to persuade and dissuade his army rhetorically ; who rather that way is brought unto authority than else his manly looks. To conclude ; the poor man's son by pains-taking will for the most part be learned when the gentleman's son will not take the pains to get it. And we are taught by the Scriptures that Almighty God raiseth up from the dunghill, and setteth him in high authority. And whensoever it pleaseth him, of his divine providence, he deposeth princes unto a right humble and poor estate. Wherefore, if the gentleman's son be apt to learning, let him be admitted ; if not apt, let the poor man's child that is apt enter his room.' With words to the like effect."

R. WHISTON, *Cathedral Trusts*, p. 12—14.

The scandalous way in which the choristers and poor boys were done out of their proportion of the endowments by the Cathedral clergy, is to be seen in Mr Whiston's little book.

6. *Endowed Grammar Schools.* These were mainly founded for citizens' and townsmen's children. Winchester (founded 1373) was probably the only one that did anything before 1450 for the education of our gentry. Eton was not founded till 1440. The following list of endowed schools founded before 1545, compiled for me by

Mr Brock from Carlisle's *Concise Description*, shows the dates of all known to him.

BEFORE 1450 A.D.

bef. 1162 Derby. Free School.
 1195 St Alban's. Free Grammar School.
 1198 St Edmund's, Bury. Fr. Sch.
 1328 Thetford. Gr. Sch.
 ? 1327 Northallerton. Gr. Sch.
 1332 Exeter. Gr. Sch.
 1343 Exeter. High School.
 bef. 1347 Melton Mowbray. Schools.
 1373 Winchester College.
 1384 Hereford. Gr. Sch.
 1385 Wotton-under-Edge. Fr. Gr. Sch.
 1395 or 1340 Penrith. Fr. Gr. Sch.
 1399-1413 (Hen. IV.) Oswestry. Fr. Gr. Sch.
 1418 Sevenoaks. Fr. Gr. Sch.
 1422 Higham Ferrers. Fr. Gr. Sch.
 1422-61 (Hen. VI.) Ewelme. Gr. Sch.
 1440 Eton College.
 1447 London. Mercers' School, but founded earlier.

SCHOOLS FOUNDED 1450—1545 A.D.

1461-83 (Edw. IV.) Chichester. The Prebendal School.
 bef. 1477 Ipswich.¹ Gr. Sch.
 1484 Wainfleet. Fr. Gr. Sch.
 1485-1509 (Hen. VII.) or before. Kibroorth, near Market Harborough. Fr. Gr. Sch.
 bef. 1486 Reading. Gr. Sch.
 1486 Kingston upon Hull. Fr. Gr. Sch.

1487 Stockport. Gr. Sch.
 1487 Chipping Campden. Fr. Gr. Sch.
 1491 Sudbury. Fr. Gr. Sch.
 bef. 1495 Lancaster. Fr. Gr. Sch.
 1497 Wimborne Minster. Fr. Gr. Sch.
 time of Hen. VII., 1485-1509 King's Lynn. Gr. Sch.
 1502-52 Macclesfield. Fr. Gr. Sch.
 1503 Bridgenorth. Fr. Sch.
 1506 Brough or Burgh under Stainmore. Fr. Sch.
 1507 Enfield. Gr. Sch.
 1507 Farnworth, in Widnes, near Prescott. Fr. Gr. Sch.
 ab. 1508 Cirencester. Fr. Gr. Sch.
 1509 Guildford. Royal Gr. Sch.
 t. Hen. VIII. 1509-47 Peterborough. Gr. Sch.
 t. Hen. VIII. 1509-47 Basingstoke. Gr. Sch.
 t. Hen. VIII. 1509-47 Plymouth. Gr. Sch.
 t. Hen. VIII. 1509-47 Warwick. College or Gr. Sch.
 t. Hen. VIII. 1509-47 Earl's Colne, near Halsted. Fr. Gr. Sch.
 t. Hen. VIII. 1509-47 Carlisle. Gr. Sch.
 1512 Southover and Lewes. Fr. Gr. Sch.
 1513 Nottingham. Fr. Sch.
 1515 Wolverhampton. Fr. Gr. Sch.
 1517 Aylesham. Fr. Gr. Sch.
 1512-18 London.² St Paul's Sch.

¹ Farewell, in Oxford my college cardynall!

Farewell, in *Ipswich*, my schole gramaticall!

Yet oons farewell! I say, I shall you never see!

Your somptious byldyng, what now avayllethe me?

Metrical Visions [Wolsey.] by George Cavendish, in his *Life of Wolsey*, (ed. Singer, ii. 17). Wolsey's Letter of Directions about his school should be consulted. It is printed.

² Colet's Statutes for St Paul's School are given in Howard Staunton's *Great Schools of England*, p. 179-85.

1520 Bruton or Brewton. Fr. Gr. Sch.	1532 Horsham. Fr. Sch.
ab. 1520 Rolleston, nr. Burton-upon-Trent. Fr. Gr. Sch.	1533 Bristol. City Fr. Gr. Sch.
bef. 1521 Tenterden. Fr. Sch.	ab. 1533 Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Royal Gr. Sch.
1521 Milton Abbas, near Blandford. Fr. Gr. Sch.	ab. 1535 Stoke, near Clare. Fr. Gr. Sch.
1522 Taunton. Fr. Gr. Sch.	1541 Brecknock. Gr. Sch.
1522 Biddenden, near Cranbrook. Free Latin Gr. Sch.	1541 Ely. Fr. Sch.
bef. 1524-5 Manchester. Fr. Gr. Sch.	1541 Durham. Gr. Sch.
1524 Berkhamstead. Fr. Gr. Sch.	1541-2 Worcester. The King's [t. i. Cathedral Grammar] or College School.
1526 Pocklington. Fr. Gr. Sch.	1542 Canterbury. The King's School.
1526 Childrey, near Wantage. Fr. Sch.	1542 Rochester. The King's Sch. ¹
bef. 1528 Cuckfield. Fr. Gr. Sch.	1542 Findon, properly Thingdon, near Wellingborough. Fr. Sch.
1528 Gloucester. Saint Mary de Crypt. Fr. Gr. Sch.	1542 Northampton. Fr. Gr. Sch.
1528 Grantham. Fr. Gr. Sch.	1543 Abergavenny. Fr. Gr. Sch.
1530 Stamford, or Stanford. Fr. Gr. Sch.	1544 Chester. [Cathedral] Gr., or King's School.
1530 Newark-upon-Trent. Fr. Gr. Sch.	1544 Sutton Coldfield. Gr. Sch.
bef. Reform. Norwich. Old Gr. Sch.	bef. 1545 Gloucester. Cathedral [t. i. King's], or College School.
t. Ref. Loughborough. Fr. Gr. Sch.	1545 St Mary of Ottery. Gr. Sch.
	bef. 1547 Wisbech. Gr. Sch.
	bef. 1549 Wellington. Gr. Sch.

About 1174 A.D., Fitzstephen speaks of the London schools and scholars thus :—I use Pegge's translation, 1772, to which Mr Chappell referred me,—

“The three principal churches in London² are privileged by grant and ancient usage with schools, and they are all very flourishing. Often indeed through the favour and countenance of persons eminent in philosophy, more schools are permitted. On festivals, at those churches where the Feast of the Patron Saint is solemnized, the masters convene their scholars. The youth, on that occasion, dispute, some in the demonstrative way, and some logically. These produce their enthymemes, and those the more perfect syllogisms. Some, the better to shew their parts, are exercised in disputation, contending with one another, whilst others are put upon establishing some truth by way of illustration. Some sophists endeavour to apply, on feigned topics, a vast heap and flow of words, others to impose upon you with

¹ ‘That there was a school at Rochester before Henry VIII.'s time is proved by our Statutes, which speak of the *Schola Grammaticalis* as being *ruinosa & admodum deformis*.’ R. Whiston.

² Pegge concludes these to have been St Paul's, Bow, and Martin's le Grand.

false conclusions. As to the orators, some with their rhetorical harangues employ all the powers of persuasion, taking care to observe the precepts of art, and to omit nothing opposite to the subject. The boys of different schools wrangle with one another in verse; contending about the principles of Grammar, or the rules of the Perfect Tenses and Supines. Others there are, who in Epigrams, or other compositions in numbers, use all that low ribaldry we read of in the Ancients; attacking their school-masters, but without mentioning names, with the old Fescennine licentiousness, and discharging their scoffs and sarcasms against them; touching the foibles of their school-fellows, or perhaps of greater personages, with true Socratic wit, or biting them more keenly with a Theonine tooth: The audience, fully disposed to laugh,

‘With curling nose ingeminate the peals.’”

Of the sports of the boys, Fitzstephen gives a long description. On Shrove-Tuesday, each boy brought his fighting cock to his master, and they had a cock-fight all morning in the school-room.¹ After dinner, football in the fields of the suburbs, probably Smithfield. Every Sunday in Lent they had a sham-fight, some on horseback, some on foot, the King and his Court often looking on. At Easter they played at the Water-Quintain, charging a target, which if they missed, souse they went into the water. ‘On holidays in summer the pastime of the youths is to exercise themselves in archery, in running, leaping, wrestling, casting of stones, and flinging to certain distances, and lastly with bucklers.’ At moonrise the maidens danced. In the winter holidays, the boys saw boar-fights, hog-fights, bull and bear-baiting, and when ice came they slid, and skated on the leg-bones of some animal, punting themselves along with an iron-shod pole, and charging one another. A set of merry scenes indeed.

“In general, we are assured by the most learned man of the thirteenth century, Roger Bacon, that there never had been so great an appearance of learning, and so general an application to study, in so many different faculties, as in his time, when schools were erected in every city, town, burgh, and castle.” (Henry’s Hist. of England, vol. iv. p. 472-3.)

In the twenty-fifth year of Henry VI., 1447, four Grammar Schools were appointed to be opened in London² for the education of

¹ The custom of boys bringing cocks to masters has left a trace at Sedburgh, where the boys pay a sum every year on a particular day (Shrove-Tuesday?) as “cock-penny.” Quick.

² On the London Schools, see also Sir George Buc’s short *cap.* 36, “Moore of

the City youth (*Carlisle*). But from the above lists it will be seen that Grammar Schools had not much to do with the education of our nobility and gentry before 1450 A.D.

Of Eton studies, the Paston Letters notice only Latin versifying, but they show us a young man supposed to be nineteen, still at school, having a smart pair of breeches for holy days, falling in love, eating figs and raisins, proposing to come up to London for a day or two's holiday or lark to his elder brother's, and having 8*d.* sent him in a letter to buy a pair of slippers with. William Paston, a younger brother of John's, when about nineteen years old, and studying at Eton, writes on Nov. 7, 1478, to thank his brother for a noble in gold, and says,

"my creanser (creditor) Master Thomas (Stevenson) heartily recommendeth him to you, and he prayeth you to send him some money for my commons, for he saith ye be twenty shillings in his debt, for a month was to pay for when he had money last; also I beseech you to send me a hose cloth, one for the holy days of some colour, and another for working days (how coarse soever it be, it maketh no matter), and a stomacher and two shirts, and a pair of slippers: and if it like you that I may come with Alweder by water"—would they take a pair-oar and pull down? (the figs and raisins came up by a barge;)"—"and sport me with you at London a day or two this term-time, then ye may let all this be till the time that I come, and then I will tell you when I shall be ready to come from Eton by the grace of God, who have you in his keeping." *Paston Letters*, modernised, vol. 2, p. 129.

This is the first letter; the second one about the figs, raisins, and love-making (dated 23 Feb. 1478-9) is given at vol. ii. p. 122-3.

Tusser, who was seized as a Singing boy for the King's Chapel, lets us know that he got well birched at Eton.

"From Paul's I went · to Eton sent
To learn straightways · the Latin phrase
When fifty-three · stripes given to me
At once I had :

other Schooles in London," in his *Third Vniuersitie of England* (t. i. London). He notices the old schools of the monasteries, &c., 'in whose stead there be some few founded lately by good men' as the Merchant Taylors, and Thomas Sutton, founder of the great new Hospitall in the Charter house, [who] hath translated the Tennis court to a Grammar Schoole . . for 30 schollers, poore mens children . . There be also other Triuiall Schooles for the bringing up of youth in good literature, viz., in S. *Magnus*, in S. *Michaels*, in S. *Thomas*, and others.

For fault but small · or none at all
 It come to pass · thus beat I was.
 See, Udall,¹ see · the mercy of thee
 To me poor lad !”

I was rather surprised to find no mention of any Eton men in the first vol. of Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses* (ed. Bliss) except two, who had first taken degrees at Cambridge, Robert Aldrich and William Alley, the latter admitted at Cambridge 1528 (Wood, p. 375, col. 2). Plenty of London men are named in Wood, vol. 1. No doubt in early times the Eton men went to their own foundation, King's (or other Colleges at) Cambridge, while the Winchester men went to their foundation, New College, or elsewhere at Oxford. In the first volume of Bliss's edition of Wood, the following Winchester men are noticed :

p. 30, col. 2, William Grocyn, educated in grammaticals in Wykeham's school near Winchester.

p. 78, col. 2, William Horman, made fellow of New Coll. in 1477.
 Author of the *Vulgaria Puerorum*, &c. (See also Andrew Borde, p. xxxiv, above, note.)

p. 379, col. 2, John Boxall, Fellow of New Coll. 1542.

402, col. 2, Thomas Hardyng „ „ „ 1536.

450, col. 2, Henry Cole „ „ „ 1523.

469, col. 1, Nicholas Saunders „ „ „ 1548.

678, col. 2, Richard Haydock „ „ „ 1590.

That the post-Reformation Grammar Schools did not at first educate as many boys as the old monastic schools is well known. Strype says,

“ On the 15th of January, 1562, Thomas Williams, of the Inner Temple, esq. being chosen speaker to the lower house, was presented to the queen : and in his speech to her . . took notice of the want of schools ; that at least an hundred were wanting in England which before this time had been, [being destroyed (I suppose he meant) by the dissolution of monasteries and religious houses, fraternities and colleges.] He would have had England continually flourishing with ten thousand scholars, which the schools in this nation formerly brought up. That from the want of these good schoolmasters sprang up ignorance : and covetousness got the livings by impropriations ; which was a decay, he said, of learning, and by it the tree of know-

¹ Udall became Master of Eton about 1534.

ledge grew downward, not upward; which grew greatly to the dishonour, both of God and the commonwealth. He mentioned likewise the decay of the universities; and how that great market-towns were without schools or preachers: and that the poor vicar had but 20*l*. [or some such poor allowance,] and the rest, being no small sum, was impropriated. And so thereby, no preacher there; but the people, being trained up and led in blindness for want of instruction, became obstinate: and therefore advised that this should be seen to, and impropriations redressed, notwithstanding the laws already made [which favoured them].—Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 437.

Of the Grammar Schools in his time (A.D. 1577) Harrison says:

Besides these universities, also there are a great number of Grammer Schooles throughout the realme, and those verie liberallie endued for the better relief of pore scholers, so that there are not manie corporate townes, now under the queene's dominion that have not one Gramer Schole at the least, with a sufficient living for a master and usher appointed to the same.

There are in like manner divers collegiat churches, as Windsor, Winchester, Eaton, Westminster (in which I was sometime an unprofitable Grammarian under the reverend father, master Nowell, now dean of Paules) and in those a great number of pore scholers, dailie maintained by the liberality of the founders, with meat, bookes, and apparell; from whence after they have been well entered in the knowledge of the Latine and Greek tonges, and rules of versifying (the triall whereof is made by certain apposers, yearlie appointed to examine them), they are sent to certain especiall houses in each universitie¹, where they are received & trained up in the points of higher knowledge in their privat halls till they be adjudged meet to show their faces in the schooles, as I have said alreadie.

Greek was first taught at a public school in England by Lillye soon after the year 1500. This was at St Paul's School in London, then newly established by Dean Colet, and to which Erasmus alluded as the best of its time in 1514, when he said that he had in three years taught a youth more Latin than he could have acquired in any school in England, *ne Liliانا quidem excepta*, not even Lillye's excepted. (Warton, iii. 1.) The first schoolmaster who stood up for the study of English was, I believe, Richard Mulcaster, of King's College, Cambridge, and Christ Church, Oxford. In 1561 he was appointed the first head-master of Merchant-Taylors School in London, then just founded as a feeder or pro-seminary for St John's

¹ The perversion of these elections by bribery is noticed by Harrison in the former extract from him on the Universities.

College, Oxford (*Warton*, iii. 282). In his *Elementarie*, 1582, he has a long passage on the study of English, the whole of which I print here, at Mr Quick's desire, as it has slipt out of people's minds, and Mulcaster deserves honour for it:—

“But bycause I take vpon me in this *Elementarie*, besides som frindship to secretaries for the pen, and to correctors for the print, to direct such peple as teach childern to read and write English, and the *reading* must nedes be such as the writing leads vnto, thererfor, (*sic*) befor I medle with anie particular precept, to direct the Reader, I will thoroughlie rip vp the hole certaintie of our English writing, so far furth and with such assurance, as probabilitie can make me, bycause it is a thing both proper to my argument, and profitable to my cuntrie. For our naturall tung being as beneficiall vnto vs for our nedefull deliuerie, as anie other is to the peple which vse it: & hauing as pretie, and as fair obseruations in it, as anie other hath: and being as readie to yield to anie rule of Art, as anie other is: why should I not take som pains to find out the right writing of ours, as other cuntrimen haue don to find the like in theirs? & so much the rather, bycause it is pretended, that the writing thereof is meruellous vncertain, and scant to be recouered from extreme confusion, without som change of as great extremitie? I mean therefor so to deall in it, as I maie wipe awaie that opinion of either vncertaintie for confusion, or impossibilitie for direction, that both the naturall English maie haue wherein to rest, & the desirous st[r]anger maie haue whereby to learn. For the performance whereof, and mine own better direction, I will first examin those means, whereby other tungs of most sacred antiquitie haue bene brought to Art and form of discipline for their right writing, to the end that by following their waie, I maie hit vpon their right, and at the least by their president devise the like to theirs, where the vse of our tung, & the propertie of our dialect will not yeild flat to theirs. That don, I will set all the varietie of our now writing, & the vncertaine force of all our letters, in as much certaintie, as anie writing can be, by these seuen precepts,—1. *Generall rule*, which concerneth the propertie and vse of ech letter: 2. *Proportion* which reduceth all words of one sound to the same writing: 3. *Composition*, which teacheth how to write one word made of mo: 4. *Deriuation*, which examineth the ofspring of euerie originall: 5. *Distinction* which bewraieth the difference of sound and force in letters by som writen figure or aceent: 6. *Enfranchisement*, which directeth the right writing of all incorporat foren words: 7. *Prerogative*, which declareth a reseruatioun, wherein common vse will continew hir precèdence in our En[g]lish writing, as she hath don euerie where else, both for the form of the letter, in som places, which likes the pen better: and for the difference in writing, where som particular caueat will chek a common rule. In all these seuen I will so examin the particularities of our tung, as either nothing shall

some strange at all, or if anie thing do some, yet it shall not some so strange, but that either the self same, or the verie like vnto it, or the more strange then it is, shal appear to be in, those things, which ar more familiar vnto vs for extraordinarie learning, then required of vs for our ordinarie vse. And forasmuch as the eie will help manie to write right by a sene president, which either cannot vnderstand, or cannot entend to vnderstand the reason of a rule, therefor in the end of this treatis for right writing, I purpos to set down a generall table of most English words, by waie of president, to help such plane peple, as cannot entend the vnderstanding of a rule, which requireth both time and conceit in perceiuing, but can easilie run to a generall table, which is readier to their hand. By the which table I shall also confirm the right of my rules, that theie hold thoroughout, & by multitude of examples help som maim (*so*) in precepts. Thus much for the right writing of our English tung, which maie some (*so*) for a preface to the principle of *Reading*, as the matter of the one is the maker of the other.—1582. Rich^d. Mulcaster. The First Part of the Elementarie, pp. 53-4.

Brinsley follows Mulcaster in exhorting to the study of English :

“there seemes vnto mee, to bee a verie maine want in all our Grammar schooles generally, or in the most of them ; whereof I haue heard som great learned men to complain ; That there is no care had in respect, to traine vp schollars so as they may be able to expresse their minds purely and readily in our owne tongue, and to increase in the practice of it, as well as in the Latine or Greeke ; whereas our chiefe indeuour should bee for it, and that for these reasons. 1. Because that language which all sorts and conditions of men amongst vs are to haue most vse of, both in speech & writing, is our owne natiue tongue. 2. The purity and elegancie of our owne language is to be esteemed a chiefe part of the honour of our nation : which we all ought to aduance as much as in vs lieth. As when Greece and Rome and other nations haue most florished, their languages also haue beene most pure : and from those times of Greece & Rome, wee fetch our chiefest patterns, for the learning of their tongues. 3. Because of those which are for a time trained vp in schooles, there are very fewe which proceede in learning, in comparison of them that follow other callings.

John Brinsley, *The Grammar Schoole*, p. 21, 22.

His “Meanes to obtaine this benefit of increasing in our English tong, as in the Latin,” are

1. Daily vse of Lillies rules construed.
2. Continuall practice of English Grammaticall translations.
3. Translating and writing English, with some other Schoole exercises.

Ibid., side-notes, p. 22, 23.

On this question of English boys studying English, let it be remembered that in this year of grace 1867, in all England there is

just one public school at which English is studied historically—the City of London School—and that in this school it was begun only last year by the new Head-Master, the Rev. Edwin A. Abbot, all honour to him. In every class an English textbook is read, *Piers Plowman* being that for the highest class. This neglect of English as a subject of study is due no doubt to tutors' and parents' ignorance. None of them know the language historically; the former can't teach it, the latter don't care about it; why should their boys learn it? Oh tutors and parents, there are such things as asses in the world.

Of the school-life of a Grammar-school boy in 1612 we may get a notion from Brinsley's p. 296, "chap. xxx. Of Schoole times, intermissions and recreations," which is full of interest. '1. The Schoole-time should beginne at sixe; all who write Latine to make their exercises which were giuen ouernight, in that houre before seuen'. —To make boys punctual, 'so many of them as are there at sixe, to haue their places as they had them by election¹ or the day before: all who come after six, euery one to sit as he commeth, and so to continue that day, and vntill he recouer his place againe by the election of the fourme or otherwise. . . If any cannot be brought by this, them to be noted in the blacke Bill by a speciall marke, and feele the punishment thereof: and sometimes present correction to be vsed for terrour. . . Thus they are to continue vntill nine [at work in class], signified by Monitours, Subdoctour or otherwise. Then at nine . . . to let them to haue a quarter of an houre at least, or more, for intermission, eyther for breakefast . . . or else for the necessitie of euery one, or their honest recreation, or to prepare their exercises against the Masters comming in. [2.] After, each of them to be in his place in an instant, vpon the knocking of the dore or some other sign . . . so to continue vntill eleuen of the clocke, or somewhat after, to counteruaile the time of the intermission at nine.

(3.) To be againe all ready, and in their places at one, in an instant; to continue vntill three, or halfe an houre after: then to haue another quarter of an houre or more, as at nine for drinking and necessities; so to continue till halfe an houre after foue: thereby in

¹ See p. 273-4, 'all of a fourme to name who is the best of their fourme, and who is the best next him'.

that halfe houre to counteruaile the time at three ; then to end so as was shewed, with reading a peece of a Chapter, and with singing two staues of a Psalme : lastly with prayer to be vsed by the Master.'

To the objectors to these intermissions at nine and three, who may reproach the schoole, thinking that they do nothing but play, Brinsley answers,—' 2. By this meanes also the Schollars may bee kept euer in their places, and hard to their labours, without that running out to the Campo (as the[y] tearme it) at school times, and the manifold disorders thereof ; as watching and striuing for the clubbe,¹ and loytering then in the fields ; some hindred that they cannot go forth at all. (5.) it is very requisite also, that they should have weekly one part of an afternoone for recreation, as a reward of their diligence, obedience and profiting ; and that to be appointed at the Masters discretion, eyther the Thursday, after the vsuall custom ; or according to the best opportunity of the place. . . All recreations and sports of schollars, would be meet for Gentlemen. Clownish sports, or perilous, or yet playing for money, are no way to be admitted.'

On the age at which boys went to school, Brinsley says, p. 9,

"For the time of their entrance with vs, in our countrey schooles, it is commonly about 7. or 8. yeares olde : six is very soone. If any begin so early, they are rather sent to the schoole to keepe them from troubling the house at home, and from danger, and shrewd turnes, then for any great hope and desire their friends haue that they should learne anything in effect."

To return from this digression on Education. Enough has been said to show that the progress of Education, in our sense of the word, was rather from below upwards, than from above downwards ; and I conclude that the young people to whom the *Babees Boke*, &c., were addressed, were the children of our nobility, knights, and squires, and that the state of their manners, as left by their home training, was such as to need the inculcation on them of the precepts contained in the Poems. If so, dirty, ill-mannered, awkward young gawks, must most of these hopes-of-England have been, to modern notions. The directions for personal cleanliness must have been much needed when one considers the small stock of linen and clothes that men not

¹ ? key of the Campo, see pp. 299 and 300, or a club, the holder of which had a right to go out.

rich must have had ; and if we may judge from a passage in Edward the Fourth's *Liber Niger*, even the King himself did not use his footpan every Saturday night, and would not have been the worse for an occasional tubbing :—

“ This barbour shall have, every satyrday at nyght, *if* it please the Kinge to cleanse his head, legges, or feet, and for his shaving, two loves, one picher wyne. And the ussher of chambre ought to testyfy if this is necessarily dispended or not.”

So far as appears from Edward the Fourth's *Liber Niger Domus*, soap was used only for washing clothes. The yeoman lavender, or washer man, was to take from the Great Spicery ‘as muche whyte soape, greye, and blacke, as can be thought resonable by proufe of the Countrollers,’ and therewith ‘tenderly to waysshe . . the stuffe for the Kinges propyr persone’ (*H. Ord.* p. 85) ; but whether that cleansing material ever touched His Majesty's sacred person (except doubtless when and if the barber shaved him), does not appear. The Ordinances are considerate as to sex, and provide for “weomen lavendryes” for a Queen, and further that “these officers oughte to bee sworne to keepe the chambre counsaylle.” But it is not for one of a nation that has not yet taken generally to tubbing and baths, or left off shaving, to reproach his forefathers with want of cleanliness, or adherence to customs that involve contradiction of the teachings of physiologists, and the evident intent of Nature or the Creator. Moreover, reflections on the good deeds done, and the high thoughts thought, by men of old dirtier than some now, may prevent us concluding that because other people now talk through their noses, and have manners different from our own, they and their institutions must be wholly abominable ; that because others smell when heated, they ought to be slaves ; or that eating peas with a knife renders men unworthy of the franchise. The temptation to value manners above morals, and pleasantness above honesty, is one that all of us have to guard against. And when we have held to a custom merely because it is old, have refused to consider fairly the reasons for its change, and are inclined to grumble when the change is carried out, we shall be none the worse for thinking of the people, young and old, who, in the time of Harrison and Shakspeare, the “For-

gotten Worthies"¹ and Raleigh, no doubt 'hated those nasty new oak houses and chimnies,' and sighed for the good old times :

"And yet see the change, for when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oken men ; but now that our houses are come to be made of oke, our men are not onlie beccme willow, but a great manie through Persian delicacie crept in among vs, altogither of straw, which is a sore alteration. . . Now haue we manie chimnies, and yet our tenderlings complaine of rheumes, catarhs and poses. Then had we none but reredosses, and our heads did neuer ake.² For as the smoke in those daies was supposed to be a sufficient hardning for the timber of the house ; so it was reputed a far better medicine to keepe the goodman and his familie from the quack or pose, wherewith as then verie few were oft acquainted." *Harrison*, i. 212, col. 1, quoted by Ellis.

If rich men and masters were dirty, poor men and servants must have been dirtier still. William Langlande's description of Hawkyn's one metaphorical dress in which he slept o' nightes as well as worked by day, beslobbered (or by-moled, bemauled) by children, was true of the real smock ; flesh-moths must have been plentiful, and the sketch of Coveitise, as regards many men, hardly an exaggeration :

. . as a bonde-man of his bacon · his berd was bi-draueled,
With his hood on his heed · a lousy hat above,
And in a tawny tabard · of twelf wynter age
Al so torn and baudy · and ful of lys crepyng,
But if that a lous³ couthe · han lopen the bettre,

¹ See Mr Froude's noble article in *The Westminster Review*, No. 3, July, 1852 (lately republished by him in a collection of Essays, &c.).

² Their eyes must have smarted. The natives' houses in India have (generally) no chimneys still, and Mr Moreshwar says the smoke *does* make your eyes water.

³ Mouffet is learned on the Louse.

"In the first beginning whilest man was in his innocency, and free from wickednesse, he was subject to no corruption and filth, but when he was seduced by the wickednesse of that great and cunning deceiver, and proudly affected to know as much as God knew, God humbled him with divers diseases, and divers sorts of Worms, with Lice, Hand-worms, Belly-worms, others call *Termites*, small Nits and Acares . . a Lowse . . is a beastly Creature, and known better in Innes and Armies then it is wellcome. The profit it bringeth, *Achilles* sheweth, *Iliad* I. in these words : *I make no more of him then I doe of a Lowse* ; as we have an English Proverb of a poor man, *He is not worth a Lowse*. The Lice that trouble men are either tame or wilde ones, those the *English* call *Lice*, and these *Crab-lice* ; the North *English* call them *Pert-lice*, that is, a petulant Lowse comprehending both kindes ; it is a certain sign of misery, and is sometimes the inevitable scourge of

She sholde noght han walked on that welthe · so was it thred-bare.
(*Vision*, Passus V. vol. 1, l. 2859-70, ed. Wright.)

In the *Kinge and Miller*, Percy folio, p. 236, when the Miller proposes that the stranger should sleep with their son, Richard the son says to the King

“Nay, first,” quoth Richard, “good fellowe, tell me true,
hast thou noe creepers in thy gay hose?
art thou not troabled with the Scabbado?”

The colour of washerwomen’s legs was due partly to dirt, I suppose. The princess or queen Clarionas, when escaping with the laundress as her assistant, is obliged to have her white legs reduced to the customary shade of grey:

Right as she should stoupe a-douñ,
The quene was tukked wel on high;
The lauender perceiued wel therbigh
Hir white legges, and seid “ma dame,
Youre shin boones might doo vs blame;
Abide,” she seid, “so mot I thee,
More slotered thei most be.”
Asshes with the water she manged,
And her white legges al be-sprenged.

ab. 1440 A.D., *Syr Generides*, p. 218, ll. 7060-8.

If in Henry the Eighth’s kitchen, scullions lay about naked, or tattered and filthy, what would they do elsewhere? Here is the King’s Ordinance against them in 1526:

God.” Rowland’s *Mouffet’s Theater of Insects*, p. 1090, ed. 1658 (published in Latin, 1634). By this date we had improved. Mouffet says, “These filthy creatures . . . are hated more than Dogs or Vipers by our daintiest Dames,” *ib.* p. 1093; and again, p. 1097, “Cardan, that was a fancier of subtilties, writes that the *Carthusians* are never vexed with Wall-lice, and he gives the cause, because they eat no flesh. . . . He should rather have alledged their cleanliness, and the frequent washing of their beds and blankets, to be the cause of it, which when the *French*, the *Dutch*, and *Italians* do less regard, they more breed this plague. But the English that take great care to be cleanly and decent, are seldom troubled with them.” Also, on p. 1092, he says, ‘As for dressing the body: all *Ireland* is noted for this, that it swarms almost with Lice. But that this proceeds from the beastliness of the people, and want of cleanly women to wash them is manifest, because the English that are more careful to dress themselves, changing and washing their shirts often, having inhabited so long in *Ireland*, have escaped that plague. . . . Remedies. The *Irish* and *Iseland* people (who are frequently troubled with Lice, and such as will fly, as they say, in Summer) anoint their shirts with Saffron, and to very good purpose, to drive away the Lice, but after six moneths they wash their shirts again, putting fresh Saffron into the Lye.’ Rowland’s Mouffet (1634), *Theater of Insects*, p. 1092, ed. 1658.

“And for the better avoydyng of corruption and all uncleannesse out of the Kings house, which doth ingender danger of infection, and is very noisome and displeasent unto all the noblemen and others repaireing unto the same; it is ordeyned by the Kings Highnesse, that the three master cookes of the kitchen shall have everie of them by way of reward yearly twenty marks, to the intent they shall prouide and sufficiently furnish the said kitchens of such scolyons as shall not goe *naked or in garments of such vilenesse as they now doe, and have been acustomed to doe, nor lie in the nights and dayes in the kitchens or ground by the fireside*; but that they of the said money may be found with honest and whole course garments, without such uncleannesse as may be the annoyance of those by whom they shall passe”. . .

That our commonalty, at least, in Henry VIII.'s time did stink (as is the nature of man to do) may be concluded from Wolsey's custom, when going to Westminster Hall, of

“holding in his hand a very fair orange, whereof the meat or substance within was taken out, and filled up again with the part of a sponge, wherein was vinegar, and other confections against the pestilent airs; the which he most commonly smelt unto, passing among the press, or else when he was pestered with many suitors.” (*Cavendish*, p. 43.)

On the dirt in English houses and streets we may take the testimony of a witness who liked England, and lived in it, and who was not likely to misrepresent its condition,—Erasmus. In a letter to Francis, the physician of Cardinal Wolsey, says Jortin,

“Erasmus ascribes the plague (from which England was hardly ever free) and the sweating-sickness, partly to the incommodious form and bad exposition of the houses, to the filthiness of the streets, and to the sluttishness within doors. The floors, says he, are commonly of clay, strewed with rushes, under which lies unmolested an ancient collection of beer, grease (?), fragments, bones, spittle, excrements [t. i. urine] of dogs and cats [t. i. men,] and every thing that is nasty, &c.” (*Life of Erasmus*, i. 69, ed. 1808, referred to in Ellis, i. 328, note.)

The great scholar's own words are,

Tum sola fere sunt argilla, tum scirpis palustribus, qui subinde sic renovantur, ut fundamentum maneat aliquoties annos viginti, sub se fovens sputa, vomitus, mictum canum et hominum, projectam cervisiam, et piscium reliquias, aliasque sordes non nominandas. Hinc mutato cœlo vapor quidam exhalatur, mea sententia minime salubris humano corpori.

After speaking also *De salsamentis* (rendered ‘salt meat, beef,

pork, &c.,' by Jortin, but which *Liber Cure Cocorum* authorises us in translating 'Sauces'¹), *quibus vulgus mirum in modum delectatur*, he says the English would be more healthy if their windows were made so as to shut out noxious winds, and then continues,

"Conferret huc, si vulgo parcior victus persuaderi posset, ac salsamentorum moderatior usus. Tum si publica cura demandaretur Ædilibus, ut viæ mundiores essent a cœno, mictuque: Curarentur et ea quæ civitati vicina sint. *Jortin's Life of Erasmus*, ed. 1808, iii. 44 (Ep. 432, C. 1815), No. VIII. Erasmus Rot. Francisco. Cardinalis Eboracensis Medico, S.

If it be objected that I have in the foregoing extracts shown the dark side of the picture, and not the bright one, my answer is that the bright one—of the riches and luxury in England—must be familiar to all our members, students (as I assume) of our early books, that the Treatises in this Volume sufficiently show this bright side, and that to me, as foolometer of the Society, this dark side seemed to need showing. But as *The Chronicle* of May 11, 1867, in its review of Mr Fox Browne's *English Merchants*, seems to think otherwise, I quote its words, p. 155, col. 2.

"All the nations of the world, says Matthew of Westminster, were kept warm by the wool of England, made into cloth by the men of Flanders. And while we gave useful clothing to other countries, we received festive garments from them in return. For most of our information on these subjects we are indebted to Matthew Paris, who tells us that when Alexander III. of Scotland was married to Margaret, daughter of Henry III., one thousand English knights appeared at the wedding in *cointises* of silk, and the next day each knight donned a new robe of another kind. This grand entertainment was fatal to sixty oxen, and cost the then Archbishop of York no less a sum than 4000 marks. Macpherson remarks on this great display of silk as a proof of the wealth of England under the Norman kings, a point which has not been sufficiently elaborated. In 1242 the streets of London were covered or shaded with silk, for the reception of Richard, the King's brother, on his return from the Holy Land. Few English-

¹ Prof. Brewer says that Erasmus, rejecting the Mediæval Latin and adopting the Classical, no doubt used *salsamenta* in its classical sense of salt-meat, and referred to the great quantity of it used in England during the winter, when no fresh meat was eaten, but only that which had been killed at the annual autumn slaughtering, and then salted down. Stall-fattening not being practised, the autumn was the time for fat cattle. *Salsamentum*, however, is translated in White and Riddle's Dictionary, "A. Fish-pickle, brine; B. Salted or pickled fish (so usually in plural)."

men are aware of the existence of such magnificence at that early period ; while every story-book of history gives us the reverse of the picture, telling us of straw-covered floors, scarcity of body linen, and the like. Long after this, in 1367, it is recorded, as a special instance of splendour of costume, that 1000 citizens of Genoa were clothed in silk ; and this tale has been repeated from age to age, while the similar display, at an earlier date, in England, has passed unnoticed."

Turning at last to notice the several pieces in the present volume, I have only to say of number 1, *The Babees Boke*, that I have not had time to search for its Latin original, or other copies of the text. Its specialty is its attributing so high birth to the Bele Babees whom it addresses, and its appeal to Lady Facetia to help its writer. Of the short alphabetic poems that follow,—*The A B C of Aristotle*, Nos. 2 and 3,—copies occur elsewhere ; and that in Harl. MS. 1304, which has a different introduction, I hope to print in the companion volume to this, already alluded to. No. 4, *Vrbanitatis*, I was glad to find, because of the mention of *the booke of urbanitie* in Edward the Fourth's *Liber Niger* (p. ii. above), as we thus know what the Duke of Norfolk of "Flodden Field" was taught in his youth as to his demeanings, how mannerly he should eat and drink, and as to his communication and other forms of court. He was not to spit or snite before his Lord the King, or wipe his nose on the table-cloth. Nos. 5 and 6, *The Lytylle Chyldrenes Lytil Boke or Edyllys Be*¹ (a title made up from the text) and *The Young Children's Book*, are differing versions of one set of maxims, and are printed opposite one another for contrast sake. *The Lytil Boke* was printed from a later text, and with an interlinear French version, by Wynkyn de Worde in '*Here begynneth a lytell treatyse for to lerne Englisshe and Frensshe.*' This will be printed by Mr Wheatley in his Collection of Early Treatises on Grammar for the Society, as the copy in the Grenville Library in the Brit. Mus. is the only one known. (By the way, what member will find some additional tracts for this volume ? There must be some lying about somewhere.)

¹ What this *Edyllys Be* means, I have no idea, and five or six other men I have asked are in the same condition. A.S. *æpel* is noble, *æpelung*, a prince, a noble ; that may do for *edyllys*. *Be* may be for A B C, alphabet, elementary grammar of behaviour.

Other copies of this *Lytil Boke* are at Edinburgh, Cambridge, and Oxford. Of two of these Mr David Laing and Mr Henry Bradshaw have kindly given me collations, which are printed at the end of the Prefaces here. Of No. 7, *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, attributed to Lydgate—as nearly everything in the first half of the 15th century was—I have printed two copies, with collations from a third, the Jesus (Cambridge) MS. printed by Mr Halliwell in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, v. 1, p. 156-8, and reprinted by Mr W. C. Hazlitt in his *Early Popular Poetry*, ii. 23-8. Mr Hazlitt notices 3 other copies, in Harl. MS. 4011, fol. 1, &c.; Lansdowne MS. 699; and Additional MS. 5467, which he collated for his text. There must be plenty more about the country, as in Ashmole MS. 61, fol. 16, back, in the Bodleian.¹ Of old printed editions Mr Hazlitt notes one “from the press of Caxton, but the only copy known is imperfect. It was printed two or three times by Wynkyn de Worde. Lowndes mentions two, 1518, 4to, and 1524, 4to; and in the public library at Cambridge there is said by Hartshorne (*Book Rarities*, 156) to be a third without date. It is also appended to the various impressions of the *Boke of Nurture* by Hugh Rhodes.” This is printed below, and its *Stans Puer* is Rhodes’s own expansion of one of these shorter versions of the original Latin² (Part II. p. 30). No. 8 is an incomplete poem on Manners from the Lambeth MS. 853. Nos. 9 and 10 are short bits that Mr W. Aldis Wright was kind enough to send me. Of the latter of these Mr Thomas Wright says, “The verses at the bottom of p. 35, ‘with this bytel,’ &c., belong to a medieval story, which you will find, with the verses, in my ‘Latin Stories’ (printed for the Percy Society), pp. 28, 29. It is, in fact, the same story as King Lear and his Daughters. You will find more about it in the note at the end of my volume, and another copy of the verses.”

No. 11, *The Good Wyf*, is a mother’s advice to her daughter as to her behaviour generally, her choice of a husband, and the management of her household. It bears trace of the greater freedom of action allowed to women in early times than now, a freedom shown

¹ P.S. Mr Hazlitt, iv. 366, notices two others in MS. Ashmole 59, art. 57, and in Cotton MS. Calig. A. II. fol. 13, the latter of which and Ashmole 61, are, he says, of a different translation.

² See Hazlitt, iv. 366.

in Langlande's 'Cesse the souteresse' and 'Rose the dyssheres' in the celebrated alehouse scene (*Vision of Piers Pl.*), in Chaucer's Wif of Bathe, in women's membership of gilds, &c. The injunction not to get drunk *often*, as that would be shameful (l. 39), is a sign of the times. And the advice to the girl to scorn no wooer, whatsoever he might be (ll. 32-3), looks as if husbands were as scarce an article then as they are now. In 1838, Sir Frederic Madden printed a few copies of this poem for private distribution from a Henry the Sixth MS., which contained 35 stanzas against our 31, but the text is inferior to our Lambeth one, especially in the tags of the stanzas. This text Mr Hazlitt reprinted in the 1st volume of his most interesting collection of *Early Popular Poetry* (4 vols. J. R. Smith, £1), and I have not collated it with the text printed in the present collection, because Mr Hazlitt's volumes should be in all our members' hands. The Trinity College (Cambridge) MS. of the poem, Mr Aldis Wright has kindly collated with our text, in the notes to it. Another version of it, different in almost every stanza, is in the Porkington MS. No. 10, and this I hope to print for the Society some day or other. Mr Lumby will, I believe, print yet another version for us this year from the *Lancelot-of-the-Laik* MS.; and a MS. also containing the poem, Ashmole 61, fol. 7, has not been examined for or by me. Lastly, Mr Hazlitt notes that a poor copy of the text was printed in 1597 (in 33 stanzas) under the title of *The Northern Mothers Blessing. The Way of Thrift*¹. *Written nine years before the death of G. Chaucer.* This latter date is possible, for I feel certain that all the copies above mentioned are but variations from some original type that has not yet turned up. The *Good Wijf* contains an odd instance of how even good editors are sometimes thrown off the scent. In it occurs the proverb, "aftir þe wrenne haþ veynes, Men must lete hir blood," that is, bleed her according to her tiny veins, or as we say, 'cut your coat according to your cloth,' spend according to your income.² On this Proverb in his Text, Mr Hazlitt says (*Early Popular Poetry*, vol. i. p. 187),

¹ This is a separate poem which I shall print. The vol. is 238 a. 13, in Brit. Mus.

² Cp. 'Ask your purse what you should buy'; 'Ken when to spend and when to spare, and ye needna be busy, and ye'll ne'er be bare,' from *Hislop*.

“The edition of 1597 reads:—

‘After the wren has veines men may let blood.’

That is to say, at that season of the year when the young bird is of a certain growth, men shall, if they require it, undergo cupping! In the MS., and in the edition of 1838 (Sir Frederic Madden’s,) on the contrary, the line runs thus:—

‘For aftir the wrenne hath veynes, men schalle late HIR blode.’

Sir Frederic Madden could make nothing of this passage¹, and in his Preface he expressly says that ‘the researches made for this purpose [the illustration of it] have not proved successful.’ It appears to me that the sense is figurative, and that what the author intended to convey was, that as soon as a person becomes full of substance, the world will fleece him or her, if he or she does not exercise vigilance. This construction is borne out completely by the context.”

—(“Which seems to indicate that the writer . . . missed the point.” *Hazlitt*, p. 183, n. 4. See too the *way-goose* note on ‘away goes,’ iv. 124.)

No. 12, *How the Wise Man tauȝt his Sonne*, is the parallel of *The Good Wife*, is shorter than it, and written with less go and less detail. The advice about choosing a wife is extremely good, the way to treat her very judicious,—

. . . softe & faire a man may tame
Boþe herte and hynde, bucke & do,—

as is also the counsel not to be too hasty to fight and chide every one she complains of.² That ladies had a supply of pepper sauce on hand for servants (and husbands doubtless) as well as fresh salmon and lamprey (Part II. p. 45), we may gather from Wynkyn de Worde’s warning to his Carver, “ladyes wyll soone be angry, for theyr thoughtes ben soone changed” (p. 279). In one point the *Wise Man* was a degenerate Englishman. The Toulmin Smith of his time would have rebuked him severely for advising his son (in lines 41-8, p. 49) to shirk his share of the work that in this self-governing land should have been his pride, because he must thereby displease his

¹ ? Sir Frederic says only, “One expression would seem to require illustration,—*Aftir the wrenne hathe veynes, men schalle late hir blode*,—but the researches made for this purpose have not proved successful. Could this phrase be found still in existence, it might perhaps afford reasonable grounds for localising the poem.”

² The Cambridge MS. that Mr Hazlitt prints has a reason (not in our text) for the probable injustice of the wife’s complaints,

For wemen yn wrethe, they can not hyde,
But sone they reyse a smokei rofe.—(p. 174, l. 120.)

neighbours or forswear himself, and get more ill-will than thanks. "England expects every man to do his duty" was not the Wise Man's sentiment. Ritson printed *The Wise Man* in his *Pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry*, 1791, p. 83-91, from the Harleian MS. 4596;¹ and Mr Hazlitt printed it in his *Early Popular Poetry*, vol. i. p. 169-77, from the Cambridge MS. Ff. ii. 38 (or MS. More 690). The Cambridge text is a later and longer one than the Lambeth copy in this volume, of which Mr Hazlitt did not know, and contains 188 lines to our 152, the chief expansions being about a man's duty to his wife; that he should not be jealous, as that'll make her worse; should treat her 'as reson ys,' and that he should not beat her. Resort to common women is also condemned; and the arrangement of the stanzas is much altered. Mr Hazlitt gives no reason for his statement that "the success and reputation" of *The Wise Man* led, possibly at no great interval, to the production of "How the Goode Wif thaught hir Doughter." Imitations do not often beat originals, and *The Good Wife* is the better poem.² The text printed by Mr Hazlitt looks to me like an altered copy of the original poem, with a proverb in the first stanza imitated from *The Good Wife*. Still it is possible that the original of *The Wise Man* was the earlier poem, for in the *Luytel Caton* in the Vernon MS. (ab. 1375 A.D.), in Latin, French, and English,—about to be edited for us by Mr Brock,—occur these lines,

Now hose wole, he may here
In Englisch langage,
How þe wyse mon tauhte his sone
þat was of tendere age.

The Vernon version differs widely from the later ones printed by Mr Hazlitt and here, but, as their precursor, may have been earlier than the original of *The Good Wife*. The advice to the boy on his amusements is,

¹ 1596 he calls it. Mr Hazlitt corrects him.

² So in 1570-6 it is ladies first, *place aux dames*. '1570-1. Rd of Ryc. Jounes, for his lycense for pryntinge of a ballett of the comly behavyour for Ladyes and gentlewomen, iiij^d.' *Collier's Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company*, ii. 15. 'xviij^h die Julii, 1576. Ric Jones. Receyved of him, for his lycense to ymprinte a booke intituled how a younge gentleman may behave him self in all cumpanies, &c. viij^d, and a copie.'

Take a Toppe, 3if þou wolt pleye,
And not at þe hasardrye.

Vernon MS., fol. 310, col. 1, bottom.

Nos. 13 and 16 are just a page each of Recipes of dishes mentioned in this volume, to fill up blanks. No. 13 is an English *Dietorie*, and No. 14 its Latin original. 'Clear air and walking make good digestion' is a good maxim; 'to poor folk do thou no violence,' one needed, with its companion

To visite þe poore do þi diligence,
And on þe needi haue compassioun,
For good deedis causiþ mirþe in conscience,
And in heuene to haue greet possessioun.

A list of some of the other MSS. of the *Pcem* is given at the foot of p. 58.

After the Recipes No. 16, come Hugh Rhodes's *Boke of Nurture*, and John Russell's *Boke of Nurture* with its accompanying illustrative notes and Treatises. Each of these Bokes has its separate Preface, as beforesaid, and to them I refer the reader; only advising him to read Russell's text.

As to the Second Part of this volume, which contains a few French and Latin Poems on the same subjects of Manners and Meals as the English Poems of the First Part, and in illustration of them, I am not prepared to contend that French and Latin are Early English, but having broken the ice by printing the original Latin of two English Poems in the First Part opposite their translations, and being unable to give the Latin original of *Stans Puer* opposite the English versions of it, because there were two of them, I was obliged to put this Latin into an Appendix or Part II. There was another short poem in the same MS. that it would have been a shame to leave out; and then came a most obliging and kind tempter in the person of Mr Thomas Wright, with a very interesting short volume of French Poems on Manners, edited by his late friend M. de Monmerqué, and with a reference to a Latin *Modus Cenandi* that might be the original of everything of the kind in French and English. What could one do but yield and be thankful? However, punishment came for one's wandering from the paths of virtue and Early English, for that *Modus Cenandi* turned out to be no end of a plague; in

many places a corrupt text, written on very thin vellum, through which the ink of one side showed on the other, and both sides had faded. The consequence was, that after troubling Mr Brock and Mr T. Wright, and getting all that was gettable out of them, I was obliged to have recourse to the officers of the MS. Department in the Museum and worry them. Mr Scott kindly gave up much time to the difficult places, but some of them have beaten even him. Professor Seeley has been good enough to give me a literal English translation of the Latin pieces in Part II., but has often had to guess instead of translate. Monsieur Michelant, of the Imperial Library, courteously sent me the first French Poem in the same Part. Without the help of the gentlemen above named I could have made nothing of this Part II., and to them all I am greatly indebted. The ready way in which help is given to one, whenever it is asked for, is one of the pleasantest incidents of one's work.

It only remains for me to say that the woodcuts at the end of the book cost the Society nothing; that the freshness of my first interest in the poems which I once hoped to re-produce in these Forewords, has become dulled by circumstances and the length of time that the volume has been in the press—it having been set aside (by my desire) for the *Ayenbite*, &c.;—and that the intervention of other work has prevented my making the collection as complete as I had desired it to be. It is, however, the fullest verse one that has yet appeared on its subject, and will serve as the beginning of the Society's store of this kind of material.¹ If we can do all the English part of the work, and the Master of the Rolls will commission one of his Editors to do the Latin part, we shall then get a fairly complete picture of that Early English Home which, with all its shortcomings, should be dear to every Englishman now.

3, *St George's Square, N. W.*,

5th June, 1867.

¹ If any member or reader can refer me to any other verse or prose pieces of like kind, unprinted, or that deserve reprinting, I shall be much obliged to him, and will try to put them in type.

PREFACE TO RHODES.

KING Edward the Fourth had in 1461-82 A.D. "Chapleynes and Clerkes of the Chapell, XXVI, by the King's choyce or by the deane his election or denomination, of men of worshipp, endowed with vertuouse morall and speculatiff, as of theyre musike, shewing in descant, clene voysted, well releesed and pronouncynge, eloquent in reding, sufficiaunt in organes pleyng, and modestiall in all other manner of behaving¹". Such a one, I doubt not, was Hewe Rodes of the Kinges Chappell before 1554, the author of the Boke of Nurture first following², a Devonshire worthy of Henry VIII's time, much impressed with the duty of teaching Children, Masters and Servants, Young and Old, the way they should go and the good manners they should use, a very Polonius in his overflow of saws and precepts, but alas a man who had to declare of his acquaintance and friends,

In all my lyfe I could scant fynde
One wight true and trusty.

From his care for children, I should like to suppose Rodes to have been Master of the young people who in his sovereign's time represented Edward's "Children of Chapell, VIII, founden by the King's Jewel-house for all thinges that belongeth to thayre apparayle, by the handes or oversight of the Deane, or by the maistyr of songes assigned to teche them; which maister is apoynted by the seyd

¹ *Household Ordinances*, p. 50.

² Page 61, below.

Dean, and chosen one of the numbyr of the seyd felyshypp of chapell. And he to drawe these chyldren, as well in the schoole of facet¹, as in songe, organes, or suche other vertuous thinges." But there seems to be little chance of squeezing our author in between William Crane, who we know was Henry the Eighth's Master of the Children up to A.D. 1541² (and, no doubt, beyond), and Richard Bowyer, who was their Master in 1548.³ We may, however, glean something of the position in society, the pay and food, of both the Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel in Rhodes's time, and this I proceed to do.

Unluckily there is no full account of the members or duties of Henry the Eighth's 'Chapell,' in the Ordinances made at Eltham, A.D. 1526; but in the table of Wages and Fees, p. 169-70, the members are mentioned thus :

¹ Fr. *Facet*, A Primmer, or Grammer for a yong scholler. Cotgrave.

² In the Arundel MS. No. 67, Plut. clxiii F, the book of Henry VIII.'s Household Expenses for the 29-33 years of his reign, Crane is still Master. Payments for the Children occur at fol. 144, l. 37; fol. 159 b, fol. 164 b, l. 20; fol. 175, l. 1 ("in Febr., Anno xxxij° [A.D. 1541] Item for the children of the chapelle, bourdwages, xxvj s. viij d."); and at fol. 164 b, l. 22, is an entry of a New Year's gratuity to Crane of £6. 13s. 4d. "Rewardes geven on Saterday, New-yeres day at Hamptoncourte, Anno xxxij°, " [A.D. 1541.] . . . "Item, for Wm. Crane for playenge before the King with the children of the Chappelle, in rewarde, vi. li. viij s. iiij d." Compare Lord Percy's like payments, p. xxi, below. Among these "Newyeres Rewardes" is one that the future editor of our Alexander Romances should notice, "Item to Anthony Tote *servaunt* that brought the king a table of the storye of kinge Alexander vj s. viij d." The Christmas and New Year presents to the King, mentioned in this MS. and the one that Nicolas printed, are curious.

³ To Dr Rimbault's kindness I owe the following list of

Masters of the Children of the Royal Chapel.

	A.D.		A.D.
Henry Abingdon . . .	1467	Richard Bowyer . . .	1548
Gilbert Banastre . . .	1482	Richard Edwards . . .	1561
William Cornish . . .	1492	William Hunnis . . .	1567
Clement Adams . . .	1516	John Hunnis . . .	1572
William Crane . . .	1526	Nathaniel Giles . . .	1598

Sir H. Nicholas, in his *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, p. 85, col. 2, says, In the act of Resumption, 13 Edw. IV, Henry Abingdon was protected in the enjoyment of 40 marks per annum, which had been granted him in May, 5 Edw. IV, "for the fyndyng instruction and governaunce of the Children of the Chapell of oure Housholde."—*Rot. Parl.* v. 594; vi. 86. In the act of Resumption, of the 22 Edw. IV, Gilbert Banestre was protected in the enjoyment of the same salary for "their exhibition, instruction and governaunce."—*Ibid.* vi. 200.

Chappell and Vestry.

The Dean to eate with Mr Treasurer, or Mr Comptroller.

Gentlemen of the Chapell.

	℥.	§.	ḡ.
Master of the Children, for his wages and board-wages	30	0	0
Gospeller, for wages	13	6	8
Epistoller	13	6	8
Verger	20	0	0
Yeomen of the Vestry	{ 10	0	0
	{ 10	0	0
Children of the Chappell, ten	56	13	4

The Chaplains were not, I assume, boarded in the Court, or at the King's cost, and are therefore not mentioned in the list. Besides their wages, the Gentlemen of the Chappell, no doubt, had regularly a New Yeres Rewarde, like the other of the Royal servants. In the Arundel MS., No. 67, above cited, we find at fol. 164, back, this gift to them in 1541, "Item to y^e gentilmen of the chappelle for y^{eir} peynes takinge, xiiij l. vj s. viij d." And in July, 1531, in Henry's Household Expenses (ed. Nicolas) is an entry, "Item the same [xxvj] daye paied to the dean of the Chapell for the kinges rewarde to the Chapell men xl s." Besides this they would share in the annual Chapel Feast, for which these payments appear in Nicolas's Hd. Expenses of Hen. VIII. "Item the vj daye [of Aug. 1530] paied to the dean of the Chapell for the chappelle feaste xl s. Item the xj daye [of Aug. 1532] paied to maister dean of the kinges Chapell the olde ordinary rewarde for the Chapell feaste xl s." The allowances of the Gentlemen of the Chappell for board-wages are stated in *H. Ord.*, p. 212, in the Increase of Charges in the Household, given in the "Additions to the Ordinances made at Eltham."

"ITEM, that the Kings Majesties pleasure was declared the 28th day of Aprill, in the 36th. yeare of his most gracious Reigne [A.D. 1544] at St. James's, by the mouth of the Lord Great Master and Mr Comptroller, that the *Gentlemen of the Chappell*, Gospeller, Epistoller, and Serjeant of the vestry, shall have from the last day of March forward, for their board-wages, everie of them 12ḡ per

diem : and the Yeomen and Groomes of the Vestry, everie of them 6*d* per diem ; and twelve children of the chappell, everie of them 2*s*. by the weeke."

And in a prior page (*H. Ord.* p. 208) we are informed that a daily mess of meat was subsequently given to them :

"ITEM, the King's pleasure was declared by the mouth of the Lord Great Master at Greenwich, the 14th. day of June, in the 36th. yeare of his Graces reigne, after the accompt of his household, that James Hill and his fellows, *Gentlemen Singers*, shall have dayly from the kitchen, one messe of grosse meate, and from all other Officers like Bouche of Court among them as the Physicions ; and att every removeing, allowance of a Cart for the carriage of their stuff."

Now the *Physicions* in 1526 were Doctor Chamber and Doctor Butts, and in the list of "The Ordinary of the King's Chamber which have Bouche of Court, and also their Dietts within the Court" (*H. Ord.* p. 166), these Physicians are put above 'the Apothecary, and The three Chirurgions, every of them, and Edmond Harmond, and Phillip,' who had the care of the children¹; whence we may infer the social rank of our Gentlemen Singers or Gentlemen of the Chappell,—that ancient and honourable estate of the realm,²—above the Surgeons, Apothecaries, and Barbers, but below the Physicians. This assumes that the above-mentioned grant of a Bouche of Court equal to that of the Physicians, raised the Gentle-

¹ See *H. Ord.*, p. 192. Edmond Harman was one of the "Barbours" at £20 a year (*H. Ord.*, p. 166 and p. 169). I suppose he had the general household charge of the Children ; Crane, the education of them. (The present Children live in Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, with the Rev. Mr Helmore.) The charge of their Dietts yearly was at first, in 1526, Edmond Harmond, Phillip, and the children, £70. 10*s*. 0¼*d*., *H. Ord.*, p. 192 ; but in 1539 their allowance was increased :—"Item, The charge of one messe of meate served to Edmond Harmon, Phillip and the children, by the commandment of Mr Comptroller at Hampton Court, 20th. day of June, Anno 31, £35. 5*s*. 0¼*d*." ; and again in 1542 "the King's pleasure is declared by the mouth of Mr Phillip Hobby (? Sir Phillip Hobby, Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber, p. 169) unto the Lord Great Master, the 17th day of January, in the 33^d yeare of his reigne at Westminster, that the children that be in the keeping of Philip and Edmond Harmon to be served with one messe of meate, like unto the other messe they had before." *H. Ord.*, p. 208.

² Mr Thoms mentions among its members, Richard Farrant, Thomas Bird (father of the celebrated William Bird), Thomas Tallis, William Hynnes, Henry Lawes (who composed the Coronation Anthem, and was the friend of Milton), Thomas Purcell, the uncle of the great composer, &c.—*Book of the Court* [from Hawkins].

men of the Chappell nearly to the Physicians' level. As to their dinner, I assume from the way in which 'messe of meate' is used in the Ordinances, p. 185, that the 'one messe of grosse meate' allowed to the Gentlemen of the Chappell, meant nearly the same as the 'Diett for the Phisitions and Chirurgions' given at p. 178 of *Household Ordinances*, which cost by the yeare, everie messe, £66. 7s. 5½d. for the Kings Highnesse and his side (p. 192), or £66. 7s. 6½d. for the Queenes Grace and her side (p. 193). Here it is:

"Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday, Monday, and Wednesday.

Dyner.					Souper.						
		ð		ð			ð		ð		
Bread, Cheate and Manchett	}	4	2	2 4	2	Bread, Cheat & Manchett	}	4	2 4	2	
Ale,		2 gal.'	3	2 gal'	3	Ale		2 gall'	3	2 gall'	3
Wyne,		qrt'	1½	qrt'	1½	Wyne		qrt'	1½	qrt'	1½
Beef,		1 mess	6	1 mess	6	Mutton,	}	2		2	
Mutton,		1	2	1	2	boyled		messes	6	messes	6
Veale,		1	3	1	3	and rost					
Pigg, Goose,		1	2	1	2	Henne, Lambe		1	2	1	2
Baked Meate,		1	5			Doulcetts		1	3		
Lambe, Chick,		1	3	1	3	Chickens or	}	1	2	1	3
Fruite,		1	2	1	2	Pegions					
Butter,			1		1	Fruite		1	2	1	2
Summe of the diner 4s 4					4s 0	Sum of the supper					3s. 8d.

Fryday Dynner.

	ð		ð
Cheat and Manchett }	4	2	
Ale	2 gall'	3	
Wyne	qrt'	1½	
Lyng	1 mess	2	
Place	1	5	
Haddock	1	3	
Smelts	1	2	
Fruit	1	2	
Sum		20½	

Saturday Dinner.

	ð		ð	
—	4	2	4	2
—	2 gall'	3	2 gall'	3
—	qrt'		1½ qrt'	1½
—	1 mess	2	1 mess	2
—	1	5	1	5
—	1	3	1	3
—	1	2	1	2
—	1	2	1	2
		20½		20½

Sum	By the day	0	3	7½
	By the weeke	1	5	5½
	By the yeare	66	1	5½

The Queen's Phisition and Apothecary, one messe of the like Fare."

The only distinction between the Phisition and Chirurgion here is, that the former got five penny-worth of Baked Meate or Pie at dinner, and three pen'orth of Doulcetts (see "Russell's Boke of Nurture, p. 146) at supper, more than the Chirurgion. If then the Gentlemen of the Chappell came between the two, how would the Clerk to the Kychyn mark the difference, I wonder? Give them Conies, 1 mess, 2½d. (*H. Ord.*, p. 181), or Egges, 2½d. (p. 178), for their voices at the one; or an extra quart of wine or gallon of Ale, 1½d. (*ib.* p. 191) at the other, to cheer them up before going to bed? Who shall say?

The Gentlemen-of-the-Chappell's 'Bouche of Court as the Physicians' from the officers other than those of the Kitchen, is stated at p. 163-4 of *Household Ordinances*:

"GENTLEMEN USHERS OF THE PRIVY CHAMBER, AND GENTLEMEN USHERS DAYLY WAYTERS; FOR THE KING AND THE QUEENES PHISITIONS, AND CLERKES OF THE SPICERY.

"Every of them being lodged within the court, after supper, one chet loafe, one gallon of ale, one quart of wyne; and from the last day of October unto the first day of Aprill, by the weeke two lynckes, by the day one sise, four white lights, four talshides, four faggotts, and and from the last day of March unto the first day of November, to have the moyety of the said waxe, white lights, wood and coales; which amounteth to the sume of viii*l.* v s. ob. q.¹

This Bouche of Court, the reader will perceive, was a daily allowance of lights and fuel, and also of bread, ale, and wine, for a nightcap before going to bed, and perhaps for breakfast next morning. That some extra food was wanted will be acknowledged when the times for dinner and supper are stated. *H. Ord.*, p. 151,

"DYNNER AND SUPPER IN THE HALL TO BE KEPT AT HOWRES CERTAINE.

Cap. 44 . . it is ordeyned that the household, when the hall is kept, shall observe times certeyne for dynner and souper, as followeth; that is to say, the first dynner in eating dayes to begin at tenn of the

¹ At p. 210 of *Household Ordinances*, seemingly in the year 1544, the cost of the Surgeons' Bouche is entered, "Item, the Bouch of Court served for two Surgeons, everie of them at £6 13s. 0¾d. by the yeare, *per mandatum Domini Thesaurarii*, 21^o die Martis £13 6s. 1d." This would give a Gentleman of the Chappell about £1. 12s. a year more than a Surgeon. The Apothecary's Bouche in 1526 was only iii*l.* xii s. i d. ob. q. (*H. Ord.*, p. 163).

clock, or somewhat afore ; and the first supper at foure of the clock on worke dayes ; and on holy dayes, the first dynner to begin after the King be gone to the chappel, to his divine service, and likewise at souper.

Cap. 45. And at such time as the Kings hall is not kept, the service for dynner, as well in the King and Queen's chambers, as in all other places of the house where any allowance of meate is had, to be observed at one certaine and convenient houre ; that is to say, for dinner at eleven of the clock before noone, or neere thereupon, and for supper at six of the clock at afternoon, or neere thereupon ; not tarrying nor digressing from this order for the Kings highnesse, nor for such as shall attend upon his Grace in his disporte or otherwise."

Evidently, if Hewe Rodes followed his own precept to rise at six of the clock (p. 72, l. 61, below), he would need some of his bouche of Court before ten or eleven, to stay his stomach.

This, then, is all I can find with regard to the status and diet of our author. Of the duties of him and his fellow-gentlemen, the Ordinances give us only the following information, p. 160, that whenever the King

"shall lye in his castle of Windsor, his mannors of Bewlye, Richmond, and Hampton Court, Greenwich, Eltham or Woodstock, his hall shall be ordinarily kept and contynued ; unlesse than for any reasonable cause by his Grace to be approved, it shall be thought otherwise expedient ; and at all such tymes of keeping the said hall, the King's noble chappell to be kept in the same place, for the administration of divine service, as apperteyneth.

"Cap. 78. Nevertheless, forasmuch as it is goodly and honourable, that there should be allwayes some divine service in the court, whereby men might be elected unto the devotion, and that it would not only be a great annoyance, but also excessive labour, travell, charge, and paine, to have the King's whole chappell continually attendant upon his person, when his grace keepeth not his hall, and specially in rideing journeys and progresses ; it is for the better administration of divine service ordeyned, that the master of the children, and six men, with some officers of the vestry, shall give their continuall attendance in the King's court, and dayly, in absence of the residue of the chappell, to have a masse of our Lady before noone, and on sundayes and holydayes, masse of the day, besides our Lady masse, and an antheme in the afternoone ; for which purpose no great carriage, either of vestments or bookes, shall be required : the said persons to have allowance of board wages, or bouch of court, with lodgeing in or neere to the same, and convenient carriage ; as in such case hath been accustomed."

Assuming, then, as certain, that the business of Hewe Rodes's

life was to assist in "the administration of divine service,"¹ and as possible, that he further taught the ten Children of the Chappell their grammar, "songe, organes, or suche other vertuous thinges," we need not wonder that he who had experienced the change from Devonshire manners to courtly ones should have desired to impress on others the lessons he had learnt himself, and lay down, at parson length, the maxims that he had drawn from his own experience and the sayings of the wise men of the Court. What manner of man he himself was he does not tell us. The only allusion he makes to his art is

A tendable seruaunt standeth in fauour / for his auawntage
Promoted shal he be in offyce or fe / the easier to lyue in age
Vse honest pastyme, talke or *synge*, or *some instrument vse*
Though they be thy betters, they wyll not the refuse.

Whether he was in youth a Chorister, impressed for the service² and forced from his home and school like Tusser was—

There for my voice, I must (no choice)
Away of force, like posting horse;
For sundry men had placards then
Such child to take.

Tusser, *Author's Life*, in Thoms's *Book of the Court*, p. 381
(from Hawkins, ii. 526, iii. 466)—

we do not know; nor does he tell us whether as a child of the

¹ It was not until the reign of Henry VIII. that the duties of the Chapel Royal were performed at St James's Palace, which was first built by that monarch. Thoms.

² See Henry VI.'s precept dated 1454, authorizing this measure, in Rymer's *Fœdera*, says Thoms. (Hawkins refers to Strype, *Mem. Eccl.*, v. ii. p. 538-9, for the authority to seize children in Edward the Sixth's time.)

I find the following as to how Henry VI. supplied himself with Minstrels.

De Ministrallis propter Solatium Regis providendis (A.D. 1456, an. 34 H. 6, Pat. 34, H. 6. m. 19).

Rex, dilectis sibi *Waltero Halyday, Roberto Marshall, Willielmo Wykes, & Johanni Clyffe*, Salutem.

Sciatis quòd Nos, considerantes qualiter quidam Ministralli nostri jam tardè Viam universæ Carnis sunt ingressi, aliisque, loco ipsorum, propter Solatium nostrum de necesse indigentes, Assignavimus vos, conjunctim & divisim, ad quosdam Pueros, Membris Naturalibus Elegantes, in Arte Ministrellatûs instructos, *ubicunque invenire poterint*, tam infra Libertates, quàm extra, *Capiendum*, & in Servizio nostro ad Vadia nostra Ponendum;

Et ideo vobis Mandamus quòd circa Præmissa diligenter intendatis, ac ea faciatis & exequamini in formâ prædictâ . . Teste Rege apud *Westmonasterium* decimo die Martis. Rymer, xi. 375.

Edward IV. formed his minstrels into a Fraternity or Gild. See the Patent in Rymer, xi. 642-4.

chappell he was whipped for any Prince's faults, as the custom was ¹. Was he ever snubbed by the Dean, I wonder, who had "all corrections of chapell-men *in moribus et sciencia*—reserved some cases to the Steward and countyng house ⁴"?—Was he ever found "defectife or disobedient, and putt oute of wages" on a Friday when the Dean "kept a conventicle with all the chapell-men, and there rehersed their fautes and appointed the remedies ²?" Did he prove one of "the rascals and hangers upon thys courte," who were to "be sought oute and avoyded from euery office monethly ³?" Far be it from us to believe so. He was never sent to the Marchalcy Prison by suspicion (we may be sure), "as a theefe or outrageous royatour, or for mucche hauntyng sclaunderous places, companyes and other ⁴," nor was he "knownen for a commyn dayly drunkyn man": he was not of the "pykers, malefactours of outward people or inward," nor did he use "to swere customably by Goddes body, or any of his other partes unreverently, against the Kinges vertuous disposition and the law of God," but lived as a man of worship, endowed with moral virtues, as by his ordinance he was bound to do. If he had the chance of playing at "pryckis" with his burly Sovereign like William Crane, the Master of the Children, up to (and perhaps beyond) 1541, had, no doubt he took the chance, and tried to win £7. 2s. 6d. of his King as Master Crane succeeded in doing ⁵; but for any such

¹ Burnet (*Own Times*, i. 244, says Hawkins, iii. 252-3) mentions Barnaby Fitzpatric as whipping-boy to Prince Edward, and a Mr Murray as whipping-boy to Charles I. The working of the process is well explained by an old comedy of Christopher Tye's, quoted by Mr Thoms (from Hawkins):

Cranmer: So, sir, this policie was well devised
 Since he was whipped thus for the Prince's faults,
 His grace hath got more knowledge in a month
 Than he attained in a year before:
 For still *the fearful boy*, to save his breech,
 Doth hourlye haunt him wheresoe'er he goes.

Tye: 'Tis true, my lord, and now the Prince perceives it;
 As loath to see him punished for his faults,
 Plies it on purpose to redeeme the boy, &c.

² *Household Ordinances*, p. 49.

³ *Ib.* p. 66.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 67.

⁵ The last daye [of June, 1532] paied to William Crane for so moche money as he wanne of the kingis grace at pryckis, xix Angellis, in money currant vij li. ij s. vjd. Nicolas's *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII.* from Nov. 1529 to Dec. 1532

details about him we must wait for the publication of a later Household Book of Henry VIII.'s or an earlier one of Edward VI.'s than I have been able to find, and meantime judge Hewe Rodes from his book. He seems to me a regular sobersides, with little or no fun or humour¹ in him, not a man to make fast friends, though eminently respectable, and with an eye to the main chance, if we may judge from his directions to *The Wayting Servant* as to what company he should keep :

Petit's edition.

For your *promocyon* resort to such
as ye may take *avauntage*,
Among *gentylmen* for rewardes,
to *gentylwomen* for mariage
Se your eye be indyfferent,
amonge women that be fayre
And tell them storyes of loue,
& so to you they wyll repayre ;
Suche pastymes somtyme
doth many men auaunce
In way of maryage,
and your good name it wylenhaunce.

Ed. of 1577.

For your preferment resorte
to such as may you vauntage:
Among Gentlemen, for their rewards,
to honest dames for maryage.
See your eye be indifferent
among women that be fayre ;
And if they be honest, to them
boldly then doe repayre ;
Honest quallityes and gentle
many men doth aduaunce
To good maryages, trust me,
and their names doth inhaunce.

There you have the man, I fancy. Propriety and Deportment, Honesty and Gentleness, pay ; therefore pursue them. But there is much else in the book that may be urged against this view of the author, as the reader will find if he reads the book, though still on me the former impression remains. It is confirmed, too, by the

(ed. 1827), p. 227. I take this to be, not *prick*-song, but the *pricks* for shooting, which Ascham testifies in his *Toxophilus* that Henry VIII. practised :

"Again, there is another thing, which above all other doth move me, not only to love shooting, to praise shooting, to exhort all other to shooting, but also to use shooting myself; and that is our King [*Henry the Eighth*] his most royal purpose and will, which in all his statutes [3 Henry VIII., cap. 3; 6 Hen. VIII., cap. 3; 25 Hen. VIII., cap. 17; 33 Hen. VIII., cap. 9] generally doth command men, and with his own mouth most gently doth exhort men, and by his great gifts and rewards greatly doth encourage men, and with his most princely example very often doth provoke all other men to the same." ed. Giles, 1865, p. 25.

(Cp. 20th March, 1531. Paid to George Coton, for vii shott lost by the Kings grace unto him at Totthill, at 6s. 8d. the shotte, xlvj s. viij d., and the other entries from Nicolas, in Hansard's Archery, p. 40.) See Note at end of Preface.

¹ May not he be allowed some for lines 441-4, p. 36,

A wonderfull thing this is to doe,
and easy to be done :
To leaue pleasure, and keepe sylence,
and to follow reason.

“fulsome panegyric” on Queen Mary, on which Warton remarks in his notice of Rodes’s other poem. Warton (iii. 265, ed. 1840) says of Rodes,

“In the following reign of Mary, the same poet printed a poem consisting of thirty-six octave stanzas, entitled, ‘The SONG of the CHYLD-BYSSHOP, as it was songe before the queenes maiestie in her priuie chamber at her manour of saynt James in the ffeeldes on saynt Nicholas day and Innocents day this yeare nowe present, by the chylde bysshope of Poules church with his company. LONDINI, in ædibus Johannis Cawood, typographi reginæ, 1555. Cum privilegio, &c.’¹ By admitting this spectacle into her presence, it appears that her majesty’s bigotry condescended to give countenance to the most ridiculous and unmeaning ceremony of the Roman ritual. As to the song itself, it is a fulsome panegyric on the queen’s devotion, in which she is compared to Judith, Esther, the queen of Sheba, and the virgin Mary.”

One good quality Rodes certainly had, modesty as to his poetical powers. He says,

I am full blynde in Poets Arte,
 thereof I can no skill :
 All elloquence I put apart,
 following myne owne wyll.
 Corrupt in speeche, be sure, am I,
 my breefes from longes to know,
 And born and bred in Deuonshyre to,
 as playne my tearmes doe show.
 Take the best, and leaue the worst,
 of truth I meane no yll :
 The matter is not curyous,
 the intent good, marke it well.
 Pardon I aske if I offend
 thus boldly now to wryte :
 To Mayster, seruaunt, yong and olde,
 I doe this booke commit,
 Requyring friendly youth and age,
 if any doe amis,
 For to refourme and hate abuse,
 and mend where neede there is.

¹ In quarto, bl. lett. (Warton), A.D. 1555. See in Dibdin’s *Ames*, vol. iv. p. 394. Ritson observes on this statement of Warton’s as to Rodes’s poem, that it “seems to require some further authority,” *Bibliogr. Poet.*, p. 315, and in a note says, “Herbert, in p. 1794, asserts a copy of this book to be in possession of ‘Francis Douce, esquire;’ who never had, nor saw, nor (except from what Warton says) ever hear’d of such a thing.” Modern inquirers after this poem are in Douce’s

The Book of Nurture consists of four Parts, whereof the second is divided into two. First comes an exhortation to Parents and Masters to bring up their Children vertuously, and keep their Servants and household in good order. Second: are, 1. The Maner of Seruing a Knight, Squyre, or Gentleman at Meals; 2. How to order your Maysters Chamber at night to bedwarde (when he goes to bed). Third comes the expansion of *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, turned into "The Booke of Nurture and Schole of good Maners for Man and for Chylde." Fourth comes the most elaborate part of the book, directions "For the Wayting Seruaunt," pp. 82-108, comprising maxims and advice not only for him, but for the world of men in general. Into this, the edition of 1577 (which is printed here) has introduced "The Rule of Honest Liuing," two pages and a half of prose maxims not differing much from those that have preceded them in verse. I do not mean to pick out the plums from the text, or even point to where they are, because I feel sure that no Member is so lost to all sense of propriety as not to read this volume through from beginning to end. If there should be one in that unhappy condition, let him beg his dearest friend to give him a dose of Wilyam Bulleyn's boxyng & neckweede, according to the prescription following the notes to Russell, and, being smoked, he will be cured.

Hewe Rodes's Boke of Nurture was printed at least five times in early days. First by Thomas Petit, in small 8vo, bl. lett., before 1554, for he printed no book after that date¹: secondly by Thomas Colwell, bl. l., who printed from 1561 to 1575; thirdly (as I suppose) with somewhat more modern spelling, by Abraham Veale, bl. l., who printed from 1551 to 1586; fourthly by Thomas East, in oblong

case; neither Mr J. Gough Nichols, who has long been hunting for Boy-Bishop material, Dr Rimbault, Mr W. C. Hazlitt, nor any other likely men whom I have asked, have ever heard of it. Warton must of course have seen a copy. Who will tell me where one is?

¹ Mr Payne Collier thinks that another edition is included in the following entry on the Register of the Stationers' Company:

"To John Kynge, to prynte these bokes folowyng; that ys to saye, a Jeste of syr gawene; the boke of Carvyng and sewyng; syr lamwell; the boke of Cokerye; *the boke of nurture for mens servauntes*." Extracts, p. 15 (Shakspeare Soc., 1848).

4to, in 1568 ; fifthly by H. Jackson, in small 8vo, in 1577. (See Warton, v. iii. p. 265, ed. 1840 ; Ritson's *Bibl. Poet.*, p. 314-15 ; and Brydges's *Censura Literaria*.) Of the first edition only one copy is known to the Librarians, collectors, and friends of whom I have made inquiry. It is in the Bodleian, is without a title, and two leaves of the text are gone. From its heading "The boke of Nurture for men, seruauntes and chyl dren, with *Stans puer ad mensam*, *newly corrected*, very vtile and necessary vnto all youth," we might conclude that this supposed first edition was only a late one ; but it is possible that the *newly corrected* applies only to the *Stans puer ad mensam*, an old poem which Rhodes has newly corrected. Of the second and third editions the Rev. Mr Corser, of Stand Rectory, near Manchester, has unique copies, which he has kindly lent me, just as these sheets are going to press, and of which, if the variations are important, I shall give collations at the end of these Prefaces. Of the fourth edition I have not been able to hear of a copy. Of the fifth there are at least two copies known, one in the British Museum, and the other among Malone's books in the Bodleian. I had at first resolved to print the texts of the first and fifth editions (the only ones then known to me) opposite one another, so as to bring out their differences fully, leaving blanks for the missing leaves of the first edition, to be filled up whenever these leaves should turn up and I could reprint them ; but on the strong remonstrance of Mr H. B. Wheatley against reprinting an imperfect printed book, I gave up the plan, and have printed only the 1577 text from the British Museum copy, adding the principal variations of the first edition at the end. Of this first edition I hope to hear of a complete copy soon, and to reprint it directly afterwards. Had I known of Mr Corser's uniques a year ago, I should have reprinted one instead of Jackson's edition.

Some of the alterations from the earlier text are worth notice as signs of the times. Thus the leaving out by Colwell, Veale, and Jackson, of these lines

"To helpe a preest to say masse / it is greatly to be commended
Thou takest on hande an aungels office / the preest to attend"

of the first edition's injunctions for conduct in church, marks the

Reformation. Why the early true statement in Petit's edition,

"Pore men faythfull, and gentylmen deceytful in lyuynge
The gredy myndes of rulers / hath caused blode shedynge"

should have been altered to the later goody

"Poore men faythfull and obedyent in theyr lyuynge
Voydeth rebellion and bloud shedynge" (*Colwell*),

"Poore men faithfull and obedient in their liuing
Voideth rebellion and blood shedding" (*Veale*),

"Pore men must be faythfull,
and obedient in lyuing,
Auoyding all rebellyon
and rygorous bloodshedding" (*Jackson*),

I cannot suggest, unless the later editors, and specially he of 1577, were more of Tories than Rodes. The minor alterations in this 1577 edition are so many that they must have been made, I fancy, by another hand after Rodes's death. Of the lines changed we may note Petit's

"With moch flesshe & lytel bread / fyl not thy mouth lyke a barge,"

"With much meate fyll not thy mouth like a barge" (*Colwell*),

"With much meat fil not thy mouth like a barge" (*Veale*),

altered and weakened to

"Cram not thy mouth to full, ne yet
thy stomack ouercharge."—l. 271-2.

Also

"Lyght in speche and slowe in dedes / yuys it is great shame"
let down to

"Slow in good deeds is great shame" (*Colwell*),

"Slow is good deeds is great shame" (*Veale*),

"But to be slow in godly deedes
increaseth a mans shame" (*Jackson*).

But in l. 539-40 the sentiment of the later text

"But in redressing things amis,
thou highly God shalt please"

is a decided improvement on the selfish ease of the earlier

"The lesse thou medlest / the better shalt thou please" (*Petit*);

“In leaste medlynge thou shalt most please” (*Colwell*),
 “In least medling thou shalt moste please” (*Veale*),
 and the same may be said of the last lines of the 1557 edition,

“He that doth haunt to wysdoms bowre
 remaynes his countreys friend,”

beside those of the earlier texts,

“He that wyll not for wysdome seke / is not his owne frende” (*Petit*),

“He that seketh wisdom, is his owne frende” (*Colwell*),

“He that seeketh Wisdome is his owne freend” (*Veale*).

If the present reprint should call forth a copy of East's edition of 1568, which must surely be now standing on the shelves of some library, we shall know perhaps whether Rhodes is answerable for the alterations of the original text. Of the 1577 edition I have only altered the stops, and the printer has numbered the lines. The sidenotes are added for convenience sake, not because the text is hard enough to want a running commentary.

Comparing it with the earlier and later treatises on like subjects, two points of manners may be noticed ; first, that handkerchiefs for the nose were then coming into vogue ; and secondly, that tooth-picks had not appeared. How to blow the nose in a genteel way before company without a handkerchief, was evidently a difficulty with early writers on deportment. They could only treat it as so many authors and editors have done since with their difficulties,—shirk it as if they knew all about it, and trust to their readers' ingenuity. The writer of the Poem on Freemasonry that Mr Halliwell has printed from MS. Bibl. Reg. 17 A. says, p. 38, l. 711-12,

From spyttynge and snyftyng kepe þe also,
 By privy avoydans let hyt go,

that is, get on as well as you can. At dinner also he tells his pupil, l. 743-6,

Kepe þyn hondes fayr and wel
 Fram fowle smogyng of þy towel ;
 þeron þou schalt not þy nese snyte,
 Ny at þe mete þy toþe þou pyke.

The Boke of Curtasye, ab. 1460, l. 89-92, says,

Yf þy nose þou clense, as may be-falle,
 Loke þy honde þou clense wythe-alle ;

Priuely *with* skyrt do hit away,
 Oper ellis thurghe thi tepet þat is so gay.

John Russell, likewise handkerchiefless, only says, l. 283-4,
 Pike not youre nose / ne þat hit be droppynge *with* no peerlis clere,
 Snyff nor snitynge hyt to lowd / lest youre souerayne hit here.

But by Rodes's time the handkerchief had partially come in¹, as witness lines 261-4,

Blow not your nose on the napkin
 where you should wye your hande,
 But clense it in your handkercher,
 then passe you not your hand ;²

though the earlier method was still permitted, for we read at lines 289-92,

If thou must spit, or blow thy nose,
 keepe thou it out of sight,
 Let it not lye vpon the ground,
 but treade thou it out right.³

The *Schoole of Vertue*, A.D. 1577, directs the nose to be cleaned on a napkin once a day in the morning⁴, like the shoes and teeth :

A napkin se that thou haue in redines
 Thy nose to clense from all fylthynes.

Last comes *The Booke of Demeanor*, l. 45-52, in A.D. 1619,

Nor imitate with Socrates,
 to wipe thy snivelled nose

¹ Compare one of Henry VIII.'s New Year's gifts, an^o xxxij, "Item, to y^e kinges laund^r that gave y^e king handkerchers xx s." MS. Arundel No. 97, fol. 167, back. The Duke of Somerset in the Tower, asks to have allowed him, among other things "ij. night kerchers ; item vj. hande kerchers." The Duchess asks also for "vj. hand kerchers" besides "vj. froc kerchers, whereof iij. fyne." Ellis, *Letters*, series II. v. ii. p. 215.

² Blow not your nose in y^e napkyn, where ye wye your hande
 Clense it in your handkercher, then passe ye not your bande. (*Petit, &c.*)

³ If thou muste spyt or blowe thy nose / kepe it out of syght
 Let it not lye on the grounde / but treade it out ryght. (*Petit, &c.*)

And yet in A.D. 1344-5 monks were expected to have handkerchiefs. Prof. Morley, abstracting chap. 17 of Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon*, says, "Perhaps you will see a bull-necked youth sitting sluggishly at his study, and when the cold is sharp at winter-time, and his wet nose, at the pinch of frost, runs into drops, he does not condescend to use his *handkerchief* till he has wetted the book beneath with its vile dew. I would give such a one, instead of a book, a cobbler's apron."—*English Writers*, vol. ii. Pt. I. p. 55. The continuation of the passage should be read,

⁴ Compare Rhodes, p. 73, l. 70.

Vpon thy cap, as he would doe,
 nor yet upon thy clothes.
 But keepe it clene with handkerchiffe,
 provided for the same,
 Not with thy fingers or thy sleeve,
 therein thou art too blame ;

but still 'filthiness or ordure' may be cast on the floor so that it be trodden out with haste, l. 105-8. Have not we cause to be grateful to Cotton and Silk ?

With regard to the picking of teeth¹, some of the English and French books, like the Freemasonry one above, and the Boke of Curtasye, forbid it to be done at all at meals :

Clense not thi tethe at mete sittande,
 With knyfe ne stre, styk ne wande.—*B. of C.* l. 93.

Others only forbid picking with the knyfe, as *The Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, l. 39,

Pyke not þi tethe with thy knyfe.

It was reserved for Rhodes or his 1577 editor to reconcile the difficulties by a stroke of genius,

Pick not thy teeth with thy Knyfe
 nor with thy fyngers ende ;
But take a stick

(I hope the reader will think of a walking-stick as I did on first reading the passage)

or some clene thyng,
 then doe you not offende, l. 248.²

Other details I must leave the reader to notice for himself.

3, *St George's Square*, N.W.

1st July, 1867.

P.S. By way of further illustrating the status, pay, and work of the Gentlemen and Children of the King's Chapel in Henry the Eighth's time, I add as an Appendix to this Preface, all the particu-

¹ See the note at the end of Rhodes Various Readings.

² Pycke not thy tethe with thy knyfe / nor fynger ende

But w^t a stycke or some cleane thyng / then do ye not offend. (*Petit, &c.*)

lars of the Earl of Northumberland's Chapel-Gentlemen and Children that I can gather from his Household Books as published by Bishop Percy, and afterwards reprinted. The particulars are put under these heads :—

- I. The Number of the Gentlemen and Children.
- II. Their Food, Lights, and Fuel.
- III. The Washing of their Surplices.
- IV. Their Wages.
- V. Their Beds, and the Carts for removing them.
- VI. Their Extra Gratuities for Acting Plays, &c.
- VII. The Kinds of Voices or Singers.
- VIII. Their Arrangement and Days of Attendance, and their Keeping of the 'Orgayns.'

The bits about their sleeping two and three in a bed (p. xix), acting Miracle-Plays (p. xx), playing on the 'Orgaynes' (p. xxv), are interesting, as well as the allusion to the Boy-Bishop (p. xx).

THE FIFTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND'S GENTLEMEN
AND CHILDREN OF THE CHAPEL:

2 AND 3 HENRY VIII., A.D. 1510-11.

I. "In the iiijth Yere of the reigne of oure Sovereigne Lord Kynge Henry the viijth" Algernon Percy, fifth Earl of Northumberland, had, "daily abidyng in his Household," Gentillmen of the Chapell—ix, Viz. The Maister of the Childre j—Tenors ij—Countertenors iiij—The Pistoler j—and oone for the Orgayns. Childer of the Chapell—vj. (*Percy or Northumberland Household Book*, p. 44.) This was a variation on the number given in p. 40, for there we find

Gentyllmen and Childeryn of the Chapell.

ITEM Gentyllmen and Childryn of the Chapell xiiij Viz. Gentillmen of the Chapell viij Viz. ij Bassys—ij Tenors—and iiij Countertenours—Yomen or Grome of the Vestry j—Childeryn of the Chapell v Viz. ij Tribills and iiij Meanys [Altos] = xiiij.

II. Their food was, for 'Braikfast' daily every Lent, on 'Sonday, Tewisday, Thursday and Setterday.'

▪ Braikfast for ij Meas of Gentilmen o'th' Chapel, and a Meas of Childeryn.

ITEM iiij Loofs of Brede, a Gallon dimid of Bere, and iiij Peces of Saltfisch, or ells iiij White Herryng to a Meas—iiij. (*ib.* p. 74.)

At p. 75, in the 'Ordre of all suche Braikfasts that shal be lowable dayly in my Lordis hous thorowte the yere,' 'as well on Flesche Days as Fysch Days, in Lent and out of Lent.' 'Begynnyng on Sondag the second day of February, which was Candlemas day last past. In the secund Yere of the reign of our Sovereigne Lorde Kyng Henry the viijth' the allowance is :

Braikfasts for ij Meas of Gentylnen o' th' Chapel, and a Meas of Childer.

ITEM iiij Loif of Houshold Breid, a Gallon dimid of Bere, and iiij Peces of Beif boyled—j.

Among "Braikfastis of Fysche . . allowid" them "on Setter-days . . oute of Lent," at the same date, are

Braikfasts for ij Meas of Gentilmen o' th' Chapel and a Meas of Childer.

ITEM iiij Loifs of Houshold Breid, a Gallon dimid of Bere, and a Pece of Saltfische—j.

Their "service of Meat and Drynk to be servyd upon the Scamlynge Days¹ in Lent Yerely, as to say, Mondays and Setter-days," was for "x Gentilmen and vj Childre of the Chapell = iiij Measse."

Service for Gentyllmen and Childeryn o' th' Chapell.

ITEM to every Meas a Loof of Breide, a Potell of Bere, iiij White Herryng, and a Dysch of Stokfisch = viij Dyschis.

On Rogation Days, from Tuesday May 27, 3 Henry VIII, the Meat and Drink allowed them for supper was :

Service for iiij Mease of Gentyllmen and Childre of the Chapell at Suppar upon Tewisday in the Rogacion days : Furst, x Gentyllmen and vj Childre of the Chapell—iiij Meas.

ITEM to every Meas a Loof of Bred, a Pottell of Bere, Half a Dysch of Buttre, and a Pece of Saltt-fysche—viiij Dyschis.

Their daily extras, or "Lyverays of Breid, Bere, Wyne, White-Lights and Wax," were "for Gentyllmen of the Chapell and Childer . . a Loof of Houshold Breid, a Gallon of Bere, and iiij White Lyghtts."

¹ *Scambling-Days.* Days in Lent, when no regular meals were provided, but every one scrambled and shifted for himself as he could. (Percy in) *Halliwell's Gloss.*

Their daily Lyverey "of Fewell, as to say Woode and Cooles," was 'The Maister and Childer of the Chapell j p^e or 'pek.'

III. The allowance for the washing of the Surplices and Altar Cloths is given at pp. 242-4: "ther shal be paide fore the Holl Weshing of all mannar of Lynnon belonging my Lordes Chapell for an Holl Yere, but xvijs. iiij*l*. And to be weshid for Every Penny iij Surpleses or iij Albes. And the said Surplusses to be Weshide in the Yere xvj tymes aganst thees Feests following," &c.

IV. Their yearly wages were, "Gentilmen of the Chappell x (as to saye, Two at x Marks a pece—iij at iiij *l* a pece—Two at v Marks a pece—Oon at iiij Marks—Oon at xl s.—ande Oone at xx s.—Viz. ij Bassis—ij Tenors ande vj Countertenors)—Childeryn of the Chapell vj After xxv s. a pece."

The times and sources of the payment of the wages are stated at p. 27, as follows.

CHAPELL WAGIS.

ITEM to be payd to th' hands of Sir John Norton my Chamberlayn and Mr. Gefferay Proctor my Treasurer for the contentacion of my Chapell Waigies for oone hole Yere as aperyth more playnly by the Chequirerolle and the Stile of the same what they shall have the Somme of xxxv*l*. xvs. to be payd quarterly Viz. To be payd for the fyrst quarter at Cristynmas next after the said Michaelmas begynnynge the said Yere viij*l*. xviijs. ix*d*. of the Money of my Lands of Cumberland cummynge to the Coffers at the said Michaelmas upon the Auditt And to be payd for the secund quarter at our Lady day in Lentt viij*l*. xviijs. ix*d*. to be payd of the Revenuyes of my Lands of Northumberland of this Yere dew at Martynmas after the said Michaelmas aforenamed and payable at Candlemas and to be payd to theme at the said Lady day And to be payd for thyrd quarter at Midsomer foloynge viij*l*. xviijs. ix*d*. to be payd of the Revenuyes of my Lands in Yorkschyre dew and payable at Whitsonday afore said Midsomer and paid at the said Midsomer to theme And to be payd for the iiijth quarter at Michaelmas foloynge endynge the said Yere in full contentacion viij*l*. xviijs. ix*d*. to be payd of the Revenuyes of my Lands of Yorkschyre of the said terme of Whitsonday by-past afore the said Michaelmas and payable at Michaelmas and payd to theme at the said Michaelmas in full contentacion of the said hole Yere And so the hole Somme for full contentacion of the said Chapell Waigies for oone hole Yere ys = xxxv*l*. xvs.

V. The Gentlemen of the Chapel slept two in a bed, and the children three in a bed, and on their removing with Lord Percy

from place to place, they were allowed the Beds and carriages following :

ITEM Yt is Ordynyd, at every Remevall that the Deyn, Subdean, Prestes, Gentilmen, and Children of my Lordes Chapell, with the Yoman and Grome of the Vestry, shall have apontid theime ij Cariadges at every Remevall, Viz. One for ther Beddes, Viz. For vj Prests iij Beddes after ij to a Bedde ; For x Gentillmen of the Chapell v Beddes after ij to a Bedde And for vj Children ij Beddes after iij to a Bedde And a Bedde for the Yoman and Grom o'th Vestry In all xj Beddes for the furst Cariage. And the ij^{de} Cariage for ther Aparells and all outhr ther Stuff, And to have no mo Cariage allowed them but onely the said ij Cariages allowid theime." p. 389.

VI. Besides assisting in the performance of Divine Service, the Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel played Mysteries or Religious Plays before their Master, for which they received special gratuities ; and on the eve of the day of St Nicholas, patron of Schoolboys, Dec. 6, the Boy-Bishop's¹ day, an extra payment was made,—for the ensuing day's festivity, I suppose :—

ITEM My Lord useth and accustomyth to gyfe yerly upon Saynt Nicolas-Even, if he kepe Chapell for Saynt Nicolas, to the Master of his Childeren of his Chapell for one of the Childeren of his Chapell, yerely vjs. viij^d. And if Saynt Nicolas com owt of the Towne wher my Lord lyeth, and my Lord kepe no Chapell, than to have yerely iijs. iiij^d. — vjs. viij^d.

ITEM My Lord useth and accustomyth to gyfe yerely, if his Lordship kepe a Chapell and be at home, them of his Lordschipes Chapell if they doo play the Play of the Nativite² uppon Cristynmes-

¹ See in the Notes to *North. Ho. Book*, p. 441, and in *Brand's Pop. Antiquities*, ed. 1841, v. 1, p. 233, 'an inventory of the splendid Robes and Ornaments belonging to one of these (Boy, called also) Bearn Bishops.'

² The only Miracle-Plays that Roberde of Brunne (following William of Waddington) allows to be played by clerics, are this Play of the Nativity, and that of the Resurrection mentioned below, and both must be played in the Church, not in ways or groves (or greens),—that would be sin :

Hyt ys forbode hym yn þe decre
Myrácles for to make or se ;
For myrácles 3yf þou begynne,
Hyt ys a gaderyng, a syghte of synne.
He may yn þe cherche þurghe þis resun
Pley þe *resurreccyun*,—
Þat ys to sey, how God ros,
God and man yn myȝt and los—

To make men be yn beleue gode
Þat he ros wyþ flesshe and blode.
And he may pleye wyþoutyn plyghte
Howe god was bore yn 3olé nyghte,
To make men to beleue stedfastly
Þat he lyghte yn þe vyrgyne Mary.
3uf þou do hyt yn weyys or greuys,
A syghte of synne truly hyt semys.
(*Handlyng Synne*, l. 4640-55, p. 146-7.)

Day in the mornnyng in my Lords Chappell befor his Lordship —
xxs.

ITEM My Lord usith and accustomyth, if he keepe Chapell, to gyfe yerly in reward, when his Lordschip is at home, to the Childeren of my Lordis Chapell for synginge of *Gloria in Excelsis* at the Mattyns-tyme upon Cristynmas-Day in the mornnyng — vjs. viij^d.

ITEM My Lorde useth and accustomyth to gyf Yerely, when his Lordshipp is at home, in reward to them of his Lordship Chappell, and other his Lordshipis Servaunts that doith play the Play befor his Lordship uppon Shroftewsdays¹ at night, yerely in reward — xxs.

ITEM My Lord usith and accustomedith to gyfe yerely, if his Lordship kepe a Chapell and is at home, in rewarde to them of his Lordshipe Chapell and other his Lordshipis Servauntes that playth the Play of Resurrection² upon Estur-Day in the Mornnyng in my Lordis 'Chapell' befor his Lordshipe — xxs.

VII. The eleven Gentlemen and six Children of the Chapel were as follows, p. 324 :

THE GENTLEMEN ande CHILDRIN of my Lordis CHAPPELL Whiche be not appointid to attend at no tyme but oonely in excercising of GODDIS SERVICE in the CHAPPELL Daily at Mattins, Lady-Mass, Highe-Mass, Even-Song, ande Complynge.

GENTLEMEN of my Lordis CHAPPELL

FURST A Bass	ITEM A Thirde Countertenour
ITEM A Seconde Bass	ITEM A iiij th Countertenor
ITEM The Thirde Bass	ITEM A Standing Tenour
ITEM A Maister of the Childer,	ITEM A Second Standing Tenour
A Countertenor	ITEM A iij ^d Standyng Tenour
ITEM A Seconde Countertenour	ITEM A Fourth Standing Tenour

See the Play of "The Birth of Christ," No. xv in the *Coventry Mysteries*, p. 145-155, and that of "The Salutation and Nativity," 'The Wryghtes and Sklaters plaie,' No. vi in the *Chester Plays*, p. 94-118. In the *Towneley Mysteries* we have six Plays to make up the Nativity, 1 Cæsar Augustus, 2 Annunciatio, 3 Salutacio Elizabeth, 4 Prima Pagina Pastorum, 5 Secunda Pagina Pastorum, 6 Oblacio Magorum.

¹ There is no allusion to the Shrove Tuesday Play in Brand, i. 36-52. The *Shrove Tuesday's tragedy* of *Microcosmus*, Act 5, was one of another kind. *ib.* p. 41, col. 2.

² See the Play *Resurrectio Domini* in "The Towneley Mysteries," (Surtees Soc., 1836,) p. 254-269; "The Resurrection," No. xxxv. in "The Coventry Mysteries" (Shakspeare Soc.), p. 338-53; and the "Mystery of the Resurrection" in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 144-51.

THE NOMBRE of thois PARSONS as GENTLEMEN of my Lordis
CHAPPELL —xj

CHILDRIN of my Lordis CHAPPELL (p. 325)

ITEM The Fyrst Child a Tribble	ITEM The v th Child a Second Tribble
ITEM The ij ^d Child a Tribble	ITEM The vj th Child a Second Tribble
ITEM The iij ^d Child a Tribble	
ITEM The iiij th Child a Second Tribble	

THE NOUMBRE of thois PARSONS as CHILDRIN of my Lordis
CHAPPELL —vj.

VIII. The arrangement and days of attendance of the Gentlemen at the different Chapel Services were as follows (p. 367) :

THE ORDERYNGE OF MY LORDES CHAPPELL in the QUEARE at MATTYNGIS MAS and EVYNSONGE To stonde in Ordure as Hereafter Followith SYDE for SIDE DAILYE.

THE DEANE SIDE	THE SECOUNDE SYDE
THE Deane	THE Lady-Masse Priest
THE Subdeane	THE Gospeller
A Basse	A Basse
A Tenor	A Countertenor
A Countertenor	A Countertenor
A Countertenor	A Tenor
A Countertenor	A Countertenor
	A Tenor

THE ORDURYNGE of my Lordes CHAPPELL for the Keapinge of our LADYES MASSE thorowte the WEIKE (p. 368)

SONDAY	MONDAY
Master of the Childer, a Counter-tenor	Master of the Childer, a Counter-tenor
A Tenoure	A Countertenoure
A Tenoure	A Countertenoure
A Basse	A Tenoure

TWISDAY	WEDYNSDAY
Master of the Chillder, a Coun- [ter]-tenour	Master of the Chillder, a Counter-tenor
A Countertenoure	A Countertenoure
A Countertenoure	A Tenoure
A Tenoure	A Basse

THURSDAIE	FRYDAY
Master of the Chillder, a Counter-tenor	Master of the Chillder, a Counter-tenor
A Countertenoure	A Countertenoure
A Countertenoure	A Countertenoure
A Tenoure	A Basse

SATURDAY

Master of the Chiller, a Counter-
tenor
A Countertenor
A Countertenoure
A Tenoure

FRYDAY

And upon the saide Friday
th'ool Chappell and every Day
in the weike when my Lorde
shall be present at the saide
Masse.

THE ORDURYNGE for keapyng Weikly of the ORGAYNS¹ Oon after
An Outher As the NAMYS of them hereafter followith WEIKELY

The Maister of the Chiller yf he be a Player The Fyrst Weke
A Countertenor that is a Player the ij^{de} Weke
A Tenor that is a Player, the thirde Weike
A Basse that is a Player, the iiiijth Weike
Ande every Man that is a Player to kepe his cours Weikely.

THE ORDURYNGE for stonding RECTOR-CHORE at the Deske, As to
say, at Mattyngis, Highe-Masse, and Evyn-Songe, Oon on aither
syde As the NAMYS of them hereafter followith WEIKELY

THE First Weike, a Tenoure on the oone side and a Countertenor
on the outhur side

THE Secounde Weike, a Countertenor on the oon side and a
Tenor on the outhur side

THE Thirde Weike, a Tenor on the oon side and a Countertenor
on the outhur side

THE Fourth Weike, a Countertenor on the oon side and a Tenor
on the outhur side.

THE ORDURYNGE of my Lordes Chapell in the QUEARE at Matt-
ynges, Mas, and Evyn Songe, to stonde in Order as hereafter
followith, SYDE for SYDE.

THE DEANE SYDE

THE Deane
THE Subdeane
THE Gospiller
A Countertenor
A Basse
A Countertenor
A Tenor
A Basse
A Countertenor

THE SECONDE SYDE

THE Lady Masse Preist
THE Morrowe Messe Preist
A Countertenor
A Basse
A Tenor
A Countertenor
A Basse
A Countertenor
A Tenor

THE ORDURYNGE of my Lordes Chappell for the keapinge of oure
LADY MASSE thorowe oute the WEIKE

¹ Dr Rimbault says that *Orgayns* in the plural is the regular name for what we call the *Organ*. In old time, one pipe was called an *Orgayn*, the collection of them *Orgayns*. See in Rymer, tom. x. p. 387, col. 2, A.D. 1428, An. 6 Hen. VI., "Et a Robert Atkynsone, pur Carier les Organes Portatifs du Roy par diverses foitz a Pee (assavoir) de Wyndesore jusques Eltham, & de Eltham jusques Hertford, Vi s. viii d.

SONDAY
THE Maister of the Chillardren, a
Count[er]-Tenor
A Countertenor
A Tenor
A Countertenor
A Basse

TEWYSDAY
THE Master o'th Chillardren, a
Countertenor
A Countertenor
A Tenor
A Countertenor
A Basse

THURSDAY
THE Master o'th Chillardren, a
countertenor
A Tennor
A Countertenor
A Countertenor
A Basse

SATTURDAY
THE Master o'th Chillardren a
Countertenor
A Countertenor
A Tennor
A Countertennor
A Basse

MONDAY
THE Master o' th Chillardren, a
Counter-tenor
A Countertenor
A Tenor
A Tenor
A Basse

WEDDEYNSDAY
THE Master o'th Chillardren, a
Countertenor
A Countertennor
A Countertennor
A Tennor
A Basse

FRIDAY
THE Master o'th Chillardren a
Countertenor
A Countertenor
A Tennor
A Countertenor
A Basse

FRYDAY
UPPON Fryday the Hoolle
Chappell, and every day in the
Weike when my Lorde shall be
present at the sayde Lady-Masse.

THE ORDURYNGE of the BASSES in my Lordes Chappell for the
settynge of the QUEARE dayly at Mattynges, Masse, and Even Songe
thorowe owte the Weike, As the NAYMES of them, With the DAYES
and TYMES that they shall kepe, Hereafter Followyth.

THE BASSES

THE Fyrst Bais to set the Queyre all Sonday, and at Mattyngs
on Friday.

THE ij^d Bais to set the Queare all Monday, and at Mas on
Fryday, p. 374.

THE iij^d Bais to set the Queare all Tewisday, and at Evyn-Song
on Friday.

THE iiijth Basse to set the Queare all Weddynsday, and at
Mattyngs on Satturday.

THE vth Bais to set the Queare all Thursday, and at Masse on
Satturday.

THE ORDURYNGE for the keapyng Weykely of the ORGAYNES oone
after an outhier, as the Names of them hereafter followith.

THE ORGAYNE PLAYERS

THE Master o'th Chillardern, if he be a Player, the fyrst Weike.

A Countertennor that is a Player, the Secounde Weike.

A Tennor that is a Player, the Thyrde Weyke.

A Baisse that ys a Player, the Fourthe Weike.

And every Man that ys a player to kepe his Cours Weykely.

THE ORDURYNGE for stondynge RECTOR-CHORE at the Deske, Viz. at Mattyngs, Highe Mas, and Evyn-Songe, one after an other, SYDE for SYDE, as the NAMYS of them hereafter followith (p. 375).

MONDAY.

Fyrst a Bayse on the oon Syde
And a Baise on the outhur Side

WEDDYNSSDAY.

A Countertenor on the oon Syde
And a Countertenor on the
outhur Syde

FHYDAY (*so*).

A Tennor on the oone Syde and
A Countertenor on the outhur
Syde

TEWISDAY.

A Bais on the oon Syde
And a Baise on the outhur Syde

THURSDAY.

A Countertenor on the one Syde
And a Tenor on the outhur Syde

SATTURDAY.

A Countertenor on the oon Syde
And a Tenor on the outhur Syde

Of Wolsey's chapel, Cavendish says (vol. i. p. 35, ed. Singer, 1825):

"Now I will declare unto you the officers of his chapel, and singing men of the same. First, he had there a Dean, who was always a great clerk and a divine; a Sub-Dean; a Repeater of the quire; a Gospeller, a Pisteller; and twelve singing Priests; of Scholars he had first, a Master of the children; twelve singing children; sixteen singing men; with a servant to attend upon the said children."

For an account of Cardinal Wolsey's Minstrels, see Stowe's *Annals*, p. 535; Hawkins' *Hist. Music*, iii. 67. The King borrowed Wolsey's minstrels, and made them play all night without resting, which killed the shalme-player, 'who was very excellent in that Instrument,'—unless the King's players poisoned him from jealousy.

Hawkins, *Hist. of Music*, iii. 417, note, says that the first regular establishment of a company of players was that of the children of Paul's in 1378, the next that of the parish clerks of London at Skinner's-well; the third that of the Children of the Royal Chapel under their master Edwards, by license from Queen Elizabeth; fourth, that of the Children of the Revels.

One of the last two is Shakespere's 'aiery of little children, little eyases,' Hamlet, act ii. sc. 6.

NOTE TO *PRICKS*, P. LXXXIII.

What the *pricks* were I can't quite make out. T. Roberts, in the Glossary to his *English Bowman*, 1801, p. 292, has the following :

PRICK mark.—The white Mark or Target shot at.

PRICKING.
PRICK-shooting. } —Shooting at prick Marks.

PRICKS.—The place where the pricks or marks are placed.

—— *shaft*.—An arrow used in prick-shooting.

PRICKER.—The needle or instrument with which the target card is pricked or marked.

In the well-known Archery Statute, 33 Henry VIII. cap. 9, the word *prick* is used for target or butt, and *prick-shaft* for arrow. "That no man under the Age of Twenty-four Years shall shoot at any standing *Prick*, except it be at a Rover,* whereat he shall change at every Shoot his Mark, upon Pain [to forfeit] for every Shoot doing the contrary *iv. d.*; and that no Person above the said Age of Twenty-four Years shall shoot at any Mark of eleven score Yards or under, with any *Prick-shaft* or Flight under the Pain to forfeit for every Shoot, Six shillings Eight-pence and also that Butts be made on this side the Feast of St Michael the Archangel next coming in every City, Town and Place, by the Inhabitants of every such City, Town and Place according to the Law of ancient Time used." Palsgrave has 'Pricke, a marke—*marque*,' and Prompt. 'Prykke, merke, *meta*.'

It seems clear that the *butts* were for near or short shooting, and the *pricks* for long ranges, which is, I suppose, the meaning of "a mark of compass †."

"*Moll*. Out upon him, what a suiter have I got, I am sorry you are so bad an Archer, sir.

Eare. Why Bird, why Bird ?

Moll. Why, to shoote at *Butts*, vvhhen you shou'd use *prick-shafts*, short shooting vvill loose ye the game, I as[sure] you, sir.

Eare. Her minde runnes sure upon a *Fletcher*, or a *Bowyer*,"

1633, Rowley. *A Match at Midnight*, Act ii. sc. 1 (ref. in Richardson).

"The Cornish men," says Carew ‡, are "well skilled in near shooting, and in well-aimed shooting;—the *butts* made them perfect in the one, and the *roaving* in the

* An accidental mark, in contradistinction to butts and targets : trees, bushes, posts, mounds of earth, landmarks, stones, &c., are roving marks. Hansard's Archery, p. 362.

† And first for shooting in the long-bowe a man must observe these few rules : first that hee haue a good eye to behold and discern his marke, a knowing iudgment to vnderstand the distance of ground to take the true aduantage of a side-winde, and to know in what *compasse* [trajectory] his arrow must flie. G. M[arkham], *Countrey Contentments*, 1615, p. 107, referred to by Strutt.

‡ Carew's Cornwall, 1602, Bk. i. fol. 73, in Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, p. 49.

other, for the *prickes*, the first corrupters of archery through too much preciseness, were formerly scarcely known, and little practised."

Ascham seems to use the word *pricks* for—1. the uprights of a target, or a pair of targets, one at the top and the other at the bottom of the range, as in the engraving in Strutt; 2. the target itself; and, 3. the white in the centre of it, or piece of wood (Halliwell),

Off the marke he welde not fayle,

He cleffed the *preke* on thre.—*Robin Hood*, i. 91.

I. and II. 'A pair of winding *pricks*' is one of the 'things that hinder a man which looketh at his mark to shoot straight,' *ib.* p. 161. 'If the *pricks* stand of a straight plain ground, they be the best to shoot at. If the *mark* stand on a hill-side . . a man's eye shall think that to be straight which is crooked,' *ib.* p. 159, *pricks* being here equivalent to *mark*. 'To shoot straight, they have invented some ways . . to have some notable thing betwixt the *marks*; and once I saw a good archer which did cast off his gear, and laid his quiver with it, even in the midway betwixt the *pricks*,' *ib.* p. 159. (Markham, in his *Art of Archerie*, 1634 (which seems little more than his own Introduction, and a copy of parts of Ascham's *Toxophilus*), has 'betwixt the marks' in both places: p. 165. 'And once I heard in Cambridge the down-marke at Twelue-score-*prick* for the space of three markes was thirteene score and an halfe, p. 151.) 'I suppose it be a great deal more pleasure also to see a soul fly in Plato, than a shaft fly at the *pricks*,' *ib.* p. 12. 'You may stand sometime at the *pricks*, and look on them which shoot best,' *ib.* p. 90.

'I fortun'd to come with three or four that went to shoot at the *pricks*,' p. 11; 'the customable shooting at home at butts and *pricks*,' p. 82. 'You must take heed also, if ever you shoot where one of the *marks*, or both, stands a little short of a high wall, for there you may be easily beguiled. . . For the wind which cometh indeed against you, redoundeth back again at the wall, and whirleth back to the *prick*, and a little farther, and then turneth again,' p. 156. 'Use of *pricking*, and desire of near shooting at home, are the only causes of strong shooting in war,' p. 80.

III. In the singular, 'the *prick*, at other times called the *white*, is the white spot or *point* in the midst of the mark,' says Dr Giles, *ib.* p. 91, in a note to 'at all times to hit the *prick*, shall . . no shooter ever do.' 'The best end in shooting, which you call hitting of the *prick*,' p. 91. 'And by & by he lifteth his arme of *pricke* heyght.' (Folio 54, ed. 1571.) But yet at p. 99, 'what handling belongeth to the mark? *Tox.* To mark his standing, to shoot compass . . to consider the nature of the *prick*, in hills and dales, in straight plains and winding places, and also to espy his mark.' 'Other men use to espy some mark almost a bow wide of the *prick*, and then go about to keep himself on the hand that the *prick* is on,' p. 160.

Having referred the question of the various meanings of the word *prick* to the best authority in Britain, Mr Peter Muir, Bowmaker to the Royal Archers at Edinburgh, he answers:—1st. See Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, page 62, ed. 1838, "The marks usually shot at by Archers for pastime were *Butts*, *prickes*, and *Roavers*." The Butt, we are told, was a level mark, &c. The *Pricke* was 'a marke of compass,' but certain in its distance, and to this mark strong swift arrows of one flight were best suited. 2nd. In Roberts' *English Bowman*, page 241 (London, 1801), is the following, in an article, sect. v. 'Of Prick shooting:—"In archery we frequently find mention of prick shooting. Prick-marks and Prick-shafts are noticed in Stat. of the 33rd H. VIII. c. 9, before cited. The latter, we know, are arrows considerably lighter than those used in other kinds of shooting

except flight shooting. The ancient prick-mark was frequently called the *White*, and consisted probably of a card or piece of stiff white paper. In the *Garland*, indeed, we read of *prick wands* and *willow wands*, probably peeled sticks. One thing we may collect, which distinguishes this kind of shooting from others, namely, that the prick or mark was generally fixed to one spot, and at a less distance, than in other kinds of shooting, and not varied during the shooting. Hence the Statute terms it a *standing prick*, or mark. Prick being a Saxon word for *point*, seems to indicate that this kind of shooting was chiefly confined to small marks, &c. Carew observes it '*required too much preciseness.*' Holinshed and Ascham allude to it as '*shooting round compass.*' The marks used for this kind of shooting for two centuries past consisted either of a small circular piece of white paper fixed to a post (*wand*) or of a target. Modern prick shooting is practised by the Royal Archers at Edinburgh, and is their favourite, at a small round target fixed at 180 yards. Within 30 years they shot at a square mark of canvas on a frame, and called 'the Clout;' and an arrow striking the target is still called '*a clout.*' They count arrows in the ground within four bow-lengths, or 24 feet of the target, the nearest arrow only counting, which is decided by a cord from the centre of the target, and may have been the origin of the 'mark of compass.' The Royal Archers still shoot at Butts 100 feet at the small paper which is enclosed [four inches in diameter, with a white dot as a centre, and four rings outside it]. Till within these few years the Kilwinning Archers (the oldest club in Britain) shot Butts at a white paper *two inches in diameter*. Lately they adopted a mark 12 inches, with a *two-inch white* in the centre, and other two rings outside of different values."

Mr Wright glosses *pricks* as "a game like bowls." Bowls was a game known in early times. Among the sports to make a young lady forget her lover is this,

A hundred knightes, truly told,
Shall play with *bowls* in alleys cold,
Your diseases to drive away.

Squyer of Lowe Degre, Ellis. Spec. p. 337.

If any reader of this note feels certain as to the meaning of *pryckis*, he knows more about it than I do.

PREFACE TO RUSSELL.

THOUGH this *Boke of Nurture* by John Russell is the most complete and elaborate of its kind, I have never seen it mentioned by name in any of the many books and essays on early manners and customs, food and dress, that have issued from the press. My own introduction to it was due to a chance turning over, for another purpose, of the leaves of the MS. containing it. Mr Wheatley then told me of Ritson's reference to it in his *Bibliographica Poetica*, p. 96; and when the text was all printed, a reference in *The Glossary of Domestic Architecture* (v. III. Pt. I. p. 76, note, col. 2) sent me to MS. Sloane 1315¹—in the Glossary stated to have been written in 1452—which proved to be a different and unnamed version of Russell. Then the Sloane Catalogue disclosed a third MS., No. 2027², and the earliest of the three, differing rather less than No. 1315 from Russell's text, but still anonymous. I have therefore to thank for knowledge of the MSS. that special Providence which watches over editors as well as children and drunkards, and have not on this occasion to express gratitude to Ritson and Warton, to whom every lover of Early English Manuscripts is under such deep obligations, and whose guiding hands (however faltering) in Poetry have made us long so often for the like in Prose. Would that one of our many Historians of English Literature had but conceived the idea of cataloguing the materials for his History before sitting down to write it! Would that a wise Government would commission another Hardy to do for English Literature what the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records is now doing for English History—

¹ This MS. contains a copy of "The Rewle of the Moone," fol. 49-67, which I hope to edit for the Society.

² The next treatise to Russell in this MS. is "The booke off the gouernaunce off Kyngis and Pryncis," or *Liber Aristotiles ad Alexandrum Magnum*, a book of Lydgate's that we ought to print from the best MS. of it. At fol. 74 b. is a heading,—

Here dyed this translatour and noble poette Lidgate and the yong follower gan his prolog on this wys.

give us a list of the MSS. and early printed books of it! What time and trouble such a Catalogue would save!

But to return to John Russell and his Boke. He describes himself at the beginning and end of his treatise as Usher and Marshal to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, delighting in his work in youth, quitting it only when compelled by crooked age, and then anxious to train up worthy successors in the art and mystery of managing a well-appointed household. A man evidently who knew his work in every detail, and did it all with pride; not boastful, though upholding his office against rebellious cooks¹, putting them down with imperial dignity, "we may allow and disallow; our office is the chief!" A simple-minded religious man too,—as the close of his Treatise shows,—and one able to appreciate the master he served, the "prynce fulle royalle," the learned and munificent Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, the patron of Lydgate, Occleve, Capgrave, Withamstede, Leonard Aretine, Petrus Candidus, Petrus de Monte, Tito Livio, Antoyne de Beccara, &c. &c., the lover of Manuscripts, the first great donor to the Oxford University Library which Bodley revived², "that prince peerless," as Russell calls him, a man who, with all his faults, loved books and authors, and shall be respected by us as he was by Lydgate. But our business is with the Marshal, not the Master, and we will hear what John Russell says of himself in his own verse,

an vssherye y Am / ye may beholde / to a prynce of highe degre,
 þat enioyethe to enforme & teche / alle þo thatt wille thrive & thee,
 Of suche thynges as here-aftur shalle be shewed by my diligence
 To them þat nought Can / with-owt gret exsperience;
 Therfore yf any mañ þat y mete withe, þat for fawt of necligence,
 y wylle hym enforme & teche, for hurtyng of my Conscience.
 To teche vertew and connyng, me thynketh hit charitable,
 for moche youthe in connyng / is bareñ & fulle vnable. (l. 3-9.)

At the end of his Boke he gives us a few more details about himself and his work in life:

¹ One can fancy that a cook like Wolsey's (described by Cavendish, vol. i. p. 34), "a Master Cook who went daily in damask satin, or velvet, with a chain of gold about his neck" (a mark of nobility in earlier days) would be not *leef* but *loth* to obey an usher and marshal.

² Warton, ii. 264-8, ed. 1840. For further details about the Duke see the Appendix to this Preface.

Now good soñ, y haue shewed the / & brought þe in v̄re,
to know þe Curtesie of court / & these þow may take in cure,
In pantry / botery / or cellere / & in kervynge a-fore a sovereyne
demewre,

A sewer / or a marshalle : in þes science / y suppose ye byñ sewre,
Which in my dayes y lernyd withe a prynce fulle royalle,
with whom vschere in chambur was y, & marshalle also in halle,
vnto whom alle þese officeres foreseid / þey euer entende shalle,
Evir to fulfille my commaundement when þat y to þem calle :

For we may allow & dissalow / oure office is þe cheeff
In cellere & spicery / & the Cooke, be he loothe or leeff. (l. 1173-82.)

Further on, at line 1211, he says,

“ Moore of þis connyng y Cast not me to contreve :
my tyme is not to tary, hit drawest fast to eve.
þis tetryse þat y haue entitled, if it ye entende to preve,
y assayed me self in youthe with-outeñ any greve.

while y was yonge y-noughe & lusty in dede,
y enioyed þese maters foreseid / & to lerne y toke good hede ;
but croked age hathe compelled me / & leue court y must nede.
þerfore, sone, assay thy self / & god shalle be þy spede.”

And again, at line 1227,

“ Now, good soñ, thy self, with other þat shalle þe succede,
whiche þus boke of nurture shalle note / lerne, & ouer rede,
pray for the sowle of Iohn Russelle, þat god do hym mede,
Som tyme seruaunde with duke vmfrey, duc¹ of Glowcetur in dede.

For þat prynce pereles prayethe / & for suche other mo,
þe sowle of my wife / my fadur and modir also,
vn-to Mary modyr and mayd / she fende us from owre foe,
and brynge vs alle to blis when we shalle hens goo. **AMEN.**”

As to his Boke, besides what is quoted above, John Russell says,
Go forthe lytelle boke, and lowly þow me commende
vnto alle yonge gentilmeñ / þat lust to lerne or entende,
and specially to þem þat han exsperience, praynge þe[m] to amende
and correcte þat is amysse, þere as y fawte or offende.

And if so þat any be founde / as prou3 myñ necligence,
Cast þe cawse oñ my copy / rude / & bare of eloquence,
whiche to drawe out [I] haue do my besy diligence,
redily to reforme hit / by resoñ and bettur sentence.

As for ryme or resoñ, þe forewryter was not to blame,
For as he founde hit aforne hym, so wrote he þe same,
and þaughe he or y in oure matere digres or degrade,
blame neithur of vs / For we neuyre hit made ;

¹ The *duc* has a red stroke through it, probably to cut it out.

Symple as y had insight / somewhat þe ryme y correcte ;
 blame y cowde no mañ / y haue no persone suspecte.
 Now, good god, graunt vs grace / oure sowles neuer to Infecte !
 þañ may we regne in þi regioun / eternally with thyne electe.
 (l. 1235-50.)

If John Russell was the writer of the Epilogue quoted above, lines 1235-50, then it would seem that in this Treatise he only corrected and touched up some earlier Book of Norture which he had used in his youth, and which, if Sloane 2027 be not its original, may be still extant in its primal state in Mr Arthur Davenport's MS., "How to serve a Lord," said to be of the fourteenth century¹, and now supposed to be stowed away in a hayloft with the owner's other books, awaiting the rebuilding and fitting of a fired house. I only hope this MS. may prove to be Russell's original, as Mr Davenport has most kindly promised to let me copy and print it for the Society. Meantime it is possible to consider John Russell's Book of Norture as his own. For early poets and writers of verse seem to have liked this fiction of attributing their books to other people, and it is seldom that you find them acknowledging that they have imagined their Poems on their own heads, as Hampole has it in his *Pricke of Conscience*, p. 239, l. 8874 (ed. Morris, Philol. Soc.). Even Mr Tennyson makes believe that Everard Hall wrote his *Morte d' Arthur*, and some Leonard his *Golden Year*. On the other hand, the existence of the two Sloane MSS. is more consistent with Russell's own statement (if it is his own, and not his adapter's in the Harleian MS.) that he did not write his Boke himself, but only touched up another man's. Desiring to let every reader judge for himself on this point, I shall try to print in a separate text², for convenience of comparison, the Sloane MS. 1315, which differs most from Russell, and which the Keeper of the MSS. at the British Museum considers rather earlier (ab. 1440-50 A.D.) than the MS. of Russell (ab. 1460-70 A.D.), while of the earliest of the three, Sloane MS. 2027 (ab. 1430-40 A.D.), the nearer to Russell in phraseology, I shall give a collation of all important variations. If any reader of the

¹ See one MS., "How to serve a Lord," ab. 1500 A.D., quoted in the notes to the Camden Society's Italian Relation of England, p. 97.

² For the Early English Text Society.

present text compares the Sloanes with it, he will find the subject matter of all three alike, except in these particulars :

Sloane 1315.	Sloane 2027.
Omits lines 1-4 of Russell.	Contains these lines.
Inserts after l. 48 of R. a passage about behaviour which it nearly repeats, where Russell puts it, at l. 276, <i>Symple Condicions</i> .	Inserts and omits as Sl. 1315 does, but the wording is often different.
Omits Russell's stanza, l. 305-8, about 'these cuttid galauntes with their codware.'	
Omits a stanza, l. 319-24, p. 137.	Contains this stanza (fol. 42, b.).
Contracts R.'s chapter on Fumositees, p. 139.	Contracts the Fumositees too (fol. 45 and back).
Omits R.'s <i>Lenvoy</i> , under Fried Metes, p. 149-50.	Has one verse of <i>Lenvoy</i> altered (fol. 45 b.).
Transfers R.'s chapters on <i>Sewes on Fische Dayes</i> and <i>Sawcis for Fische</i> , l. 819-54, p. 171-5, to the end of his chapter on <i>Kervyng of Fische</i> , l. 649, p. 161.	Transfers as Sl. 1315 does (see fol. 48).
Gives different Soteltes (or Devices at the end of each course), and omits Russell's description of his four of the Four Seasons, p. 164-70; and does not alter the metre of the lines describing the Dinners as he does, p. 167-171.	Differs from R., nearly as Sl. 1315 does.
Winds up at the end of the <i>Bathe or Stewe</i> , l. 1000, p. 183, R., with two stanzas of peroration. As there is no <i>Explicit</i> , the MS. may be incomplete, but the next page is blank.	Has 3 winding-up stanzas, as if about to end as Sloane 1315 does, but yet goes on (omitting the <i>Bathe Medicinable</i>) with the <i>Vssher and Marshalle</i> , R. p. 185, and ends suddenly, at l. 1062, p. 188, R., in the middle of the chapter.

In occasional length of line, in words and rhymes, Sloane 1315 differs far more from Russell than Sloane 2027, which has Russell's long lines and rhymes throughout, so far as a hurried examination shows.

But the variations of both these Sloane MSS. are to me more like those from an original MS. of which our Harleian Russell is a copy, than of an original which Russell altered. Why should the earliest Sloane 2027 start with

“An vsschere .y. am / as ye may se : to a prynce Of hyghe degre” if in its original the name of the prince was not stated at the end, as Russell states it, to show that he was not gammoning his readers? Why does Sloane 1315 omit lines in some of its stanzas, and words in some of its lines, that the Harleian Russell enables us to fill up? Why does it too make its writer refer to the pupil's lord and sovereign, if in its original the author did not clench his teaching by asserting, as Russell does, that he had served one? This Sloane 1315 may well have been copied by a man like Wynkyn de Worde, who wished not to show the real writer of the treatise. On the whole, I incline to believe that John Russell's Book of Norture was written by him, and that either the Epilogue to it was a fiction of his, or was written by the superintendent of the particular copy in the Harleian MS. 4011, Russell's own work terminating with the *Amen*! after line 1234.

But whether we consider Russell's Boke another's, or as in the main his own,—allowing that in parts he may have used previous pieces on the subjects he treats of, as he has used *Stans Puer* (or its original) in his *Symple Condicions*, l. 277-304,—if we ask what the Boke contains, the answer is, that it is a complete Manual for the Valet, Butler, Footman, Carver, Taster, Dinner-arranger, Hippocras-maker, Usher and Marshal of the Nobleman of the time when the work was written, the middle of the fifteenth century.—For I take the date of the composition of the work to be somewhat earlier than that of the MS. it is here printed from, and suppose Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, “imprisoned and murdered 1447,” to have been still alive when his Marshal penned it.—Reading it, we see “The Good Duke” rise and dress¹, go to Chapel and meals, entertain at feasts in Hall, then undress and retire to rest; we hear how his head was combed with an ivory comb, his stomacher warmed, his petycote put on, his slippers brown as the waterleech got ready, his privy-seat prepared, and his urinal kept in waiting; how his bath was made, his

¹ I have put figures before the motions in the dress and undress drills, for they reminded me so of “Manual and Platoon: by numbers.”

table laid, his guests arranged, his viands carved, and his salt smoothed¹; we are told how nearly all the birds that fly, the animals that walk the earth, the fish that swim in river and sea, are food for the pot: we hear of dishes strange to us², beaver's tail, osprey, brewe, venprides, whale, swordfish, seal, torrentyne, pety perveis or perneis, and gravell of beef³. Bills of fare for flesh and fish days are laid before us; admired Sotiltees or Devices are described; and he who cares to do so may fancy for himself the Duke and all his brilliant circle feasting in Hall, John Russell looking on, and taking care that all goes right.⁴ I am not going to try my hand at the sketch, as I do not write for men in the depths of that deducated Philistinism which lately made a literary man say to one of our members on his printing a book of the 15th century, "Is it possible that you care how those barbarians, our ancestors, lived?" If any one who takes up this tract, will not read it through, the loss is his; those who do work at it will gladly acknowledge their gain. That it is worthy of the attention of all to whose ears tidings of Early England come with

¹ Mr Way says that the *planere*, l. 58, is an article new to antiquarians.

² Randle Holme's tortoise and snails, in No. 12 of his Second Course, Bk. III., p. 60, col. 1, are stranger still. "Tortoise need not seem strange to an alderman who eats turtle, nor to a West Indian who eats terrapin. Nor should snails, at least to the city of Paris, which devours myriads, nor of Ulm, which breeds millions for the table. Tortoises are good; snails excellent." Henry H. Gibbs.

³ "It is nought all good to the goost that the gut asketh" we may well say with William who wrote *Piers Ploughmon*, v. 1, p. 17, l. 533-4, after reading the lists of things eatable, and dishes, in Russell's pages. The later feeds that Phylotheus Physiologus exclaims against* are nothing to them: "What an *Hodg-potch* do most that have Abilities make in their Stomachs, which must wonderfully oppress and distract Nature: For if you should take *Flesh* of various sorts, *Fish* of as many, *Cabbages*, *Parsnops*, *Potatoes*, *Mustard*, *Butter*, *Cheese*, a *Pudden* that contains more then ten several Ingredients, *Tarts*, *Sweet-meats*, *Custards*, and add to these *Churries*, *Plums*, *Currans*, *Apples*, *Capers*, *Olives*, *Anchovies*, *Mangoes*, *Caveare*, &c., and jumble them altogether into one *Mass*, what Eye would not loath, what Stomach not abhor such a *Gallemaufrey*? yet this is done every Day, and counted *Gallent Entertainment*."

⁴ See descriptions of a dinner in Parker's *Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages*, iii. 74-87 (with a good cut of the Cupboard, Dais, &c.), and in Wright's *Domestic Manners and Customs*. Russell's description of the Franklin's dinner, l. 795-818, should be noted for the sake of Chaucer's Franklin, and we may also notice that Russell orders butter and fruits to be served on an empty stomach before dinner, l. 77, as a whet to the appetite. *Modus Cenandi* serves potage first, and keeps the fruits, with the spices and biscuits, for dessert. Part II. p. 38, l. 54.

* Monthly Observations for the preserving of Health, 1686, p. 20-1.

welcome sound across the wide water of four hundred years, I unhesitatingly assert. That it has interested me, let the time its notes have taken on this, a fresh subject to me, testify. If any should object to the extent of them¹, or to any words in them that may offend his ear, let him excuse them for the sake of what he thinks rightly present. There are still many subjects and words insufficiently illustrated in the comments, and for the names *venprides* (l. 820); *sprotis*, (?sprats, as in Sloane 1315), and *torrentille* (l. 548); almond *iardyne* (l. 744); ginger *colombyne*, *valadyne*, and *maydelyne* (l. 132-3); leche *dugard*, &c., I have not been able to find meanings. Explanations and helps I shall gladly receive, in the hope that they may appear in another volume of like kind for which I trust soon to find more MSS. Of other MSS. of like kind I also ask for notice.

The reason for reprinting Wynkyn de Worde's *Boke of Keruynges*, which I had not at first thought of, was because its identity of phrase and word with many parts of Russell,—a thing which came on me with a curious feeling of surprise as I turned over the leaves,—made it certain that de Worde either abstracted in prose Russell's MS., chopping off his lines' tails,—adding also bits here², leaving out others there,—or else that both writers copied a common original. The most cursory perusal will show this to be the case. It was not alone by happy chance that when Russell had said

O Fruture viant / Fruter sawge byñ good / bettur is Frutur powche ;
Appulle fruture / is good hoot / but þe cold ye not towche (l. 501-2)

Wynkyn de Worde delivered himself of

“Fruyter vaunte, fruyter say be good ; better is fruyter pouche ;
apple fruyters ben good good hote / and all colde fruters, touche
not,”

¹ The extracts from Bulleyn, Børde, Vaughan, and Harington are in the nature of notes, but their length gave one the excuse of printing them in bigger type as parts of a Text. In the same way I should have treated the many extracts from Laurens Andrewe, had I not wanted them intermixed with the other notes, and been also afraid of swelling this book to an unwieldy size.

² The Termes of a Kerver so common in MSS. are added, and the subsequent arrangement of the modes of carving the birds under these Termes, p. 15-17. The Easter-Day feast (p. 14) is also new, the bit why the heads of pheasants, partridges, &c., are unwholesome—‘for they ete in theyr degrees foule thynges, as wormes, todes, and other suche’—and several other pieces.

altering *not's* place to save the rhyme ; or that when Russell had said of the Crane

The Crane is a fowle / that stronge is *with* to fare ;
þe whynges ye areyse / fulle large evyn thare ;
of hyre trompe in þe brest / loke þat ye beware

Wynkyn de Worde directed his Carver thus : " A crane, reyse the wynges fyrst, & beware of the trumpe in his brest." Let any one compare the second and third pages of Wynkyn de Worde's text with lines 48-137 of Russell, and he will make up his mind that the old printer was either one of the most barefaced plagiarists that ever lived, or that the same original was before him and Russell too. May Mr Davenport's hayloft, or some learned antiquarian, soon decide the alternative for us ! The question was too interesting a "Curiosity of Literature" not to be laid before our Members, and therefore *The Boke of Keruyng* was reprinted—from the British Museum copy of the second edition of 1513—with added side-notes and stops, and the colophon as part of the title.

Then came the necessary comparison of Russell's Boke with the *Boke of Curtasye*, edited by Mr Halliwell from the Sloane MS. 1986 for the Percy Society. Contrasts had to be made with it, in parts, many times in a page ; the tract was out of print and probably in few Members' hands ; it needed a few corrections¹, and was worthy of a thousand times wider circulation than it had had ; therefore a new edition from the MS. was added to this volume. Relying on Members reading it for themselves, I have not in the notes indicated all the points of coincidence and difference between this Boke and Russell's. It is of wider scope than Russell's, takes in the duties of outdoor officers and servants as well as indoor, and maybe those of a larger household ; it has also a *fyrst Boke* on general manners, and a *Second Book* on what to learn at school, how to behave at church, &c., but it does not go into the great detail as to Meals and Dress which is the special value of Russell's Boke, nor is it associated with a writer who tells us something of himself, or a noble who in all our English Middle Age has so bright a name on which we can look back

¹ *do the*, l. 115, is *clothe* in the MS. ; *grayne*, l. 576 (see too ll. 589, 597,) is *grayue*, Scotch *greive*, AS. *gerefa*, a kind of bailiff ; *resceyne*, ll. 547, 575, is *resceyue*, receive ; &c.

as "good Duke Humphrey." This personality adds an interest to work that anonymity and its writings of equal value can never have ; so that we may be well content to let the *Curtasye* be used in illustration of the *Nurture*. The MS. of the *Curtasye* is about 1460 A.D., Mr Bond says. I have dated it wrongly on the half-title.

The Booke of Demeanor was "such a little one" that I was tempted to add it to mark the general introduction of handkerchiefs. Having printed it, arose the question, 'Where did it come from?' No Weste's *Schoole of Vertue* could I find in catalogues, or by inquiring of the Duke of Devonshire, Mr W. C. Hazlitt, at the Bodleian, &c. Seager's *Schoole of Vertue* was the only book that turned up, and this I accordingly reprinted, as Weste's Booke of Demeanor seemed to be little more than an abstract of the first four Chapters of Seager cut down and rewritten. We must remember that books of this kind, which we look on as sources of amusement, as more or less of a joke, were taken seriously by the people they were written for. That *The Schoole of Vertue*, for instance—whether Seager's or Weste's—was used as a regular school-book for boys, let Io. Brinsley witness. In his *Grammar Schoole* of 1612, pp. 17, 18, he enumerates the "Bookes to bee first learned of children":—1. their Abcie, and Primer. 2. The Psalms in metre, 'because children wil learne that booke with most readinesse and delight through the running of the metre, as it is found by experience. 3. Then the Testament.' 4. "If any require any other little booke meet to enter children ; *the Schoole of Vertue* is one of the principall, and easiest for the first enterers, being full of precepts of ciuilitie, and such as children will soone learne and take a delight in, thorow the roundnesse of the metre, as was sayde before of the singing Psalmes : And after it *the Schoole of good manners*¹, called, *the new Schoole of Vertue*, leading the childe as by the hand, in the way of all good manners." I make no apology for including reprints of these little-known books in an Early English Text. *Qui s'excuse s'accuse* ; and if these Tracts do not justify to any reader their own appearance here, I believe the fault is not theirs. A poem on minding what you say, which Mr Aldis

¹ This is doubtless a different book from Hugh Rhodes's *Booke of Nurture & Schoole of Good Manners*, p. 71, below.

Wright has kindly sent me, some Maxims on Behaviour, &c., which all end in *-ly*, and Roger Ascham's Advice to his brother-in-law on entering a nobleman's service, finish Part I.

The woodcuts Messrs Virtue have allowed me to have copies of for a small royalty, and they will help the reader to realize parts of the text better than any verbal description. The cuts are not of course equal to the beautiful early illuminations they are taken from, but they are near enough for the present purpose. The dates of those from British Museum MSS. are given on the authority of trustworthy officers of the Manuscript Department. The dates of the non-Museum MSS. are copied from Mr Wright's text. The line of description under the cuts is also from Mr Wright's text, except in one instance where he had missed the fact of the cut representing the Marriage Feast at Cana of Galilee, with its six water-pots.

The MS. of Russell is on thick folio paper, is written in a close—and seemingly unprofessional—hand, fond of making elaborate capitals to the initials of its titles, and thus occasionally squeezing up into a corner the chief word of the title, because the *T* of *The* preceding has required so much room.¹ The MS. has been read through by a corrector with a red pen, pencil, or brush, who has underlined all the important words, touched up the capitals, and evidently believed in the text. Perhaps the corrector, if not writer, was Russell himself. I hope it was, for the old man must have enjoyed emphasizing his precepts with those red scores; but then he would hardly have allowed a space to remain blank in line 204, and have left his Panter-pupil in doubt as to whether he should lay his “white payne” on the left or right of his knives. Every butler, drill-serjeant, and vestment-cleric, must feel the thing to be impossible. The corrector was not John Russell.

To all those gentlemen who have helped me in the explanations of words, &c.,—Mr Gillett, Dr Günther, Mr Atkinson, Mr Skeat, Mr Cockayne, Mr Gibbs, Mr Way, the Hon. G. P. Marsh—and to Mr E. Brock, the most careful copier of the MS., my best thanks are due, and are hereby tendered. Would that thanks of any of us now profiting by their labours could reach the ears of that prince of

¹ The MS. has no title. The one printed I have made up from bits of the text.

Dictionary-makers, Cotgrave, of Frater Galfridus, Palsgrave, Hexham, Philipps, and the rest of the lexicographers who enable us to understand the records of the past! Would too that an adequate expression of gratitude could reach the ears of the lost Nicolas, and of Sir Frederic Madden, for their carefully indexed Household Books,—to be contrasted with the unwieldy mass and clueless mazes of the Antiquaries' *Household Ordinances*, the two volumes of the Roxburghe *Howard Household Books*, and Percy's *Northumberland Household Book*¹!—They will be spared the pains of the special place of torment reserved for editors who turn out their books without glossary or index. May that be their sufficient reward!

3, *St George's Square*, N.W.

16 *Dec.*, 1866.

¹ Still one is truly thankful for the material in these unindexed books.

HUMPHREY, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

Mr C. H. Pearson has referred me to a most curious treatise on the state of Duke Humphrey's body and health in 1404 (that is, 1424, says Hearne), by Dr Gilbert Kymer, his physician, part of which (chapters 3 and 19, with other pieces) was printed by Hearne in the appendix to his *Liber Niger*, v. ii. p. 550 (*ed. alt.*), from a MS. then in Sir Hans Sloane's Collection, and now *Sloane* 4 in the British Museum. It begins at p. 127 or folio 63, and by way of giving the reader a notion of its contents, I add here a copy of the first page of the MS.

Incipit dietarium de sanitatis custodia preinclinatissimo principi ac metuendissimo domino, domino humfrido, duci Gloucestrie, Aliisque preclaris titulis insignito, Scriptum & compilatum, per venerabilem doctorem, Magistrum Gilbertum Kymer, Medicinarum professorem, arcium ac philosophie Magistrum & in legibus bacallarium prelibati principis phisicum, Cuius dietarij¹ colleccionem (?) dilucidancia & effectum viginti sex existunt capitula, quorum consequenter hic ordo ponitur Rubricarum².

Capitulum 1^m est epistola de laude sanitatis & vtilitate bone diete.

Capitulum 2^m est de illis in quibus consistit dieta.

Capitulum 3^m de tocius co[r]poris & parcium disposicione.

Capitulum 4^m est de Ayere eligendo & corrigendo.

Capitulum 5^m de quantitate cibi & potus sumenda.

Capitulum 6^m de ordine sumendi cibum & potum.

Capitulum 7^m de tempore sumendi cibum & potum.

Capitulum 8^m de quantitate cibi & potus sumendorum.

Capitulum 9^m de pane eligendo.

Capitulum 10^m de generibus potagiorum sumendis.

¹ The letters are to me more like cl, or col than anything else, but I am not sure what they are.

² The MS. runs on without breaks.

Capitulum 11^m de carnibus vtendis & vitandis.

Capitulum 12^m de ouis sumendis.

Capitulum 13^m de lacticinijs vtendis.

Capitulum 14^m de piscibus vtendis & vitandis.

Capitulum 15^m de fructibus sumendis.

Capitulum 16^m de condimentis & speciebus vtendis.

Capitulum 17^m de potu eligendo.

Capitulum 18^m de regimine replecionis & inanicionis.

Capitulum 19^m de vsu coitus.

Capitulum 20^m de excercicio & quiete.

Capitulum 21^m de sompni & vigilie regimine.

Capitulum 22^m de vsu accidencium anime.

Capitulum 23^m de bona consuetudine diete tenenda.

Capitulum 24^m de medicinis vicissim vtendis.

Capitulum 25^m de aduersis nature infortunijs precauendis.

Capitulum 26^m de deo semper colendo vt sanitatem melius tueatur.

Sharon Turner (*Hist. of England*, v. 498, note 35) says euphemistically of the part of this treatise printed by Hearne, that “it implies how much the Duke had injured himself by the want of self-government. It describes him in his 45th year, as having a rheumatic affection in his chest, with a daily morning cough. It mentions that his nerves had become debilitated by the vehemence of his laborious exercises, and from an immoderate frequency of pleasurable indulgences. It advises him to avoid north winds after a warm sun, sleep after dinner, exercise after society, frequent bathings, strong wine, much fruit, the flesh of swine, and the weakening gratification to which he was addicted. The last (chapter), ‘De Deo semper colendo, ut sanitatem melius tueatur,’ is worthy the recollection of us all.” It is too late to print the MS. in the present volume, but in a future one it certainly ought to appear.

Of Duke Humphrey’s character and proceedings after the Pope’s bull had declared his first marriage void, Sharon Turner further says :

“Gloucester had found the rich dowry of Jacqueline wrenched from his grasp, and, from so much opposition, placed beyond his attaining, and he had become satiated with her person. One of her

attendants, Eleanor Cobham, had affected his variable fancy ; and tho' her character had not been spotless before, and she had surrendered her honour to his own importunities, yet he suddenly married her, exciting again the wonder of the world by his conduct, as in that proud day every nobleman felt that he was acting incongruously with the blood he had sprung from. His first wedlock was impolitic, and this unpopular ; and both were hasty and self-willed, and destructive of all reputation for that dignified prudence, which his elevation to the regency of the most reflective and enlightened nation in Europe demanded for its example and its welfare. This injudicious conduct announced too much imperfection of intellect, not to give every advantage to his political rival the bishop of Winchester, his uncle, who was now struggling for the command of the royal mind, and for the predominance in the English government. He and the duke of Exeter were the illegitimate brothers of Henry the Fourth, and had been first intrusted with the king's education. The internal state of the country, as to its religious feelings and interest, contributed to increase the differences which now arose between the prelate and his nephew, who is described by a contemporary as sullyng his cultivated understanding and good qualities, by an ungoverned and diseasing love of unbecoming pleasures. It is strange, that in so old a world of the same continuing system always repeating the same lesson, any one should be ignorant that the dissolute vices are the destroyers of personal health, comfort, character, and permanent influence."¹

After narrating Duke Humphrey's death, Turner thus sums up his character :—

“The duke of Gloucester, amid failings that have been before alluded to, has acquired the pleasing epithet of The Good ; and has been extolled for his promotion of the learned or deserving clergy. Fond of literature, and of literary conversation, he patronized men of talent and erudition. One is called, in a public record, his poet and orator ; and Lydgate prefaces one of his voluminous works, with a panegyric upon him, written during the king's absence on his French

¹ Sharon Turner's *History of England*, vol. v. pp. 496—8.

coronation, which presents to us the qualities for which, while he was living, the poet found him remarkable, and thought fit to commend him."

These verses are in the Royal MS. 18 D 4, in the British Museum, and are here printed from the MS., not from Turner:—

[Fol. 4.] Eek in this lond—I dar afferme a thyng—
Ther is a prince Ful myhty of puyssaunce,
A kynges sone, vncle to the kyng
Henry the sexte which is now in fraunce,
And is lieftenant, & hath the gouernaunce
Off our breteyne ; thoruh was discrecion
He hath conserued in this regioun

Duryng his tyme off ful hihe¹ prudence
Pes and quiete, and sustened rihte.¹
3it natwithstandyng his noble prouydence
He is in deede prouyd a good knyht,
Eied as argus with reson and forsiht ;
Off hihe lectrure I dar eek off hym telle,
And treuli deeme that he dothe excelle

In vndirstondyng all othir of his age,
And hath gret Ioie with clerkis to commune ;
And no man is mor expert off language.
Stable in studie alwei he doth contune,
Settyng a side alle chaunges² of fortune ;
And wher he louethe, 3iff I schal nat tarie,
Witheoute cause ful lothe he is to varie.

Duc off Gloucestre men this prince calle ;
And natwithstandyng his staat & dignyte,
His corage neuer doth appalle
To studie in bookis off antiquite ;
Therin he hathe so gret felicite
Vertuousli hym silff to ocupie,
Off vicious slouth to haue the maistrie.³

¹ These e-s represent the strokes through the h-s.

² MS. thaunges.

³ This is the stanza quoted by Dr Reinhold Pauli in his *Bilder aus Alt-England*, c. xi. p. 349 :

“Herzog von Glocester nennen sie den Fürsten,
Der trotz des hohen Rangs und hoher Ehren
Im Herzen nährt ein dauerndes Gelüsten
Nach Allem, was die alten Bücher lehren ;
So glücklich gross ist hierin sein Begehren,
Dass tugendsam er seine Zeit verbringt
Und trunkne Trägheit männiglich bezwingt.”

The reader should by all means consult this chapter, which is headed “Herzog

And with his prudence & wit his manheed
 Trouthe to susteyne he fauour set a side ;
 And hooli chirche meynthyng in dede,
 That in this land no lollard dar abide.
 As verrai support, vpholdere, & eek guyde,
 Spareth non, but makethe hym silff strong
 To punyssh alle tho that do the chirche wrong.

Thus is he both manly & eek wise,
 Chose of god to be his owne knyghte ;
 And off o thyng he hath a synguler¹ price,
 That heretik dar non comen in his sihte.
 In cristes feithe he stant so hol vpriht,
 Off hooli chirche defence and [c]hampion
 To chastise alle that do therto treson.

And to do plesance to oure lord ihesu
 He studieht² euere to haue intelligence.
 Reedinge off bookis bringthe in vertu,—
 Vices excludyng, slouthe & necligence,—
 Makethe a prince to haue experience
 To know hym silff in many sundry wise,
 Wher he trespaseth, his errour to chastise.

After mentioning that the duke had considered the book of 'Boccasio, on the Fall of Princes,' he adds, 'and he gave me commandment, that I should, after my conning, this book translate him to do plesance.' MS. 18 D 4.—Sharon Turner's *History of England*, vol. vi. pp. 55—7.

P.S. When printing the 1513 edition of Wynkyn de Worde's *Boke of Keruynge*, I was not aware of the existence of a copy of the earlier edition in the Cambridge University Library. Seeing this copy afterwards named in Mr Hazlitt's new catalogue, I asked a friend to compare the present reprint with the first edition, and the result follows.

Humfrid von Glocester. Bruchstück eines Fürstenlebens im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert" (Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. Sketch of the life of a prince in the fifteenth century). There is an excellent English translation of this book, published by Macmillan, and entitled "Pictures of Old England."—W. W. Skeat.

¹ The *l* is rubbed.

² So in MS.

NOTE ON THE 1508 EDITION OF

The Boke of Keruynges,

BY THE REV. WALTER SKEAT, M.A.

The title-page of the older edition, of 1508, merely contains the words, “¶ Here begynneth the boke of Keruynges;” and beneath them is—as in the second edition of 1513—a picture of two ladies and two gentlemen at dinner, with an attendant bringing a dish, two servants at a side table, and a jester. The colophon tells us that it was “Enprynted by wynkyn de worde at London in Flete strete at the sygne of the sonne. The yere of our lorde M.CCCCC.VIII;” beneath which is Wynkyn de Worde’s device, as in the second edition.

The two editions resemble each other very closely, running page for page throughout, and every folio in the one begins at the same place as in the other. Thus the word “moche” is divided into mo-che in both editions, the “-che” beginning Fol. A ii. b. Neither is altogether free from misprints, but these are not very numerous nor of much importance. It may be observed that marks of contraction are hardly ever used in the older edition, the word “ye” being written “the” at length, and instead of “haged” we find “hanged.” On the whole, the first edition would seem to be the more carefully printed, but the nature of the variations between them will be best understood by an exact collation of the first two folios (pp. 265-7 of the present edition), where the readings of the first edition are denoted by the letter A. The only variations are these:—

- P. 265. *lyft* that swanne] *lyfte* that swanne A (*a misprint*).
frusshe that chekyn] *fruche* that chekyn A.
 thye all maner of small byrdes] A *omits* of.
fynne that cheuen] *fyne* that cheuen A.
transsene that ele] *trassene* that ele A.
 Here *hendeth*, &c.] Here *endeth*, &c. A.
Butler] *Butteler* A.
 P. 266, l. 5. *trenchoures*] *trenchours* A.
 l. 12. *hanged*] *hanged* A.
 l. 15. *cannelles*] *canelles* A.
 l. 18, 19. *ye*] *the* (*in both places*) A.
 l. 20. *seasons*] *seasons* A.
 l. 23. *after*] *After* A.
 l. 27. *good*] *goot* A.
 l. 30. *ye*] *the* A.
 l. 34. *modon*] *modon* A.
 l. 36. *sourayne*] *souerayne* A.

P. 267. *y^e*] the A (*several times*).

l. 5. *wyll*] *wyl* A.

l. 9. *rede*] *reed* A. *reboyle*] *reboyle* not A.

l. 12. *the reboyle*] *they reboyle* A.

l. 17. *lessynge*] *lesynge* A.

l. 20. *campolet*] *campolet* A.

l. 21. *tyer*] *tyerre* A.

l. 22. *ypocras*] *Ipocras* A (*and in the next line, and l. 26*).

l. 24. *gynger*] *gynger* A.

l. 27. *ren*] *hange* A.

l. 29. *your*] *youre* A.

In l. 33, A has paradico, as in the second edition.

It will be readily seen that these variations are chiefly in the spelling, and of a trivial character. The only ones of any importance are, on p. 5, *lyste* (which is a misprint) for *lyft*, and *trassene* for *transsene* (cp. Fr. *transon*, a truncheon, peece of, Cot.); on p. 6, *goot* for *good* is well worth notice (if any meaning can be assigned to *goot*), as the direction to beware of *good* strawberries is not obvious; on p. 7, we should note *lesynge* for *lessynge*, and *hange* for *ren*, the latter being an improvement, though *ren* makes sense, as basins hung by cords on a perch may, like curtains hung on a rod, be said to *run* on it. The word *ren* was probably caught up from the line above it in reprinting.

The following corrections are also worth making, and are made on the authority of the first edition:—

P. 269, l. 10, *For treachour read trenchour.*

l. 23. *For so read se.*

l. 24. *For se' read se.*

P. 270, l. 1. *ony*] on A.

l. 7. *For it read is.*

l. 15. *y^e so*] and soo A. (*No doubt owing to confusion between & and y^e.*)

l. 16. *your*] you A.

l. 29. *For bo read be.*

P. 271, l. 20. *For wich read with.*

P. 272, l. 3. *For fumositytes read fumositytees.*

l. 7. *For pygous read pynyons* (whence it appears that the *pinion*-bones, not *pigeon's*-bones, are meant).

l. 25. The word “*reyfe*” is quite plain.

P. 274, ll. 18, &c. There is some variation here; the first edition has, after the word *souerayne*, the following:—“*laye trenchours before hym / yf he be a grete estate, lay fyue trenchours / & he be of a lower degre, foure trenchours / & of an other degre, thre trenchours,*” &c. This is better; the second edition is clearly wrong about the *five* trenchers. This seems another error made in reprinting, the words *lower degre* being wrongly repeated.

P. 275, l. 6. It may be proper to note the first edition also has *broche*.

P. 279, l. 8. *For for y^e read for they.*

P. 279, l. 27. *the[y]*; in A *they* is printed in full.

P. 280, l. 18. For raysyus read raysyns.

P. 281, l. 21. For slytee read slytte.

P. 283, ll. 10, 18. *carpentes*] carpettes A.

l. 14. *shall*] shake A.

l. 23. *blanked*] blanket A.

Nearly all the above corrections have already been made in the side-notes. Only two of them are of any importance, viz. the substitution of *pynyons* on p. 12, and the variation of reading on p. 14; in the latter case perhaps neither edition seems quite right, though the first edition is quite intelligible.

In our Cambridge edition (see p. 24, l. 5) this line about the pope is carefully struck out, and the grim side-note put "*lower down*", with tags to show to what estate he and the cardinal and bishops ought to be degraded!

NOTE TO P. XXIV. L. 10, "OUR WOMEN," AND THEIR KNOWLEDGE
OF LANGUAGES, P. XXV-VI.

The Ladies & Men of Queen Elizabeth's Court.

"I might here (if I would, or had sufficient disposition of matter conceiued of the same) make a large discourse of such honorable ports, of such graue counsellors, and noble personages, as giue their dailie attendance vpon the quéenes maiestie there. I could in like sort set foorth a singular commendation of the vertuous beautie, or beautifull vertues of such ladies and gentlewomen as wait vpon hir person, betweene whose amiable countenances and costlinesse of attire, there séemeth to be such a dailie conflict and contention, as that it is verie difficult for me to gesse, whether of the twaine shall beare awaie the preheminance. This further is not to be omitted, to the singular commendation of both sorts and sexes of our courtiers here in England, that there are verie few of them, which haue

English courtiers
the best learned
& the worst
liuers.

not the vse and skill of sundrie speaches, beside an excellent veine of writing before time not regarded. Would to God the rest of their liues and conuersations were correspondent to these gifts ! for as our common courtiers (for the most part) are the best lerned and indued with excellent gifts, so are manie of them the worst men when they come abroad, that anie man shall either heare or read of. Trulie it is a rare thing with vs now, to heare of a courtier which hath but his owne language. And to saie how many gentlewomen and ladies there are, that beside sound knowledge of the Gréeke and Latine toongs, are thereto no lesse skilfull in the Spanish, Italian, and French, or in some one of them, it resteth not in me : sith I am persuaded, that as the noble men and gentlemen doo surmount in this behalfe, so these come verie little or nothing at all behind them for their parts ; which industrie God continue, and accomplish that which otherwise is wanting !

[Ladies learned
in languages.]

[Ancient ladies'
employments.]

“ Beside these things I could in like sort set downe the waies and meanes, wherby our ancient ladies of the court doo shun and auoid idlenesse, some of them exercising their fingers with the needle, other in caulworke, diuerse in spinning of silke, some in continuall reading either of the holie scriptures, or histories of our owne or forren nations about vs, and diuerse in writing volumes of their owne, or translating of other mens into our English and Latine toong, whilst the yoongest sort in the meane time applie their lutes, citharnes, prickesong, and all kind of musike, which they vse onelie for recreation sake, when they haue leisure, and are frée from attendance vpon the quéenes maiestie, or such as they belong vnto. How manie of the eldest sort also are skilfull in surgerie and distillation of waters, beside sundrie other artificiall practises pertaining to the ornature and commendations of their bodies,

[Young ladies'
recreations.]

[Old ladies' skill
in surgery, &c.]

I might (if I listed to deale further in this behalfe) easilie declare, but I passe ouer such maner of dealing, least I should séeme to glauer, and currie fauour with some of them. Neuerthesse this I will generallie saie of them all, that as ech of them are cuning in somthing [All are cunning wherby they kéepe themselues occupied in the court, so there is in maner none of them, but when they be at home, can helpe to supplie the ordinarie want of the kitchen with a number of delicat dishes of their owne deuising, wherein the Portingall is their chéefe counsellor, as some of them are most commonlie with the clearke of the kitchen, who vseth (by a tricke taken vp of late) to giue in a bréefe rehearsall of such and so manie dishes as are to come in at euerie course throughout the whole seruice in the dinner or supper while: which bill some doo call a memoriall, other a billet, but some a fillet, bicause such are commonlie hanged on the file, and kept by the ladie or gentlewoman vnto some other purpose. But whither am I digressed?"—

1577, W. HARRISON, in *Holinshed's Chronicles*, vol. I. p. 196, ed. 1586.

in cookery, helped by the Portuguese.]

[Introduction of of the *Carte*,

Memorial, Billet or Fillet.]

COLLATIONS.

These are given as a warning to other editors either to collate in foot-notes or not at all. The present plan takes up as much room as printing a fresh text would, and gives needless trouble to every one concerned.

p. 11. *The A B C of Aristotle*, Harl. MS. 1706, fol. 94, collated by Mr Brock, omits the prologue, and begins after l. 14 with, "Here be-gynneth Arystoles A B C. made be mayster Benett."

A, *for* argue not *read* Angre the

B, *omit* ne; *for* not to large *read* thou nat to brode

D, „ „; *for* not *read* thow nat

E, „ „; *for* to eernesful *read* ne curyous

F, *for* fers, famuler, freendli, *read* Ferde, familier, frenfulle

G, *omit* to; *for* & gelosie þou hate, *read* Ne to galaunt never

H, *for* in þine *read* off

I, *for* iettyng *read* Iocunde; *for* iape not to *read* Ioye thow nat

K, *omit* to and &; *for* knaue *read* knaves

L, *for* for to leene *read* ne to lovyng; *for* goodis *read* woordys

M, *for* medelus *read* Mellous; *for* but as mesure wole it meeue *read* ne to besynesse vnleffulle

N, *for* ne use no new iettis *read* ne noughte to neffangle

O, *for* ouerþwart *read* ouertwarthe; *for* & oopis þou hate *read* Ne othez to haunte

Q, *for* quarelouse *read* querelous; *for* weel 3oure souereyns *read* men alle abowte

R, *omit* the second to; *for* not to rudeli *read* thou nat but lyte

S, *for* ne straungeli to stare *read* Ne starte nat abowte

T, *for* for temperaunce is best *read* But temperate euere

V, *for* ne &c. *read* ne violent Ne waste nat to moche

W, *for* neiþer &c. *read* Ne to wyse deme the

¶ *for* is euere þe beste of *read* ys best for vs

Add **X Y Z** x y wyche esed & per se.

Tytelle Tytelle Tytelle thañ Esta Amen.

p. 16. *The Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, with part of the Advocates Library MS., fol. 84, back (collated by Mr David Laing).

- l. 1, *for* children *read* childur
- l. 2, *dele* þat ; l. 3 *dele* For
- l. 6, *for* with mary, *read* oure Lady
- l. 7, *for* arū *read* byn
- l. 9, *prefix* Forst to Loke, and *for* wasshe *read* wasshyd
- l. 12, *for* tylle *read* to
- l. 13, *prefix* And to Loke
- l. 14, *is*, To he y^t reweleth y^e howse y^e bytt
- l. 16, *put the* that *between* loke and on
- l. 17, *for* without any faylys *read* withowtte fayle
- l. 18, *for* hungry ayls *read* empty ayle
- l. 20, *for* ete esely *read* etett eysely
- p. 18, l. 25, *for* mosselle *read* morsselle
- l. 26, *for* in *read* owt of
- l. 30, *for* Into thy *read* nor in the ; *for* thy salte *read* hit
- l. 31, *for* fayre on þi *read* on a
- l. 32, *for* The byfore *read* Byfore the ; and *dele* þyne
- ll. 33-4, *are* Pyke not yⁱ tethe wyth yⁱ knyfe
Whyles y^u etyst be yⁱ lyfe

The poem in the Advocates' MS. has 108 lines, and fills 5 pages of the MS. (Wynkyn de Worde's version ends with this, after l. 105, 'And in his laste ende wyth the swete Ihesus. Amen. Here endeth the boke of curtesye.'

p. 16. *The Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke* collated with the Cambridge University MS., by Mr Henry Bradshaw. *Hem* is always written for *him* in this MS., and so with other words.

- l. 2, *for* wrytyne *read* brekeyd
- l. 6, *for* Elizabeth *read* cortesey
- l. 7, *for* closide *read* clodyd
- l. 10, *for* on *read* yn
- l. 11, 12, *for* þou *read* ye
- l. 14, *for* hous the bydde *read* hall þe beyt
- l. 15, *for* þe *read* they
- l. 16, *for* on *read* no
- l. 17, *for* any faylys *read* fayle
- l. 18, *for* ayls *read* heydyt
- l. 19, *for* Ete . . hastely *read* yet . . hastey
- l. 20, *prefix* Bot to Abyde ; *for* esely *read* all yesley
- p. 18, l. 23, *for* Kerue not thy brede *read* Kot they bred not
- l. 24, *is* Ne to theke bat be-tweyn
- l. 25, *for* mosselle *read* mossels ; *for* begynnysse to *read* dost
- l. 26, *for* in *read* owt of
- l. 27, *for* on *read* yn

p. 18, ll. 28-30, *are* Ne yn they met, feys, ne fleys. *

Put not thy mete yn þey salt seleyr

- l. 32, *is* Be-fore the, that ys worschep
- l. 33, *for* ne *read* nother
- l. 34, *for* If *read* And; *for* come *read* comest
- l. 35, *for* And *read* Seche; *put the is before yn*
- l. 37, *for* Ete . . by *read* Kot . . yn
- l. 38, *prefix* And to Fylle; *omit* done
- l. 40, *is* Weyles thou hetys, bey they leyffe
- l. 42, *for* þow put *read* take owt
- l. 43, *for* Ne *read* Nether
- l. 44, *is* For no cortesey het ys not habell
- l. 45, *for* Elbowe . . fyst *read* Elbowhes . . fystys
- l. 46, *for* whylis þat *read* wheyle
- l. 47, *is* Bolk not as a bolle yn the crofte
- l. 48, *for* karle þat *read* charle; *for* cote *read* cotte
- l. 50, *for* of hyt or þou art *read* the or ye be
- l. 51, *for* sterke *read* lowde

p. 20, l. 52, *is* all of curtesy loke ye carpe

- l. 53, *for* at *read* all; *omit* loke þou
- l. 54, *for* Loke þou rownde not *read* And loke ye
- l. 55, *omit* thy; *for* and *read* ne
- l. 56, *for* doo *read* make
- l. 57, *for* laughe not *read* noþer laughe
- l. 58, *for* with moche speche *read* thow meche speke; *for* mayst *read* may
- l. 59, *for* fist ne *read* ner; and *for the second ne read not*
- l. 60, *for* fayre and styлле *read* stere het not
- l. 61, *for* thy *read* the
- l. 66, *omit* a
- l. 67, *for* I rede of *read* of j redde þe of
- l. 68, *for* neþer *read* neuer; *omit* yn þi before drynk
- l. 69, *for* þat *read* they
- l. 73, *for* þou see *read* be saye
- l. 76, *for* þou *read* yow; *for* thow art *read* yow ar
- l. 77, *for* forthe *read* before yow
- l. 78, *omit* þow not
- l. 79, *for* ynto *read* yn

p. 22, l. 83, *for* ende *read* hendyng

- l. 84, *for* wasshen *read* was
- l. 85, *for* worthy *read* wortheyor
- l. 86, *for* to- *read* be-; *omit* &; *for* þi prow *read* gentyll cortesey
- ll. 87, 88, 89, are omitted.
- l. 90, *for* nether *read* not; *for* ne *read* ne with
- l. 91, *omit* þi; *for* the hede *read* they lorde
- l. 92, *for* hyghly *read* mekeley
- l. 93, *for* togydre ynsame *read* yn the same manere

- p. 22, l. 94, *for no blame read the same*
 l. 95, *for thereafter read hereafter*
 l. 96, *after that add he ys ; for was heere read here aftyr*
 l. 97, *omit And ; for dispiseth read dispise*
 l. 99, *for Nether read neuer*
 l. 100, *for Ner read ne*
 l. 101, *after for add sent*
 l. 102, *for Louyth this boke read Loren this lesen*
 l. 103, *omit and ; for made read wret*
 l. 136, is omitted.
- p. 24, l. 107, *before vs put hem and*
 l. 108, *for the first Amen read Sey all ; for the Explicit &c. read Expleycyt the Boke of cortesey.*

Note on the variations of Colwell's and Veale's editions of *Rhodes's Boke of Nurture*.

The small differences are so many from the 1577 edition, that the giving of them all would cost too much money and take up too much space for the very small advantage to be gained from them. If we ever print Petit's edition, then the collations of Colwell's and Veale's editions can be easily given with it, as that is the edition from which they were probably altered, and the changes are more within compass, though the words are often different. Of the more important alterations I give here a few by way of specimen. Others have been given in the last pages of the Preface to Rhodes, above.

Petit.

Also to appose your seruauntes yf they can theyr byleue : also yf they bryng anye thyng home that is mysse taken, or tell tales, or newes of detraccyon, ye shall then sharplye reprove them / yf they wyll not lerne, auoyde them out of your house. For it is great quyetnes to haue people of good fassyon in your house. Nor apparell not your chyldren or seruauntes that are of lefull dyscrecyon in sumptuous apparell, for it encreaseth pryde and obstinacy & many other euyles of tymes.

Colwell.

Also apose your seruantes of theyr beleife, and also yf they brynge anye thyng home that is misse taken, or tell tales or newes of detraction, ye shall then reprove them sharpely, if they will not learne, auoid them out of your house : for it is great quietnes to haue people of good facion in a house. Apparell not your children or seruauntes that are of lawful discretion in sumptuous apparel : for it encreaseth pride and obstinacie, and many other euils oft times.

Veale.

Also to appose your seruants : if they can there beleefe, also if they bring any thing home that is misse taken or tel tales, or newes of detraction, ye shall then reprove them sharply if they wil not learne, auoid thē out of your house. Nor apparel not your Children or seruants that are of lawful discretion in sumptuous apparel for it is great quietnes to haue People of good fashion in your house.

Few wordes in a seruañt / sheweth in hī good coñmendaciōs
 Such as be of moch spech / no bout [*for* dout] they be of yll operacyōs
 To bolde with honest men / that are in degre aboue the.

(*Petit*, sign. B. iii.)

Few wordes in a seruaunt, deserueth commendacions
 Suche as be of muche speche, be of euyll operations
 Be not to bolde with men aboue thee in degree.

(*Colwell*, sign. B. iii.)

Few woords in a seruant dserueth [*so*] commendations
 Such as be of much speech, be of euil operations
 Be not to bolde with men aboue thee in degree.—(*Veale*, B. iii.)

If thou wyll take no payne in youth / & wyll be called wyse
 Thou muste take payne in age / and be full of vyce
 Let measure guyde the in welthe / a tyme to the is but lent.

(*Petit*, sign. C. i.)

Take paine in youth if thou wilt be called wise
 Or thou must take it in age, and be full of vice
 Kepe measure in wealth, a tyme is to the lent.—(*Colwell*, sign. C. i.)

Take pain in youth if thou wilt be calld againe
 Or thou must take it in age and be ful of vice
 Keep measure in welth, a time is to thee lent.—(*Veale*, B. iii.)

An yreful body is neuer quyet, nor in rest where he doth dwel
 One amonge .x. is ix. to many, his malyce is so cruell.

(*Petit*, sign. C. i.)

There is neuer quiet, where angry folke dwell,
 Ten is nyne to many, theyr malyce is so cruell.—(*Colwell*, sign. C. i.)

There is neuer quiet, where angry folk dwel
 Ten, is nyne to manie, their malice is so cruel.—(*Veale*, C. i.)

Neither Colwell's nor Veale's edition contains *The Rule of Honest Living*.

For a note on the first edition of Rhodes by Johan Redman, and a copy of the Title page of East's edition, see *Corrigenda*, &c., p. cxxxii.

CORRIGENDA, ADDITIONAL NOTES, &c.

p. iv. l. 6. 'Your Bele Babees are very like the *Meninos* of the Court of Spain, & *Menins* of that of France, young nobles brought up with the young Princes.' H. Reeve.

p. iv. l. 12, *for* of . . Statutes *read* on . . Studies

p. v. last line. This is not intended to confine the definition of Music as taught at Oxford to its one division of *Harmonica*, to the exclusion of the others, *Rythmica*, *Metrica*, &c. The Arithmetic *said* to have been studied there in the time of Edmund the Confessor is defined in his Life (MS. about 1310 A.D.) in my *E. E. Poems & Lives of Saints*, 1862, thus,

Arsmetrike is a lore : þat of figours al is
& of drauȝtes as me draweþ in poudre : & in nombre iwis.

p. x. last line, *for Books* read *Book*

p. xviii. l. 16. The regular Cathedral school would have existed at St David's.

p. xix., note ⁴. "There are no French universities, though we find every now and then some humbug advertising himself in the *Times* as possessing a degree of the Paris University. The old Universities belong to the time before the Deluge—that means before the Revolution of 1789. The University of France is the organized whole of the higher and middle institutions of learning, in so far as they are directed by the State, not the clergy. It is an institution more governmental, according to the genius of the country, than our London University, to which, however, its organization bears some resemblance. To speak of it in one breath with Oxford or Aberdeen is to commit the . . error of confounding two things, or placing them on the same line, because they have the same name."—E. Oswald, in *The English Leader*, Aug. 10, 1867.

p. xxiv. l. 9, *for* 1574 *read* 1577.

p. xxv. l. 17, related apparently. "The first William de Valence married Joan de Monchesni, sister-in-law to one Dionysia, and aunt to another." *The Chronicle*, Sept. 21, 1867.

p. xxvi. One of the inquiries ordered by the Articles issued by Archbishop Cranmer, in A.D. 1548, is, "Whether Parsons, Vicars, Clerks and other beneficed men, having yearly to dispend an hundred pound, do not find, competently, one scholar in the University of Cambridge or Oxford, or some grammar school; and for as many hundred pounds as every of them may dispend, so many scholars likewise to be found [supported] by them; and what be their names that they so find." Toulmin Smith, *The Parish*, p. 95. Compare also in Church-Wardens Accompts of St Margaret's, Westminster (ed. Jn. Nichols, p. 41).

1631. Item, to Richard Busby, a king's scholler of Westminster, towards enabling him to proceed master of arts at Oxon, by consent of the vestrie £6. 13. 4.

1628. Item, to Richard Busby, by consent of the vestry, towards enabling him to proceed bachelor of arts £5. 0. 0.

Nichols, p. 38. See too p. 37.

p. xxvii. Roger Bacon died, perhaps, 11 June, 1292, or in 1294. *Book of Dates*.

p. xxvii., *dele* note 3. 'The truth is that, in his account of Oxford and its early days, Mr Hallam quotes John of Salisbury, not as asserting that Vacarius taught there, but as making "no mention of Oxford at all"; while he gives for the statement about the law school no authority whatever beyond his general reference throughout to Anthony Wood. But the fact is as historical as a fact can well be, and the authority for it is a passage in one of the best of the contemporary authors, Gervaise of Canterbury. "Tunc leges et causidici in Angliam primo vocati sunt," he says in his account of Theobald in the Acts of the Archbishops, "quorum primus erat magister Vacarius. Hic in Oxonefordiâ legem docuit." E. A. F.

p. xxxiii. note, l. 1, *for* St Paul's *read* St Anthony's

p. xxxiv., *for* sister *read* brother

p. xlv. l. 2, *for* poor *read* independent. 'Fitz-Stephen says on the parents of St Thomas, "Neque fœnerantibus neque officiose negotiantibus, sed de redditibus suis honorifice viventibus." E. A. F.

p. liii. Thetford. See also p. xli.

p. lxvii., *for* Browne *read* Bourne

p. lxxii. l. 6 from foot, *for* Jounes *read* Jonnes

p. lxxxvi.-vii. *Editions of Rhodes*. Mr W. C. Hazlitt writes, Oct. 18th, 1867, "I dare say it will set your mouth watering when I tell you that I have discovered a very much earlier edition of Rhodes. It was printed about 15 years before Petit's—about 1530, that is. At present I can tell you no more, except that the colophon is: Imprynted at London in Southwarke by me Johan Redman. It is a 4to. of 12 leaves." Lord Ashburnham writes to say that he has a copy of East's edition of 1568. A transcript of its Title-page has lately turned up in a collection, and Mr W. C. Hazlitt has been good enough to send me an advance-proof of this Title as entered in his *Handbook*, as follows:—

"The Book of Nurture for men seruantes and children (with stans puer ad mensam). Hereunto is annexed our Lords Prayer, our Beliefe, and the .x. Commandments . with godly Graces, to be sayde at the Table, before and after meat. Very vtile and necessary for all youth to learne. Imprinted at London in Breadstreet at the nether ende, by Thomas East, 1568. Oblong 4to, 22 leaves. With a woodcut on the title, representing a master with his pupils.

Bright, in 1845, £16 16s. This seems to be the earliest book printed by T. East. At least, I find nothing licensed to him before 1568."

p. cxiv. l. 3, finish Part I. A Postscript of nine fresh pieces has been since added, on and after p. 366.

p. 2, l. 35, *for* you donne *read* yow donne

p. 3, l. 64, *for* you *read* yow; l. 67, *insert* alle *between* withe *and* your

p. 4, l. 90, *for* youre *read* youre; l. 98, *for* stryve *read* stryve; l. 104, *for* you *read* yow

p. 5, l. 131, side-note, *alter* to 'some pour water on him, others hold,' &c.

p. 6, l. 138, *for* own *read* owne

p. 8, l. 200, *for* vppon *read* vpōn

p. 9, l. 1, *for* cacches *read* tacches

- p. 10, l. 18, for *Straunge* read *Straunge*
 p. 13, l. 7, for *owten* read *outen*
 p. 22, l. 93, for *yn-same* read *yn same*
 p. 23, l. 131, for *A-voyde* read *A voyder*, a basket for leavings.
 p. 25, l. 143-4, ? sense, reading corrupt.
 p. 26, Lowndes calls the original of *Stans Puer ad Mensam* the *Carmen Juvenile* of Sulpitius.
 p. 26. The proof of this poem was either accidentally not read with the MS. or lost in the post: l. 11, for *thi* read *thy*; l. 14, for *cracche* read *cracche*.
 p. 28, l. 30, for *loude* read *lowde*. The *h* of *with*, ll. 32, 38, 47, 48, 51, 57, 71, 84, *teth*, l. 42, and *myrth*, l. 43, are crossed as for *he*. l. 34, for *fysshe* read *fisshe*; l. 38, for *thi . . thou* read *thy . . thow*; l. 41, for *[N]evyr* read *[N]euer*; for *stryfe*, *stryf*; l. 43, for *latt*, *late*; l. 46, for *alway*, *alwey*; l. 48, for *not*, *nat*; l. 49, for *frome*, *from*; l. 53, before *alwey* insert *[do]*
 p. 30, l. 62, for *fulfyll* read *fulfille*; l. 64, for *whare-so*, *whereso*; l. 66, for *blowe*, *blow*; l. 68, for *all*, *al*; l. 79, for *ouer*, *ouer*; l. 81, for *meved*, *meeved*; for *parties*, *parties*.
 p. 32, l. 89, for *refourmythe* *all* read *refourmythe al*; l. 91, for *all vertue* read *al vertu*; l. 94, for *compendious*, *compendious*; l. 99, for *all . . John* read *al . . Johne*.
 p. 44, l. 157, for *god is* read *god-is*
 p. 66, l. 10; p. 120, l. 51. Chipping or paring bread. "*Non comedas crustam, colorem quia gignit adustam . . .* the Authour in this Text warneth vs, to beware of crusts eating, because they ingender a-dust cholor, or melancholly humours, by reason that they bee burned and dry. And therefore great estates the which be [*orig.* the] chollerick of nature, cause the crustes aboue and beneath to be chipped away; wherfore the pith or crumme should be chosen, the which is of a greater nourishment then the crust." *Regimen Sanitatis Salerni*, ed. 1634, p. 71. Fr. *chapplis*, bread-chippings. Cotgrave.
 p. 122, l. 77, for the note on *plommys*, *damsons*, see p. 207, note on l. 177.
 p. 123, l. 2 of notes, for *Houeshold* read *Household*
 p. 151, note ³ (to l. 521), for p. 58 read p. 53
 p. 160, note ³, l. 5, for *nu-* read *un-*
 p. 177, last line, for *Howard Household Book* read *Manners & Household Expenses*, 1841.
 p. 178, l. 909, ? perhaps a comma should go after *hed*, and 'his cloak or cape' as a side-note. But see *cappe*, p. 181, l. 964.
 p. 187, side-note 12, for *King's* read *chief*
 p. 201, note to l. 98, *Trencher*, should be to l. 52.
 p. 203, l. 29, for *euit* read *cuit*
 p. 204, l. 6 from bottom, for *genene* read *geuene* (u for n).
 p. 207, last line, on l. 177, should be on l. 77.
 p. 209, last note, on l. 283, *Rosemary*, should be at p. 225, as a note on l. 991, p. 183.
 p. 223, for l. 828 read l. 835, note ⁴; for l. 838 read l. 845.
 p. 224, for l. 840 read l. 839.
 p. 231, l. 34, or 10 from bottom, for *crenes* read *creues*
 p. 235, for *Malus* in side-note, *Cap. lxi.* read *Mulus*
 p. 247, last side-note, for *Have a jacket of*, read *Line a jacket with*
 p. 269, l. 4 from bottom, for *y* read *ȳ*
 p. 281, l. 16, for *y* read *ȳ*
 p. 284, l. 33, for *of* read *of*

- p. 288, l. 6 from bottom, *for* p. 277 *read* p. 281, l. 8 from bottom.
- p. 297, l. 4, *for* 1430-40 *read* 1460
- p. 302, l. 124, *for* an honest *read* an-honest (*unpolite*)
- p. 307, l. 267, *for* be, falle, *read* be-falle (it befalls, becomes)
- p. 311, l. 393, side-note, *Hall*, should be *Hall*. Fires in Hall lasted to *Cena Domini*, the Thursday before Easter: see l. 398. Squires' allowances of lights ended on Feb. 2, I suppose. These lights, or *candle* of l. 839, would be only part of the allowances. The rest would continue all the year. See *Household Ordinances & North. Hous. Book*. Dr Rock says that the *holyn* or holly and *erbere grene* refer to the change on Easter Sunday described in the *Liber Festivalis*:—"In die paschē. Good friends ye shall know well that this day is called in many places God's Sunday. Know well that it is the manner in every place of worship at this day *to do the fire out of the hall*; and the black winter brands, and all thing that is foul with smoke shall be done away, and there the fire was, shall be gaily arrayed with fair flowers, and strewed with green rushes all about, showing a great ensample to all Christian people, like as they make clean their houses to the sight of the people, in the same wise ye should cleanse your souls, doing away the foul brenning (burning) sin of lechery; put all these away, and cast out all thy smoke, dusts; and strew in your souls flowers of faith and charity, and thus make your souls able to receive your Lord God at the Feast of Easter."—Rock's *Church of the Future*, v. iii., pt. 2, p. 250. "The holly, being an evergreen, would be more fit for the purpose, and makes less litter, than the boughs of deciduous trees. I know some old folks in Herefordshire who yet follow the custom, and keep the grate filled with flowers and foliage till late in the autumn."—D. R. On Shere-Thursday, or *Cena Domini*, Dr Rock quotes from the *Liber Festivalis*—"First if a man asked why ShereThursday is called so, ye may say that in Holy Church it is called 'Cena Domini,' our Lord's Supper Day; for that day he supped with his disciples openly. . . It is also in English called ShereThursday; for in old fathers' days the people would that day sheer their heads and clip their beards, and poll their heads, and so make them honest against Easter-day."—Rock, *ib.*, p. 235.
- p. 314, l. 462-4, *cut out* . *after* hete; *put* ; *after* sett, *and* , *after* let; l. 468-9, *for* sett, In syce, *read* sett In syce; l. 470, ? some omission after this line.
- p. 315, note³, *for* course *read* coarse
- p. 317, l. 543, side note, *for* residue *read* receipt; l. 562, *for* dere. *read* dere
- p. 322, l. 677, side-note, steel spoon *is more likely* spoon handle
- p. 325, note last line but one, *for* teking *read* taking
- p. 328, l. 14. The T of T the is used as a paragraph mark in the MS.
- p. 352, l. 991, *for* tuicoin *read* tuicion.

PART II.

- p. 5, l. 63, } side-note, *alter it to* Wash fruit before eating it.
p. 19, l. 75, }
- p. 42, l. 120. *Piperata*. The third thing is Pepper, a sauce for vplandish folkes: for they mingle Pepper with Beanes and Peason. Likewise of toasted bread with Ale or Wine, and with Pepper, they make a blacke sauce, as if it were pap, that is called *pepper*, and that they cast vpon theyr meat, flesh and fish. *Reg. San. Salerni*, p. 67.
- p. 62, col. 1, Areyse. Compare, "and the Geaunte pulled and drough, but he myght hym not *a-race* from the sadell. *Merlin*, Pt. II, p. 346 (E. E. T. Soc. 1866).

- p. 64, under Birth, for 109 read 190
- p. 66, col. 2, under Broach, add 121/69
- p. 72, col. 1, Clof. Can it be "cloth"?
- p. 75, col. 2, Croscrist. *La Croix de par Dieu*. The Christs-crosse-row; or, the hornebooke wherein a child learnes it. Cotgrave. The alphabet was called the *Christ-cross-row*, some say because a cross was prefixed to the alphabet in the old primers; but as probably from a superstitious custom of writing the alphabet in the form of a cross, by way of charm. This was even solemnly practised by the bishop in the consecration of a church. See Picart's Religious Ceremonies, vol. i. p. 131. *Nares*.
- p. 76, col. 1, under *Curtasye, the Boke of*, for p. 227- read p. 297-
- p. 78, col. 2. Dogs. The nuisance that the number of Dogs must have been may be judged of by the following payments in the Church-Wardens' Accounts of St Margaret's, Westminster, in *Nichols*, p. 34-5.
- | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|
| 1625 Item paid to the dog-killer for killing of dogs | 0. | 9. | 8. |
| 1625 Item paid to the dog-killer more for killing 14 dozen and 10 dogs in time of visitacion | 1. | 9. | 8. |
| 1625 Item paid to the dog-killer for killing of 24 dozen of dogs | 1. | 8. | |
- See the old French satire on the Lady and her Dogs, in *Rel. Ant.* i. 155.
- p. 83, col. 2. Flaunes. 'Pro Caseo ad *flauns* qualibet die . panis j' (allowance of). *Register of Worcester Priory*, fol. 121 a. ed. Hale, 1865.
- p. 88, col. 1. Green sauce. There is a herb of an acid taste, the common name for which . . is *green-sauce* . . not a dozen miles from Stratford-on-Avon. *Notes & Queries*, June 14, 1851, vol. iii., p. 474. "of Persley leaues stamped withe veriuyce, or white wine, is made a *greene sauce* to eate with roasted meat . . Sauce for Mutton, Veale and Kid, is *greene sauce*, made in Summer with Vineger or Verjuyce, with a few spices, and without Garlicke. Otherwise with Parsley, white Ginger, and tosted bread with Vineger. In Winter, the same sawces are made with many spices, and little quantity of Garlicke, and of the best Wine, and with a little Verjuyce, or with Mustard." *Reg. San. Salerni*, p. 67-8.
- p. 90, col. 2, Helle, read ? not from A.S. *helle*, clear, but *hyldan*, incline bend, & so, pour.
- p. 91, col. 1, Holyn. Bosworth gives A.S. *holen*, a rush; Wright's Vocab., *holin*, Fr. *hous*; and that Cotgrave glosses 'The Hollie, Holme, or Huluer tree.' *Ancren. Riwele*, 418 note *, and *Rel. Ant.*, ii. 280 have it too. See Stratmann's Dict.
- p. 91, col. 1, under Heyron-sewe, for /239 read /539
- p. 94, col. 1, Kommende 6/, for 6/ read 4/
- p. 97, col. 2, *The extract for Lopster should have been under creuis or crab*. Lorely: it may be *lorel-ly*, like a lorel, a loose, worthless fellow, a rascal.
- p. 99, col. 2, Master, for please your, 11/16, read don't strive with your, 305/225.
- p. 100, col. 1, Meene, for 12/9 read 12/15; col. 2, Mertinet, for p. 21 read p. 211
- p. 101, col. 1, Morter, for 283/62 read 283/32 (l. 4 from foot).
- p. 114, col. 2, Say, fruyter, for 289 read 287.
- p. 115, col. 2, Servonts, duties of, for 202-5 read 20-25.
- p. 116, col. 2, Side, for l. 248 read 132/248.
- p. 119, col. 2, Stand upright: for 201/ read 291/
- p. 121, col. 2, Summedelasse, for 806 read 808
- p. 122, col. 2, Syles is strains. *SILE*, v., to strain, to purify milk through a straining dish; Su.-Got. *sila*, colare.—*SILE*, s., a fine sieve or milk strainer; Su.-Got. *sil*, colum. Brckett. See quotations in Halliwell's Gloss., and Stratmann, who gives Swed. *sila*, colare.

p. 124, col. 1, beedom. *Add* Thedam (or thryfte *infra*). *Vigencia*. Prompt. (*vigeo*, I flourish, bloom, thrive). col. 2, Tongue ; charm it, *for* 361 *read* 341.

On the general subject of diet in olden time consult "Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum, with an Introduction by Sir Alex. Croke, Oxford, 1830." H. B. Wheatley.

☞ Nine fresh pieces relating more or less to the subjects of this volume having come under my notice since the Index was printed and the volume supposed to be finished, I have taken the opportunity of the delay in its issue—caused by want of funds—to add the new pieces as a Postscript to Part I. A tenth piece, *Caxton's Book of Curtesye*, in three versions, too important to be poked into a postscript, will form No. 3 of the Society's Extra Series, the first Text for 1868.

PART I.

Early English Poems and Treatises

on

Manners and Meals

in

Olden Time,

FROM MSS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, &c., AND
FROM EARLY PRINTED BOOKS.

PART I

English Grammar and Syntax

Grammar and Syntax

Grammar and Syntax

Grammar and Syntax

The Babees Book,

OR A 'LYTYL REPORTE' OF HOW YOUNG PEOPLE
SHOULD BEHAVE.

[*MS. Harl. 5086, fol. 86—90 ; ab. 1475 A.D.*]

IN this tretys the whiche I thenke to wryte
Out of latyn in-to my comvne langage,
He me supporte (sen I kan nat endyte),

My God, support
me while I trans-
late this treatise
from Latin.

4 The whiche only after his owne ymage
Fourmyd man-kynde ! For alle of tendre age
In curtesye Resseyve shulle document,
And vertues knowe, by this lytil coment.

It shall teach
those of tender
age.

¶ And Facett seythe the Book of curtesye,
9 Vertues to knowe, thaym forto haue and vse,
Is thing moste heelfulle in this worlde trevly.
Therefore in feythe I wole me nat excuse
12 From this labour ywys, nor hit Refuse ;
For myn owne lernynge wole I say summe thing
That touchis vertues and curtesye havyng.

To know and
practise virtues
is the most pro-
fitable thing in
the world.

¶ But, O yonge Babees, whome bloode Royalle
16 Withe grace, Feture, and hyhe habylite
Hathe enourmyd, on yow ys that I calle
To knowe this Book ; for it were grete pyte,
Syn that in yow ys sette sovereyne Beaute,
20 But yf vertue and nurture were withe alle ;
To yow therfore I speke in specyalle,

Young Babies,
adorned with
grace,

I call on you to
know this book
(for Nurture
should accompany
beauty),

¶ And nouhte to hem of elde that bene experte
In governaunce, nurture, and honeste.

and not on aged
men expert
therein.

Why add pain to
hell,
water to the sea,
or heat to fire?

[Fol. 86 b.]

Babies, my book
is for you only,

and so I hope no
one will find fault
with it, but only
amend it.

The only reward
I seek is that my
book may please
all and improve
you.

If you don't know
any word in it,
ask till you do,
and then keep
hold of it.

And do not won-
der at this being
in metre.

I must first
describe how you
Babies who dwell
in households
should behave at
meals,

and be ready with
lovely and
benign words
when you are
spoken to.

Lady Facetia,
help me!

24 For what nedys to yeve helle peynes smerte,
Ioye vnto hevene, or water vnto the see,
Heete to the Fyre that kan nat but hote be?
It nedys nouhte : therfore, O Babees yynge,

28 My Book only is made for youre lernynge.

¶ Therfore I pray that no man Reprehende
This lytyl Book, the whiche for yow I make ;
But where defaute ys, latte ylke man amende,

32 And nouhte deme yt ; [I] pray thaym for youre
sake.

For other mede ywys I kepe noone take
But that god wolde this Book myhte yche man
plese,

And in lernynge vnto yow donne somme ese.

¶ Eke, swete children, yf there be eny worde

37 That yee kenne nouhte, spyrrre whils yee yt ken ;
Whanne yee yt knowe, yee mowe holde yt in
horde,

Thus thurhe spyrryng yee mowe lerne at wyse
men.

40 Also thenke nouhte to straungely at my penne,
In this metre for yow lystre to procede,
Men vsen yt ; therfore on hit take hede.

¶ But amonge alle that I thenke of to telle,

44 My purpos ys first only forto trete
How yee Babees in housholde that done duelle
Shulde haue youre sylf whenne yee be sette at
mete,

And how yee shulde whenne men lystre yow Re-
hete,

48 Haue wordes lovly, swete, bleste, and benyngne.
In this helpe me O Marie, Modir dyngne !

¶ And eke, O lady myn, Facecia !

My penne thow guyde, and helpe vnto me shewe ;

- 52 For as the firste off alle lettres ys the A,
 So Artow firste Modir of alle vertue.
 Off myn vnkunynge, swete lady, now Rewe ;
 And thouhe vntauhte I speke of governaunce,
 56 Withe thy swete helpe supporte myn ygnor-
 aunce.
- [Fol. 87.]
 Thou art the
 Mother of all
 Virtue.
 Help the ignor-
 ance of me
 untaught !
- A Bele Babees, herkne now to my lore !
 A, Whenne yee entre into your lordis place,
 Say first, "god spede ;" And alle that ben by-
 fore
 60 Yow in this stede, salue withe humble Face ;
 Stert nat Rudely ; komme Inne an esy pace ;
 Holde vp youre heede, and knele but on oone
 kne
 To youre sovereyne or lorde, whedir he be.
- Fair Babies,
 when you enter
 your lord's place,
 say "God speed,"
 and salute all
 there.
 Kneel on one
 knee to your lord.
- ¶ And yf they speke withe yow at youre komynge,
 65 Withe stable Eye loke vpone theym Rihte,
 To theyre tales and yeve yee goode herynge
 Whils they haue seyde ; loke eke withe alle
 your myhte
 68 Yee Iangle nouhte, also caste nouhte your
 syhte
 Aboute the hovs, but take to theym entent
 Withe blythe vysage, and spiryt diligent.
- If any speak to
 you, look straight
 at them, and listen
 well till they have
 finished ; do not
 chatter or let
 your eyes wander
 about the house.
- ¶ Whenne yee Answer or speke, yee shulle be
 purveyde
 72 What yee shalle say / speke eke thing fructuous ;
 On esy wyse latte thy Resone be sayde
 In wordes gentylle and also compendious,
 For many wordes ben rihte Tedious
 76 To ylke wyseman that shalle yeve audience ;
 Thaym to eschewe therfore doo diligence.
- Answer
 sensibly,
 shortly, and
 easily.
 [Fol. 87 b.]
 Many words are
 a bore to a wise
 man.

Stand till you are
told to sit: keep

your head,
hands, and feet
quiet:

don't scratch
yourself,

or lean against a
post,

or handle any-
thing near.

Bow to your lord
when you answer.

If any one better
than yourself
comes in, retire
and give place to
him.

Turn your back
on no man.

Be silent while
your lord drinks,
not laughing,
whispering, or
joking.

If he tells you to
sit down, do so at
once.

Then don't talk
dirt, or scorn any
[Fol. 88.]
one, but be meek
and cheerful.

If your better
praises you,

rise up and thank
him heartily.

¶ Take eke noo seete, but to stonde be yee preste ;
Whils forto sytte ye haue in komaundement,

80 Your heede, youre hande, *your* feet, holde yee
in reste ;

Nor thurhe clowyng *your* flesshe loke yee nat
Rent ;

Lene to no poste whils that ye stande present
Byfore *your* lorde, nor handylle ye no thyng

84 Als for that tyme vnto the hovs touching.

¶ At euery tyme obeye vnto youre lorde
Whenne yee answere, ellis stonde yee styl as
stone

But yf he speke ; loke withe oon accorde

88 That yf yee se komme Inne eny persone
Better thanne yee, that yee goo bak anoone
And gyff him place ; youre bak eke in no way
Turne on no wihte, as ferforthe as ye may.

¶ Yiff that youre lorde also yee se drynkynge,

93 Looke that ye be in rihte stable sylence
Withe-oute lowde lauhtere or Iangelynge,
Rovnynge, Iapyngge, or other Insolence.

96 Yiff he komaunde also in his presence
Yow forto sytte, fulfille his wylle belyve,
And for youre seete, looke nat withe other stryve,

¶ Whenne yee er sette, take noone vnhoneste tale ;
100 Eke forto skorne eschewe withe alle *your* myhte ;
Latte ay youre chere be lowly, blythe, and
hale,

Withe-oute chidyngge as that yee wolde fyhte.

Yiff yee perceyve also that eny wihte
104 Lyst yow kommende that better be thanne yee,
Ryse vp anoone, and thanke him withe herte
free.

- ¶ Yif that yee se youre lorde or youre lady
 Touching the housholde speke of eny thinge,
 108 Latt theym alloone, for that is curtesy,
 And entremete yow nouhte of theyre doynge,
 But be Ay Redy withe-oute feynynge
 At hable tyme to done *your* lorde service,
 112 So shalle yee gete anoone a name of price.
- ¶ Also to brynge drynke, holde lihte whanne tyme
 ys,
 Or to doo that whiche ouhte forto be done,
 Looke yee be preste, for so yee shalle ywys
 116 In nurture gete a gentyl name ful sone ;
 And yif ye shulde at god aske yow a bone,
 Als to the worlde better in noo degre
 Mihte yee desire thanne nurtred forto be.
- ¶ Yif that youre lorde his owne coppe lyste com-
 mende
 121 To yow to drynke, ryse vp whanne yee it take,
 And resseyve it goodly withe boothe youre
 hende ;
 Of yt also to nōone other profre ye make,
 124 But vnto him that brouhte yt yee hit take
 Whenne yee haue done, for yt in no kyn wyse
 Auhte comvne be, as techis vs the wyse.
- ¶ Now must I telle in shorte, for I muste so,
 128 Your observance that ye shalle done at none ;
 Whenne that ye se youre lorde to mete shalle
 goo,
 Be redy to fecche him water sone ;
 Summe helle ¹ water ; summe holde to he hathe
 done
 132 The clothe to him, And from him yee nat pace
 Whils he be sette, and haue herde sayde the
 grace.
- When your lord
 or lady is speak-
 ing about the
 household,
 don't you inter-
 fere,
 but be always
 ready to serve at
 the proper time,
 to bring drink,
 hold lights, or
 anything else,
 and so get a good
 name.
 The best prayer
 you can make to
 God is to be well
 mannered.
 If your lord offers
 you his cup,
 rise up, take it
 with both hands,
 offer it to no one
 else, but give it
 back to him that
 brought it.
 [Fol. 88 b.]
 At Noon, when
 your lord is ready
 for dinner,
 [1 *helde*, pour out ;
 A.S. *hyldan*, to
 incline, bend.]
 some pour out
 water, some hold
 the towel for him
 till he has
 finished, and
 don't leave till
 grace is said.

Stand by your
lord till he tells
you to sit,

then keep your
knife clean and
sharp

to cut your food.

Be silent, and tell
no nasty stories.

Cut your bread,
don't break it.

Lay a clean
trencher before
you, and eat your
broth with a
spoon,

don't sup it up.

Don't leave your
spoon in your
dish.

Don't lean on the
table, or dirty the
cloth.

Don't hang your
head over your
dish, or eat with
a full mouth, or

pick your nose,
teeth, and nails,

[Fol. 89.]

or stuff your
mouth so that
you can't speak.

Wipe your mouth
when you drink,

and don't dirty
the cup with your
hands. !

¶ Byfore him stonde whils he komaunde yow sytte,
Withe clene handes Ay Redy him to serve ;

136 Whenne yee be sette, *your* knyf withe alle *your*
wytte

Vnto youre sylf bothe clene and sharpe con-
serve,

That honestly yee mowe *your* owne mete kerve.

Latte curtesye and sylence withe yow duelle,

140 And foule tales looke noone to other telle.

¶ Kutte withe *your* knyf *your* brede, and breke
yt nouhte ;

A clene Trenchour byfore yow eke ye lay,

And whenne *your* potage to yow shalle be
brouhte,

144 Take yow sponys, and soupe by no way,

And in youre dysshe leve nat *your* spone, I
pray,

Nor on the borde lenynge be yee nat sene,

But from embrowyng the clothe yee kepe clene.

¶ Oute ouere youre dysshe *your* heede yee nat
hynge,

149 And withe fulle mouthe drynke in no wyse ;

Youre nose, *your* teethe, *your* naylles, from
pykynge,

Kepe At your mete, for so techis the wyse.

152 Eke or ye take in youre mouthe, yow avyse,

So mekyl mete but that yee rihte welle mowe

Answer, And speke, whenne men speke to yow.

¶ Whanne ye shalle drynke, *your* mouthe clence
withe A clothe ;

156 Your handes eke that they in no manere

Imbrowe the cuppe, for thanne shulle noone be
lothe

- Withe yow to drynke that ben withe yow yfere.
 The salte also touche nat in his salere
 160 Withe nokyns mete, but lay it honestly
 On youre Trenchoure, for that is curtesy.
- ¶ Your knyf withe mete to *your* mouthe nat bere,
 And in youre hande nor holdē yee yt no way,
 164 Eke yf to yow be brouhte goode metys sere,
 Luke curteysly of ylke mete yee assay,
 And yf *your* dysshe withe mete be tane away
 And better brouhte, curtesye wole certeyne
 168 Yee late yt passe and calle it nat ageyne.
- ¶ And yf *straungers* withe yow be sette at mete,
 And vnto yow goode mete be brouhte or sente,
 Withe parte of hit goodely yee theym Rehete,
 172 For yt ys nouhte ywys convenyent,
 Withe yow at mete whanne other ben present,
 Alle forto holde that vnto yow ys brouhte,
 And as wrecches on other vouchesauf nouhte.
- ¶ Kutte nouhte youre mete eke as it were Felde
 men,
 177 That to theyre mete haue suche an appetyte
 That they ne rekke in what wyse, where ne
 when,
 Nor how vngoodly they on theyre mete twyte ;
 180 But, swete children, haue al-vey *your* delyte
 In curtesye, and in verrey gentylnesse,
 And at youre myhte eschewe boystousnesse.
- ¶ Whanne chese ys brouhte, A Trenchoure ha ye
 clene
 184 On whiche withe clene knyf [ye] *your* chese
 mowe kerve ;
 In youre fedynge luke goodly yee be sene,

Don't dip your
meat in the salt-
cellar,

or put your knife
in your mouth.

Taste every dish
that's brought to
you, and when
once your plate is
taken away, don't
ask for it again.

If strangers dine
with you, share
all good food sent
to you with them.

It's not polite to
keep it all to
yourself.

[Fol. 89 b.]

Don't cut your
meat like field
labourers, who
have such an
appetite they
don't care how
they hack their
food.

Sweet children,
let your delight
be courtesy, and
eschew rudeness.

Have a clean
trencher and
knife for
your cheese,

and eat properly.

Don't chatter
either, and you
shall get a good
repute for
gentleness.

- And from Iangelyng *your* tunge al-wey conserve,
For so ywys yee shalle a name deserve
188 Off gentylnesse and of goode governaunce,
And in vertue al-wey youre silf avaunce.

When the meal is
over,

¶ Whanne that so ys that ende shalle kome of
mete,

clean your knives,
and put them in
their places: keep
your seats till
you've washed;

- ¶ Youre knyffes clene, where they ouhte to be,
192 Luke yee putte *vppe*; and holde eke yee *your*
seete

Whils yee haue wasshe, for so wole honeste.

Whenne yee haue done, looke thanne goodly
that yee

then rise up with-
out laughing or
joking, and go
to your lord's
table.

- ¶ Withe-oute lauhtere, Iapyng, or boystous worde,
196 Ryse *vppe*, and goo vnto youre lordis borde,

Stand there

¶ And stonde yee there, and passe yee him nat
fro

till grace is said.

Whils grace ys sayde and brouhte vnto an ende,
Thanne somme of yow for water owe to goo,

Then some of
you go for water,
some hold the
towel, some
pour water over
his hands.

- 200 Somme holde the clothe, somme poure *vpōn*
his hende.

[Fol. 90.]

Other things I
shall not put in
this little Report,

Other service thanne this I myhte comende
To yow to done, but, for the tyme is shorte,
I putte theym nouhte in this lytyl Reporte,

but skip over,
praying that no
one will abuse
me for this work.
Let readers add or
take away:
I address it to
every one who
likes to correct it.

- ¶ But ouere I passe, prayyng withe spyrit gladde
205 Of this labour that no wihte me detray,
But where to lytyl ys, latte him more adde,
And whenne to myche ys, latte him take away;
208 For thouhe I wolde, tyme wole that I no moresay;
I leve therfore, And this Book I directe
To euery wihte that lyst y to correcte.

Sweet children,
I beseech you

- ¶ And, swete children, for whos love now I write,
212 I yow beseche withe verrey lovande herte,

- To knowe this book that yee sette *your* delyte ; know this book,
 And myhtefulle god, that suffred peynes smerte, and may God
 In curtesye he make yow so experte, make you so
 expert therein
 216 That thurhe *your* nurture and youre governaunce that you may
 In lastynge blysse yee mowe *your* self auaunce ! attain endless
 bliss.

¶ Nerne or be Newde.

- To Amerous, to Aunterous, ne Angre the nat to [Fol. 90 b.]
 muche ; Don't be too
 loving or angry,
 To Bolde, ne to Besy, ne Bourde nat to large ; bold or busy,
 courteous or cruel
 To Curteys, to Cruelle, ne Care nat to sore ; or cowardly, and
 don't drink too
 often,
 4 To Dulle, ne to Dredefulle, ne Drynke nat to
 ofte ;
 To Elenge, to Excellent, ne to Carefulle ney- or be too lofty or
 anxious,
 thur ;
 To Fers, ne to Famuler, but Frendely of Chere ; but friendly of
 cheer.
 To gladde, ne to Glorious, and Gelousy thow Hate jealousy,
 hate ;
 8 To Hasty, to Hardy, ne to Hevy in thyn be not too hasty
 or daring ;
 Herte ;
 To Iettyng, ne to Iangelyng, and Iape nat to joke not too oft ;
 ofte ;
 To Kynde, ne to Kepyng, and warre Knavis ware knaves'
 tricks.
 tacches ;
 To Lothe, ne to Lovyng, ne to Lyberalle of Don't be too
 grudging or too
 liberal,
 goode ;
 12 To Medlous, to Mury, but as goode Maner too meddling,
 askithe ;
 To noyous, ne to Nyce, ne to Newfangylle ; too particular,
 new-fangled,
 To Orped, to Overtwert, and Othes, *sir*, thow or too daring.
 Hate oaths
 hate ;

- and flattery.
- To Preysyng, to Preve withe Prynces and
Dukes ;
- 16 To Queynt, to Querelous, and Queme welle
thy maistre ;
- Please well thy
master.
- Don't be too
rackety,
- To Riotous, to Revelyng, ne Rage nat to
muche ;
- or go out too
much.
- To Straunge, ne to Steryng, ne Stare nat
abroode ;
- Don't be
- To Toyllous, to Talevys, for Temperaunce it
hatithe ;
- too revengeful
- 20 To Vengable, to Envious, and waste nat to
muche ;
- or wrathful,
and wade not too
deep.
- To Wylde, to Wrathefulle, and Wade nat to
depe ;
- The middle path
is the best for us
all.
- A Mesurable Mene way ys beste for vs alle ;

¶ Yitte. Lerne. or. Be. Lewde.

[A Dietary given 'vnto Kyng Herry vte' 'by Sigismounde, Emperour of Rome,' follows, leaf 91. The colophon (leaf 98, back) is '¶ Thus endithe this Dyetarye Compyled And made by Plato and Petrus Lucratus, Grete Philosophers and Astronomers.']

A complete copy of the A B C Alliterative Poem of which the foregoing LERNE OR BE LEWDE is a fragment, occurs in the Lambeth MS. 853, and is therefore added here.

The A B C of Aristotle.

[*Lambeth MS. 853, ab. 1430 A.D., page 30, written without breaks.*]

- W**ho-so wilneþ to be wijs, & worschip desiriþ,
 Lerne he oo lettir, & looke on anothir
 Of þe .a. b. c. of aristotil : argue not azen þat :
- 4 It is councel for riȝt manye clerkis & knyȝtis a
 þousand,
 And eek it myȝte ameende a man ful ofte
 For to leerne lore of oo lettir, & his lijf saue ;
 For to myche of ony þing was neuere holsum.
- 8 Reede ofte on þis rolle, & rewle þou þer aftir ;
 Who-so be greued in his goost, gouerne him
 bettir ;
 Blame he not þe barn þat þis .a. b. c. made,
 But wite he his wickid will & his werk aftir ;
- 12 It schal neuere greue a good man þouȝ þe gilti
 be meendid.
 Now herkenenþ & heerip how y bigynne.

- A** to amerose, to aunterose, ne argue not to myche.
B to bolde, ne to bisi, ne boorde not to large.
C to curteis, to cruel, ne care not to sore.
D to dul, ne to dreedful, ne drinke not to ofte.
E to elenge, ne to excellent, ne to eernesful neiþer.
F to fers, ne to famuler, but freendli of cheere.
G to glad, ne to gloriose, & gelosie þou hate.

[Page 31.]

H to hasti, ne to hardi, ne to heuy in þine herte.
I to iettyng, ne to iangelinge, ne iape not to ofte.
K to kinde, ne to kepyng, & be waar of knaue tacchis.
L to looth for to leene, ne to liberal of goodis.
M to medelus, ne to myrie, but as mesure wole it meeue.
N to noiose, ne to nyce, ne use no new iettis.
O to orped, ne to ouerþwart, & oopis þou hate.
P to presing, ne to preuy with princis ne with dukis ;
Q to queynte, ne ¹ to quarelouse, but queeme weel 3oure souereyns.
R to riotus, to reueling, ne rage not to rudeli.
S to straunge, ne to stiryng, ne straungeli to stare.
T to toilose, ne to talewijs, for temperaunce is beest.
V to venemose, ne to veniable, & voide al vilonye.
W to wielde, ne to wrapful, neiþer waaste, ne waade not to depe,

¶ For a mesurable meene is euere þe beste of alle.

[1 Page 32.]

[“ Whi is þis world biloued ” follows.]

See two other copies of this A B C in Harl. MS. 541, fol. 213 and 228.

The copy on fol. 213 has the exordium as prose, thus: Who so wyll be wyse, and worspyppe to wynne, leern he on lettur, and loke vpon an other of the .A. B. C. of Arystotle; noon Argument agaynst that. ffor it is counselle for clerkis and knyghtis a thowsande. And also it myghte amende a meane man, fulle oft the lernyng of A lettur, and his lyf save. It shal not greue a good man though gylt be amende. rede on this ragment / and rule the therafter. The copy on fol. 228 has no Introduction.

Urbanitatis.

[MS. Cott. Calig. A. II., ab. 1460 A.D., fol. 88, col. 2.]

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>Who-so wylle of nurtur lere,
 Herken to me & 3e shalle here.
 When þou comeste be-fore a lorde
 4 In halle, yn bowre, or at þe borde,
 Hoode or kappe þou of þo.
 Ere þou come hym alle vn-to,
 Twyse or þryse <i>with-uten</i> dowte
 8 To þat lorde þou moste lowte,
 With þy Ry3th kne lette hit be do,
 Thy worshyp þou mayst saue so.
 Holde of þy cappe & þy hood also
 12 Tylle þou be byden hit on to do ;
 Alle þe whyle þou spekest <i>with</i> hym,
 Fayr & louely holde vp þy chynn,
 So <i>aftur</i> þe nurtur of þe book
 16 In his face louely þou loke ;
 Foot & hond þou kepe fulle styлле
 Fro clawyng or tryppying, hit ys skylle ;
 Fro spettyng & snetying kepe þe also ;
 20 Be priuy of voydance, & lette hit go.
 And loke þou be wyse & felle,
 And þerto also þat þow gouerne þe welle.
 In-to þe halle when þou dost wende
 24 Amonge þe genteles gode & hende,
 Prece þou not vp to hy3 for no þying,
 Nor for þy hy3 blood, nere for þy konnyng,
 Noþur to sytte, neþur to lene,
 28 For hit ys neyþur good ne clene.</p> | <p>When you come
before a lord</p> <p>take off your cap
or hood,</p> <p>and fall on your
right knee twice
or thrice.</p> <p>Keep your cap off
till you're told to
put it on ;</p> <p>hold up your
chin ;</p> <p>look in the lord's
face ;
keep hand and
foot still ;</p> <p>don't spit or snot ;
break wind
quietly ;</p> <p>behave well.
When you go into
the hall,</p> <p>don't press up too
high.</p> |
|---|--|

Don't be shame-
faced.

Wherever you
go, good manners
make the man.

Reverence your
betters,
but treat all
equally whom
you don't know.
[Fol. 86, back,
col. 1.]

See that your
hands are clean,
and your knife
sharp.

Let worthier men
help themselves
before you eat.

Don't clutch at
the best bit.

Keep your hands
from dirtying the
cloth, and don't
wipe your nose on
it,

or dip too deep in
your cup.

Have no meat in
your mouth when
you drink or
speak; and stop
talking when your
neighbour is
drinking.

Lette not þy contynaunce also abate,
For good nurtur wylle saue þy state;
Fadyr & modyr, what euur þey be,

32 Welle ys þe chylde þat may the:
In halle, in chambur, ore where þou gon,
Nurtur & good maners makeþ man.

36 To þe nexte degre loke þou wysely
To do hem Reuerence by and by:
Do hem no Reuerens, but sette alle in Rowe
But 3yf þou þe bettur do hym knowe.

To þe mete when þou art sette,
40 Fayre & honestly thow ete hyt:
Fyrste loke þat þy handes be clene,
And þat þy knyfe be sharpe & kene;
And cutte þy breed & alle þy mete

44 Ry3th euen as þou doste hit ete.
If þou sytte be a worthyor man
Then þy self thow art on,
Suffre hym fyrste to towche þe mete

48 Ere þy self any þer-of gete;
To þe beste morselle þou may not stryke
Thow3 þou neuur so welle hit lyke.

Also kepe þy hondys fayre & welle
52 Fro fylynge of the towelle,
Ther-on þou shalt not þy nose wye;
Nopur at þy mete þy toth þou pyke;
To depe in þy cuppe þou may not synke

56 Thow3 þou haue good wylle to drynke,
Leste þy eyen water þere by,
Then ys hyt no curtesy.

Loke yn þy mowth be no mete
60 When þou begynneste to drynke or speke;
Also when þou sest any man drynkyng
That taketh hede of þy karpyng,
Soone a-non þou sece þy tale,

64 Wheþur he drynke wyne or Ale.

- Loke also þou skorne no mon
 In what þe[gre]¹ þou se hym gon ;
 Nor þou shalte no mon Repreue²
 68 3yf þou wylt þy owen worshyp saue,
 For suche wordys þou myȝth out kaste
 Sholde make þe to lyue in euellē reste ;
 Close þyn honde yn þy feste,
 72 And kepe þe welle from hadde-y-wyste.
 In chambur among ladyes bryȝth,
 Kepe þy tonge & spende þy syȝth ;
 Lawȝe þou not with no grette cry,
 76 Ne Rage þou not with Rybawdry.
 Pley þou not but with þy peres ;
 Ne telle þou not þat þou heres,
 Nor dyskeuere þou not³ þyn owen dede
 80 For no myrth nor for no mede ;
 With fayr speche þou may haue þy wylle,
 And with þy speche þou may þe spylle.
 3yf þou suwe a wordyer mon
 84 Then þy self þou art on,
 Lette þy Ryȝth sholdur folow his bakke,
 For nurtur þat ys, with-owten lakke.
 When he doth speke, holde þe style ;
 88 When he hath don, say þy wylle ;
 Loke yn þy speche þou be felle,
 And what þou sayste a-vyse þe welle ;
 And be-refe þou no mon his tale,
 92 Noþur at wyne nere at Ale.
 Now, criste of his grette grace
 ȝeue vs alle bothe wytte & space
 Welle þis to knowe & Rede,
 96 And heuen to haue for our mede !
 Amen, Amen, so moot hit be,
 So saye we alle for charyte !

Scorn and

[¹ Marg. has *gre* for insertion.]

reprove no man.

[² *repraue* is written above the line.]

Keep your fingers from what would bring you to grief.

[Fol. 86, back, col. 2.]

Among ladies, look, don't talk. Don't laugh loud, or riot with ribalds.

Don't repeat what you hear.

[³ *not* put in by a later hand.]

Words make or mar you.

If you follow a worthier man, let your right shoulder follow his back, and

don't speak till he has done.

Be austere (?) in speech ;

don't stop any man's tale.

Christ gives us all wit to know this,

and heaven as our reward. Amen !

The Lytyle Childrenes Lytil Boke or Edyllys be.

[*Harl. MS. 541, fol. 210 ; and Egerton MS. 1995 ;
ab. 1480 A.D.*]

Clerks say that
courtesy came
from heaven when
Gabriel greeted
our Lady.
All virtues are
included in it.

See that your
hands and nails
are clean.

Don't eat till
grace is said,

or sit down till
you're told.

First, think on
the poor; the
full belly wots
not what the
hungry feels.

Don't eat too
quickly.

- Lytylle childrene, here ye may lere
Moche curtesy þat is wrytyne here ;
For clerkis that the vij artez cunne,
4 Seyn ¹ þat curtesy from hevyn come
Whan Gabryelle oure lady grette,
And Elizabeth with mary mette.
Alle vertues arne ² closide yn curtesye,
8 And alle vices yn vylonye.
Loke þyne hondis be ³ wasshe clene,
That no fylthe on ⁴ thy nayles be sene.
Take þou no mete tylle grace ⁵ be seyde,
12 And tylle þou see alle thyng arayedede.
Loke, my son, þat thow not sytte
Tylle þe ruler of þe hous the bydde ; ⁶
And at thy ⁷ mete, yn þe begynnyng,
16 Loke on ⁸ pore men that thow thynk,
For the fulle wombe without [⁹ any faylys]
Wot fulle lytyl [⁹ what the hungry aylys.]
Ete [⁹ not thy mete to hastely,
20 A-byde and ete esely.

¹ Egerton MS. 1995, Synne

² ben closyde

³ that thy hondys benne

⁴ in

⁵ the fyrste gracys

⁶ the halle the bytte

⁷ Atte the

⁸ a-pon (and omits *that*)

⁹ The parts between square brackets [] are from the Egerton MS.

The Young Children's Book.

[From the Ashmolean MS. 61 (Bodleian Library),
ab. 1500 A.D., fol. 20.]

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>Who so euer wylle thryue or the,
Muste vertus lerne, & curtas be ;
Fore who in 3owthe no vertus vsythe,
4 Yn Age All men hym refusythe.
Clerkys þat canne þe scyens seuene,
Seys þat curtasy came fro heuen
When gabryell owre lady grette,
8 And ely3abeth with here mette.
All vertus be closyde in curtasy,
And Alle vyces in vilony.
Aryse be tyme oute of thi bedde,
12 And blysse þi brest & thi forhede,
Than wasche thi hondes & thi face,
Keme þi hede, & Aske god grace
The to helpe in All þi werkes ;
16 Thow schall spede better what so þou carpes.
Than go to þe chyrche, & here A messe,
There aske mersy fore þi trespasse.
To whom þou metys come by þe weye,
20 Curtasly 'gode morne' þou sey.
When þou hast done, go breke thy faste
With mete & drynke of gode repaste :
Blysse þi mouthe or þou it ete,
24 The better schalle be þi dyete.</p> | <p>Whoever will
thrive, must be
courteous, and be-
gin in his youth.</p> <p>Courtesy came
from heaven,</p> <p>and contains all
virtues, as rude-
ness does all
vices.
Get up betimes ;
cross yourself ;</p> <p>wash your hands
and face ; comb
your hair ; say
your prayers ;</p> <p>go to church and
hear Mass.</p> <p>Say ' Good Morn-
ing ' to every one
you meet.</p> <p>Then have
breakfast,</p> <p>first crossing
your mouth.</p> |
|---|---|

Touch nothing
till you are fully
helped.

Don't break your
bread in two,

or put your pieces
in your pocket,

your fingers in
the dish,

or your meat in
the salt-cellar.

[Fol. 210, back.]

Don't pick your
ears or nose,

or drink with
your mouth full,

or cram it full.

Don't pick your
teeth with your
knife.

Take your spoon
out when you've
finished soup.

Don't spit over
or on the table,
that's not proper.

Don't put your
elbows on the
table,
or belch as if you
had a bean in
your throat.

Be careful of good
food ;

- Tylle þou haue thy fulle seruyse,
Touche noo messe in noo wyse.
Kerue not thy brede to thynne,
24 Ne breke hit not on twynne :
The mosselle that þou begynnysse to touche,
Cast them not in thy pouche.
Put not thy fyngerys on thy dysche,
28 Nothyr in flesche, nothyr in fysche.
Put not thy mete in-to the salte,
In-to thy Seler that thy salte halte,]
But ley it fayre ¹ on þi trenchere
32 The byfore,² and þat is þyne honore.
Pyke not þyne Eris ne thy nostrellis ;
If ³ þou do, men wolle sey þou come of cherlis.⁴
And ⁵ whylle þi mete yn þi mouth is,
36 Drynk þow not ; for-gete not this.
Ete þi mete by smalle mosselles ;
Fylle not thy mouth as done ⁶ brothellis.
Pyke not þi tethe with thy knyfe ;
40 In no company begynne þow stryfe.⁷
And whan þou hast þi potage doone,⁸
Out of thy dyssh þow put thi sponne.
Ne spitte þow not ⁹ over the ¹⁰ tabylle,
44 Ne therupon, for that is no þing abyлле.¹¹
Ley not þyne Elbowe nor ¹² thy fyst
Vpon the tabylle whylis þat thow etist.¹³
Bulk not as a Beene were yn þi throte,
48 [As a ka]rle þat comys oute of a cote.
[¹⁴ And thy mete be o]f grete pryce,
[Be ware of hyt, or þou arte n]ot wyse.
[Speke noo worde styлле ne sterke ;

¹ Egerton MS. omits *fayre*

² To-fore the

³ And

⁴ comyste of karlys

⁵ But

⁶ dothe

⁷ Whyle þou ettyste by thy lyffe

⁸ Idone

⁹ Spette not

¹⁰ thy

¹¹ Nor a-pon hyt, for hyt ys not able

¹² nothyr

¹³ whyle þou este

¹⁴ The parts between square brackets [] are from the Egerton MS.

- Be-fore þi mete sey þou þi grace,
Yt ocupys bot lytell space ;—
Fore oure mete, & drynke, & vs,
28 Thanke we owre lord Ihesus ;—
A pater noster & Aue mary
Sey fore þe saulys þat in peyne ly ;
Than go labour as þou arte bownde,
32 And be not Idylle in no stounde :
Holy scryptour þus it seyth
To þe þat Arte of cristen feyth,
“ Yffe þou labour, þou muste ete
36 That with þi hondes þou doyste gete ; ”
A byrde hath wenges forto fle,
So man hath Armes laboryd to be.
Luke þou be trew in worde & dede,
40 Yn Alle þi werkes þan schall þou spede :
Treuth wyt neuer his master schame,
Yt kepys hym out offe synne & blame.
The weys to heuen þei bene þus tweyne,
44 Mercy & treuthe, As clerkes seyne ;
Who so wyll come to þe lyfe of blysse,
To go þe weys he may not mysse.
Make no promys bot it be gode,
48 And kepe þou it with myght & mode ;
Fore euery promys, it is dette,
That with no falsed muste be lette.
God & þi neybores lufe all wey ;
52 Welle is þe, than may þou sey,
Fore so þou kepys All þe lawe
With-oute Any fere, drede, or awe.
Vn-callyd go þou to no counselle ;
56 That longes to þe, with þat thow melle.
Scorne not þe pore, ne hurte no mane ;
Lerne of hym þat the teche cane ;
Be no glosere nor no mokere,
60 Ne no seruantes no wey lokere.

Say grace,

thank Jesus for
your food,and say an Ave
for the souls in
pain.
Then set to work,
and don't be idle.Scripture tells
you,if you work, you
must eat what
you get with your
hands.Be true in word
and deed;truth keeps a man
from blame.
Mercy and Truth
are the two ways
to heaven,fail not to go by
them.Make only proper
promises, and
keep them

without falsehood.

Love God and
your neighbours,and so fulfil all
the Law.Meddle only with
what belongs to
you.Scorn not the
poor ;flatter no one ;
oppress (?) not
servants ;

and be courteous
and cheerful.

Don't whisper in
any man's ear.
Take your food
with your fingers,
and don't waste it.
Don't grin, or
talk too much,

or spill your food.

Keep your cloth
before you.

[Fol. 207.]

Cut your meat,
don't bite it.

Don't open your
mouth too wide
when you eat,

or blow in your
food.
If your lord
drinks, always
wait till he has
done.

Keep your
trencher clean.

Drink behind no
man's back.

Don't rush at
the cheese,

or throw your
bones on the floor.

- 52 And honowre and curtesy loke þou kepe,
And at the tabylle loke þou make goode chere
Loke þou rownde not in nomannys ere.
With thy fyngerys þou towche and taste
56 Thy mete ; And loke þou doo noo waste.
Loke þou laughe not, nor grenne ;
And with moche speche þou mayste do synne.
Mete ne drynke loke þou ne spylle,
60 But sette hit downe fayre and styлле.]
Kepe thy cloth clene the byforne,
And bere the so ¹ thow haue no scorne.
Byte not þi mete, but kerve it ² clene,
64 Be welle ware no ³ drop be sene.
Whan þou etyst, gape not to wyde
That þi mouth be sene on yche a ⁴ syde.
And son, beware, I rede, of ⁵ on thyng,
68 Blow neþer ⁶ yn thi mete nor yn þi ⁷ drynk.
And yif thi lord drynk at þat tyde,
Drynk þou not, but hym abyde ;
Be it at Evyne, be it at noone,⁸
72 Drynk þou not tylle he haue done.
Vpon þi trencher no fyllthe þou see,⁹
It is not honest, as I telle the ;
Ne drynk ¹⁰ behynde no mannes bakke,
76 For yf þou do, thow art to lakke.¹¹
And chese come forthe,¹² be not to gredy,¹³
Ne cutte þow not therof to hastely.¹⁴
Caste not þi bones ynto the flore,
80 But ley þem ¹⁵ fayre on þi trenchore.
Kepe clene þi cloth byfore þe ¹⁶ alle ;

¹ that

² cut hit

³ that noo

⁴ be in euery

⁵ be ware of

⁶ þou not

⁷ mete not

⁸ morowe, (and omits next line.)

⁹ be sene

¹⁰ Drynke þou not

¹¹ blame

¹² by-fore the

¹³ redy

¹⁴ To cut there-of be not to gredy.

¹⁵ hem

¹⁶ þe omitted.

The parts between square brackets [] are from the Egerton MS.

- Be not prowde, bot meke & lynd,
And *with* thi better go þou be-hynd.
When þi better schewys his wylle,
64 To he haue seyde þou muste be styll.
When þou spekes to Any mane,
Hande, fote, & fynger, kepe þou styll þan,
And luke þou vppe in to his face,
68 And *curtase* be in euery place.
With þi fynger schew þou no thyng,
Nor be not lefe to telle tydinge.
Yff Any man sey welle of þe,
72 Or of thi frendes, thankyd muste be.
Haue few wordes, & wysly sette,
Fore so þou may thi worschyppe gete.
Vse no suerynge noþer lyenge,
76 Yn thi sellynge & thi byenge,
Fore & þou do þou arte to blame,
And at þe last þou wylle haue schame.
Gete þi gowd *with* trewe[t]h & wyne,
80 And kepe þe out of dette & synne.
Be loth to greue, & leffe to ples;
Seke þe pes, & lyfe in es.
Offe whome þou spekes, where & when,
84 A-vyse þe welle, & to what men.
When þou commys vn to A dore,
Sey "god be here," or þou go ferre:
Wer-euer þou commys, speke honestly
88 To *ser* or dame, or *þer* meny.
Stand, & sytte not furth-*with*-alle
Tylle he byde þe þat rewlys þe halle;
Where he bydis, *þer* must þou sytte,
92 And fore none oþer change ne flyte;
Sytt vp-ryght And honestly,
Ete & drinke, & be feleyly,
Parte *with* hem þat sytes þe by,
96 Thus teches þe dame *curtasy*.

Be meek,

and wait till your
better has spoken.When you speak
to a man, keep
still,and look him in
the face.Don't be a
tale-bearer.
Thank all who
speak well of you.

Use few words;

don't swear or lie
in your dealings.Earn money
honestly, and keep
out of debt.

Try to please;

seek peace;

mind whom you
speak to and what
you say.Wherever you
enter, say "God
be here,"and speak
courteously to
master and man.Stand till you are
told to sit at meat,and don't leave
your seat before
others.

Sit upright;

be sociable,
and share with
your neighbours.

Sit still till grace
is said and you've
washed your
hands,

and don't spit in
the basin.

Rise quietly,
don't jabber, but

[Fol. 207, back.]

thank your host
and all the
company,

and then men will
say,
'A gentleman was
here!'
He who despises
this teaching
isn't fit to sit at a
good man's table.

Children, love this
little book, and

pray that Jesus
may help its
author to die
among his friends,
and not be
troubled with
devils,

- And sit þou styлле, what so be-falle,¹
Tylle grace be said vnto þe ende,
84 And tylle þou haue wasshen with þi frend.
Let the more worthy þan² thow
Wassh to-fore³ þe, & that is þi prow;
And spitte not yn⁴ þi basyne,
88 My swete son, þat þow wasshist yne;
And aryse up soft & styлле,⁵
And iangylle nether with Iak ne Iylle,
But take þi leve of the hede⁶ lowly,
92 And þank hym with thyne hert hyghly,
And alle þe gentyllis⁷ togydre yn-same,
And bare the so⁸ thow haue no blame;
Than men wyлле⁹ say therafter
96 That a gentylleman was heere.
And he þat dispiseth this techyng,
He is not worthy, withoute lesyng,
Nether at¹⁰ good mannes tabulle to¹¹ sitte,
100 Ner¹² of no worshipe for to wytte.
And therefore, chyldren, for¹³ charyte,
Louyth this boke though yt lytil be!¹⁴
And pray for hym þat made it thus,¹⁵
104 That hym may helpe swete Ihesus
To lyve & dye among his frendes,
¹⁶ And neuer to be combred with no fendes;

¹ styлле withalle

² thenne

³ by-fore

⁴ Spete not on (and omits next line.)

⁵ And ryse with hym that sate with the styлле,
And thanke hym fayre and welle:
Aftyr, Iangely not with Iacke ne gylle.

⁶ lorde

⁷ þe gentyllis omitted.

⁸ soo that

⁹ wyлле they sey

¹⁰ Neuyr at a

¹¹ for to

¹² Nothyr

¹³ pur

¹⁴ Lernythe thys boke that ys callyd Edyllys be

¹⁵ made thys

^{16.16} And vs graunte in Ioy to a-byde!

Say ye alle Amen for charyde in euery syde.

- Take þe salt *with* thi clene knyfe ;
 Be cold of spech, & make no stryfe ;
 Bakbyte no man þat is A-weye,
 100 Be glad of Alle men wele to sey.
 Here & se, & sey thou nought,
 Than schall þou not to *profe* be brought.
 With mete & drynke be-fore þe sette,
 104 Hold þe plesyd, & aske no bette.
 Wype thi mouthe when þou wyll drinke,
 Lest it foule thi copys brinke ;
 Kepe clene thi fyngeres, lypes, & chine,
 108 Fore so þou may thi wurschype wyne.
 Yn þi mouth when þi mete is,
 To drinke, or speke, or lauzh, I-wys
 Dame *curtasy* fore-bydes it the :
 112 Bot prayse thi fare, *wer-so-euer* þou be,
 Fore be it gode or be it badde,
 Yn gud worth it muste be had.
 When þou spytes, be welle were
 116 Where so þou spytes, nyze or fere ;
 Hold þi hand be-fore thi mouth
 When þou spytes, & hyde it couth.
 Kepe þi knyfe both clene & scherpe,
 120 And be not besy forto kerpe ;
 Clens þi knyfe *with* some cutte bred,
 Not *with* thi cloth, As I þe rede :
 With Any fylth to fowle þe clothe,
 124 A *curtase* mane he wyll be lothe.
 In þi dysch sette not þi spone,
 Noþer on þe brynke, as vn-lernyd done.
 When þou sopys, make no no[y]se
 128 With thi mouth As do boys.
 The mete þat on þi trencher is,
 Putte it not in-to þi dysch.
 Gete þe sone A voyder,
 132 And sone A-voyd þou thi trenchere.

Take salt with a
clean knife ;

talk no scandal,
but speak well of
all.
Hear and see ;
don't talk.

Be satisfied with
what's set before
you.

Wipe your mouth
before you drink ;
keep your fingers
and lips clean.

Don't speak with
your mouth full.

Praise your food ;
for whether it's
good or bad, it
must be taken in
good part.

Mind where you
spit,

and put your
hand before your
mouth.

Keep your knife
clean,

and don't wipe it
on the cloth.

Don't put your
spoon in the dish,

or make a noise,
like boys, when
you sup,

Don't put meat
off your plate into
the dish.

but be in joy for
ever. Amen!

And geve vs grace yn Ioy to be ;
108 Amen, Amen, for charytee !¹⁶

EXPLICIT. lerne or be lewde
quod Whytyng.¹⁷

¹⁷ AMEN.

Here endythe the boke of Curtesy that ys fulle neces-
sary vnto yonge chydryn that muste nedys lerne the
maner of curtesy.

EXPLICIT. AMEN.

- When thi better take þe tho coppe,
 Drinke thi selffe, & sette it vppe,
 Take tho coppe *with* thi hondes.
- 136 Lest it falle þer As þou stondes.
 When thi better spekes to the,
 Do offe thi cape & bow þi kne.
 At thi tabull noþer crache ne claw,
- 140 Than men wylle sey þou arte A daw.
 Wype not thi nose nor þi nos-thirlys,
 Than mene wylle sey þou come of cherlys.
 Make þou noþer cate ne hond (*so in MS.*)
- 144 Thi felow at þou tabull round ; („ „)
 Ne pleye *with* spone, trenchere, ne knyffe.
 Yn honesty & clenys lede þou thi lyffe.
 This boke is made for chylder 3onge
- 148 At the scowle þat byde not longe :
 Sone it may be conyd & had,
 And make them gode iff þei be bad.
 God gyffe them *grace*, *vertuos* to be,
- 152 Fore than þei may both thryff & the.
 Amen ! *quod* Kate.

If your superior
 hands you a cup,
 drink,

but take the cup
 with two hands.

When he speaks
 to you, doff your
 cap and bend your
 knee.
 Don't scratch
 yourself at table,

wipe your nose,

or play with your
 spoon, &c.

This book is for
 young children
 who don't stay
 long at school.

God grant them
 grace to be
 virtuous !

Stans Puer ad Mensam.

ASCRIBED TO JOHN LIDGATE.

[MS. Harl. 2251, ? about 1460 A.D., fol. 153 or 148. The parts between brackets [], and various readings, are from Mr Halliwell's print in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, v. 1, p. 156-8, of a 15th-century MS. Q. R. 8, fol. 77, r°, in the Library of Jesus College, Cambridge.]

¶ [My dere childe, first thiself enable
With all thin herte to vertuous disciplyne
Afor thi soverayne standing at the table,
4 Dispose thi youth aftir my doctryne
To all norture thi corage to enclyne.
First when thu spekest be not rekles,
Kepe feete and fingeris and handes still in pese.]

BE symple of chiere, cast nat thyn ye aside,
Agenst the post lete nat thy bak abyde ;
Gaase nat aboute, tournyng oueralle ; —
Make nat thy myrrour also of the walle,
12 Pyke nat thy nose, and in especialle
Be right wele ware, and sette hieron thi thought,
By-fore thy souerayne cracche ne rubbe nought.

¶ Who spekithe to the in any maner place,
16 Rudely ¹ cast nat thyn ye ² adowne,
But with a sadde chiere loke hym in the face ;
Walke demurely by strete in the towne,
Advertise the withe wisdom and Reasoun.
20 Withe dissolute laughters do thow non offence
To-fore thy souerayn, whiles he is in presence.

¹ *Rel. Ant.*, Lumbisshly

² hede

The Book of Curteisie

That is Clepid

Stans Puer ad Mensam.

[*Lambeth MS. 853, ab. 1430 A.D., page 150, back.*
Part written as prose.]

- M**i dere sone, first þi silf able
 with al þin herte to vertuose discipline,—
 A-fore þi souereyn stondinge at þe table
 4 Dispose þou þee aftir my doctryne—
 To al nortur þi corage to encline.
 First while þou spekist, be not richelees ;
 Kepe boþe fyngir and hond stille in pees ;
- 8 **B**e symple in cheer ; caste not þi looke a-side,
 gase not about, turnynge þi sizt oueral.
 azen þe post lete not þi bak abide,
 neiþer make þi myrrour also of þe wal.
 12 Pike not þi nose ; & moost in especial
 be weel waar, sette her-on þi þouzt,
 to-fore þi souereyn cratche ne picke þee nouzt.
- ¶ Who-so speke to þee in ony maner place,
 16 lumpischli caste not þin heed a-doun,
 but with a sad cheer loke him in þe face.
 walke demurely bi streetis in þe toun,
 And take good hede bi wisdom & resoun
 20 þat bi no wantowne lauþinge þou do noon offence
 To-fore þi souereyne while he is in presence.

When you stand
 before your
 sovereign,

speak not reck-
 lessly, and keep
 your hands still.

[Page 151.]

Don't stare about,

lean against a
 post, look at the
 wall, pick your
 nose, or scratch
 yourself.

When spoken to,
 don't lumpishly
 look at the
 ground.

Walk demurely in
 the streets,

and don't laugh
 before your lord.

- ¶ Pare clene thy nailes, thyn handes wasshe also
 To-fore mete, and whan thow dooest arise ;
 24 Sitte in that place thow art assigned to ;
 Prease nat to hye in no maner wise ;
 And til thow se afore the thy service,
 Be nat to hasty on brede for to byte,
 28 Of gredynesse lest men wolde the endwyte.¹
- ¶ Grennyng and mowes at the table eschowe ;
 Cry nat to lowde ; kepe honestly silence ;
 To enboce thy Iowis withe mete² is nat diewe ;
 32 Withe ful mowthe speke nat, lest thow do offence ;
 Drynk nat bretheles³ for hast ne negligence ;
 Kepe clene thy lippes from fat of flesshe or
 fische ;
 Wype clene⁴ thi spone, leve it nat in thy disshe.
- ¶ Of brede I-byten no soppis that thow make ;
 37 In ale nor wyne withe hande leve no fattenes ;
 Withemowthe enbrewed thy cuppe thow nat take ;
 Enbrewe⁵ no napery for no rekelesnes ;
 40 For to souppe [loude] is agenst gentiles ;
 [N]euer at mete begynne thow nat⁶ stryf ;
 Thi tethe also thow pike nat withe no knyf.

[Fol. 153, back.]

- ¶ Of honest myrthe late be thy daliaunce ;
 44 Swere none othes, speke no ribawdrye ;
 The best morsel, have in remembraunce,
 Hole to thyself alwey do nat applie ;
 Part withe thy felaw, for that is curtesie :
 48 Laade nat thy trenchour withe many remyssailles ;
 And from blaknes alwey kepe thy nayles.
- ¶ Of curtesye also agenst the lawe,
 Withe sowne⁷ dishonest for to do offence ;
 52 Of old surfaytes abrayde nat thy felawe ;
 Toward thy souerayne alwey thyn aduertence ;

¹ a-wite.² brede it³ bridlid⁴ fayre⁵ Foul⁶ be warre gynne no⁷ Which sou

- P**are clene þi nailis ; þin hondis waische also
to-fore þi mete, [&] whanne þou doist arise. Clean your nails
and wash your
hands.
- 24 sitte þou in þat place þat þou art a-signed to ; Sit where you're
told to,
Prece not to hie in no maner wise ;
And whanne þou seest afore þee þi seruice,
be not to hasti upon breed to bite and don't be too
hasty to begin
eating.
- 28 lest men þerof Do þee edwite.
- G**rennynge & mowynge at þi table eschewe ; [Page 152.]
Don't grin, shout,
Crie not to lowde : honestli kepe silence.
To enbrace þi iowis *with* breed, it is not dewe ; or stuff your
jaws with food,
- 32 *with* ful mouþ speke not lest þou do offence ;
Drinke not bridelid for haste ne necligence ; or drink too
quickly.
Kepe clene þi lippis from fleisch & fische ; Keep your lips
clean, and wipe
your spoon.
Wipe faire þi spoon ; leue it not in þi dische.
- 36 **O**f breed *with* þi teep no soppis þou make ; Don't make sops
of bread,
Lowde for to soupe is aȝen gentilnes :
With mouþ enbrowide þi cuppe þou not take, or drink with a
dirty mouth.
In ale ne in wiyn *with* hond-leue no fatnes ;
- 40 Defoule not þe naprie bi no richelesnes. Don't dirty the
table linen,
Be waar þat at þe mete þou bigynne no striif ;
þi teep also at þe table picke *with* no knyf. or pick your teeth
with your knife.
- O**f honest mirþe euere be þi daliaunce ;
44 Swere noon oopis ; speke no ribaudie. Don't swear or
talk ribaldry, or
take the best bits ;
þe beste morsels,—haue þis in remembraunce,—
Holli alwey þi silf to take do not applie.
Parte *with* þi felawis, for þat is curteisie. share with your
fellows.
- 48 Lete not þi trenchour be *with* many morsels ; Eat up your
pieces, and keep
your nails clean.
And fro blaknes kepe weel þi nailis.
- O**f curtesie it is aȝen þe lawe,
With dishoneste, sone, for to do difence ;
52 Of oolde forfetis vpbraide not þi felawe ;
Towarde þi souereyn do euere reuerence. [Page 153.]
It's bad manners
to bring up old
complaints.

Play withe no knyf, take heede to my sentence ;
 At mete and soupper kepe the stille and soft ;
 56 Eke to and fro meve nat thy foote to oft.

¶ Droppe nat thi brest withe sawce ne withe potage ;
 Brynge no knyves vnskoured to the table ;
 Fil nat thy spone, lest in the cariage
 60 It went beside, whiche were nat comendable ;
 Be quyke and redy, meke and seruisable,
 Wele awaityng to fulfille anone
 What that thy souerayne comav[n]dithe the to
 be done.

64 ¶ And whereso euer that thow dyne or soupe,
 Of gentillesse take salt withe thy knyf ;
 And be wele ware thow blow nat in the cuppe.
 Reuerence thy felawe, gynne withe hym no stryf ;
 68 Be thy powere kepe pees al thy lyf.
 Interrupt nat, where so thow wende,
 None other mans tale, til he have made an ende ;

¶ Withe thy fynGRES make ¹ thow nat thy tale ;
 72 Be wele avised, namly in tendre age,
 To drynk by mesure bothe wyne and ale ;
 Be nat copious also of langage ;
 As tyme requyrithe, shewe out thy visage,
 76 To gladde ne to sory, but kepe atwene tweyne,
 For losse or lucre or any case sodayne.

[Fol. 154 or 149.]

¶ Be meke in mesure, nat hasti, but tretable ;
 Ouer moche is nat worthe in no maner thyng ;
 80 To children it longithe nat to be [vengeable,²]
 Sone meeved and sone forgyvyng ;
 And as it is remembrid bi ³ writyng,
 Wrathe of children is sone ouergone,
 84 Withe an apple the parties be made atone.

¹ *Rel. Ant.*, marke ² MS. Harl., tretable ³ *Rel. Ant.*, by olde

- Pleie *with* no knif, take hede to my sentence ;
 At mete & at soper kepe þee stille & softe,
 56 And eek to & fro meeue not þi feep to ofte.

Don't play with
your knife,
or shuffle
your feet about.

- D**roppe not þi brest *with* seew & oþer potage,
 Bringge no foule knyues vnto þe table ;
 Fille not þi spoon lest in þe cariage
 60 It scheede bi side, it were not commendable.
 Be quik & redi, meke & seruiable,
 Weel awaitinge to fulfille anoon
 What þat þi souereyn commaundiþ to be doon.

Don't spill your
broth on your
chest, or use dirty
knives, or fill your
spoon too full.

Be quick to do
whatever your
lord orders.

- 64 **A**nd where-so-euere þou be to digne or to suppe,
 Of gentilnes take salt *with* þi knyf,
 And be weel waar þou blowe not in þe cuppe.
 Reuerence þi felawis ; bigynne *with* hem no strijf ;
 68 To þi power kepe pees al þi lijf.

Take salt with
your knife ; don't
blow in your cup,
or begin quarrels.

Intrippe no man where so þat þou wende,
 No man in his tale, til he haue maade an eende.

Interrupt no man
in his story.

- ¶ *With* þi fyngris marke not þi tale ;
 72 be weel avysid, & nameli in tendir age,
 To drinke mesurabli boþe wiyn & ale.
 Be not to copiose of langage ;
 As tyme requiriþ schewe out þi visage,
 76 To glad, ne to sory, but kepe þee euene bitwene
 For los, or lucre, or ony case sodene.

[Page 154.]

Drink wine and
ale in moderation.

Don't talk too
much,

but keep a middle
course.

- B**e soft *in* mesure, not hasti, but treteable ;
 Ouer soft is nouzt in no maner þing ;
 80 To children longiþ not to be vengeable,
 Soone meued and soone fizinge ;
 And as it is remembrid bi writynge,
 wrappe of children is ouercome soone,
 84 *With* þe partis of an appil ben made at oon.

Be gentle and
tractable, but not
too soft.

Children must not
be revengeful ;

their anger is
appeased with a
bit of apple.

¶ In children werre ¹ now myrthe and now debate,
 In theyr quarel no grete violence ;
 Now pley, now wepyng, sielde in one estate ;
 88 To theyr playntes gyve no credence ;
 A Rodde refourmythe al theyr insolence ;
 In theyr corage no Rancour dothe abyde ;
 Who sparithe the yerd, al vertu set aside.

LENVOYE.

92 ¶ Go, litel bille, bareyn of eloquence,
 Pray yonge children that the shal see or Reede,
 Thoughe thow be compendious of sentence,
 Of thi clauses for to taken heede,
 96 Whiche to al vertu shal theyr yowthe leede.
 Of the writyng, thoughe ther be no date,
 If ought be mysse,—worde, sillable, or dede,—
 Put al the defaute vpon Iohne Lydegate.

¹ *Rel. Ant.*, In childre

- I**n children werre is now mirþe & now debate,
 In her quarel is no violence,
 now pleie, now wepinge, & seelde in oon state;
 88 to her pleyntis 3eue no credence;
 A rodde reformeþ al her necligence;
 in her corage no rancour doop abide,
 who þat spariþ þe rodde all uertues settiþ a-side.
- Children's
 quarrels are first
 play, then crying;
 don't believe their
 complaints; give
 'em the rod.
 Spare that, and
 you'll spoil all.
- 92 **A** ! litil balade, voide of eloquence,
 I praie 3ou 3onge children þat þis schal se & rede,
 þou3 3e be copious of sentence,
 3it to þese clausis for to take hede
 96 Which al into vertues schal 3oure 3ouþe lede.
 In þis writynge, þou3 þer be no date,
 Yf ou3t be mys in word, sillable, or dede,
 I submitte me to correccioun withoute ony debate.
- [Page 155.]
 Young children,
 pray take heed to
 my little ballad,
 which shall lead
 you into all
 virtues.
 My mistakes I
 submit to
 correction.

Thus eendith þe book of curteisie þat is clepid
 stans puer ad mensam.

Of the Manners to bring one to Honour and Welfare.

My son, I'll tell
you what manners
will bring you
honour and
welfare.

Take care of your
master's goods as
your own.

Ware angry words.

Fear shame.

Let others
speak first.
[Page 166.]
Bow to your
betters.

Sport with your
equals,

and leave off in
good time.
Put up with big
words: better
bow than burst.
Learn from every
man.

Don't tell all you
hear.
Beware of after-
regrets.
Be not too tale-
wise, neither too
merry nor too sad.

Keep the middle
way.

- S**One, y schal þee schewe,—now take hede,—
And of suche maners þee declare
Bi whiche þou schalt come to manhede,
4 To wordli worschip, and to weelfare.
¶ What man þou seruest, euermore him drede,
And hise goodis as þin owne euere þou spare;
Lete neuere þi wil þi witt ouer lede;
8 Of wrapful wordis euermore be ware.
¶ þe bigynnynge of þi worschip, is to drede schame;
Lete opere men talke her talis or þou,
And her wittis loke þou not blame;
12 Vnto þi betere euermore þou bowe;

¶ And whanne þou schalt boorde, bourde with þi
peere,
And leue of to pleie whanne þee list best.
And for to suffre greete wordis, is manere,
16 And often tyme it is betere to bow þan to berst;
And of euery mannis witt loke þat þou lere,
And þat rial tresour þou close in þi chest;
Telle neuere þe more þou; þou myche heere,
20 And euere be waare of had-y-wist.
In companies be neuere to tale-wijs,
Ne ouer myrie, ne ouer sadde,
Lest in þi berynge men acounte þee ouer nyce;
24 Kepe euere þe meene, and euere be a-drad.

- ¶ With broþels ne boies loke þou with hem neuere
 play,
 For þat þou hem tellist þou schalt heere eft.
 And if þou se a wastour owher, y þee pray,
 28 His felowschip fayn y wolde þat þou left.
 ¶ Medle not with mysrule by no maner way,
 For good maner he hap from hym schifte;
 For y haue ofte seen þis in fay,
 32 þat fro manye men he hap manhode refte.
- Don't play with
 rackety men:
 what you tell
 them you hear
 again.
 Avoid spend-
 thrift's company.
- Mix not with
 Misrule: he robs
- [Page 157.]
 men of their
 manhood.

[? one stanza of 4 lines wanting]

Take what you find or what you bring.

[MS. Trin. Coll. Cambridge, O. 9.38.]

- hoo that comyzt to an howse,
 loke he be noo thyng' dongerowse
 To take seche as he fyndyzt;
 4 And yf he wolde not do soo,
 Reson A-greezt there-too
 To take suche as he bryngyzt.

The Reward of the Man who Beggars Himself.

[MS. Trin. Coll. Cambridge, O. 9.38, written as prose.]

with thys bytel be he smete. þat alle þe worle
 mote hyt wete
 þat yevyt hys goode to hys kynne. & goth hym
 sylfe A beggyng'

How the Good Wiȝf tauȝte Hir Douȝtir.

[Lambeth MS. 853, ab. 1430 A.D., page 102; written without breaks. The various readings are from one of the MS. volumes of Lydgate's Works in Trin. Coll. Camb. Library, R. 3.19. I owe the readings to the kindness of Mr W. Aldis Wright.]

The good Wife

said to her
Daughter,

' If you will be a
wife,

[* Page 103.]

love God and go
to church; don't
let the rain stop
you.

The good wiȝf tauȝte hir douȝtir
Ful¹ manye a tyme² & ofte

A ful¹ good womman to be,
4 And seide "douȝtir to¹ me¹ dere,
Sum good þou must lere
If euere¹ þou wolt þee.

Douȝtir, if þou wolt ben a wiȝf,³
8 Loke wiȝsly þat þou worche,
Loke loueli * and in good lijf
þou loue god & holi chirche.³
¶ Go to chirche whanne þou may,
12 Loke þou⁴ spare for no reyn,
⁵ For þou farist þe best þat ilke day
Whanne⁵ þou hast god y-seyn.
¶ ⁶ He muste need weel priue
16 þat liueþ weel al his lyue,⁶
My leef child.

¹⁻¹ Omitted.

² Many tymes

³⁻³ wyse & wysely wyrke

Loke thow loue welle thy god and holy chyrche

⁴ &

⁵⁻⁵ Alle the day thow faryst the bet þat

⁶⁻⁶ Welle proueth that god loueth

Gladli¹ 3eue þi tipis & þin offrynge² boþe ;
 þe poore & þe beedered, loke þou not³ loþe ;
 20 3eue of þin owne good, and be⁴ not to hard,
 For seelden is þat⁵ hous poore þere god is steward.
 6 Weel he proueþ
 þat þe poore loueþ,⁶
 24 Mi leue child.

Pay tithe, care for
 the poor, give
 freely.

Whanne⁷ þou sittist in þe chirche, þi beedis þou At Church, pray,
 schalt⁸ bidde ;
 9 Make þou no iangelynge To freende ncr to don't chatter,
 sibbe;⁹
 lau3e þou¹⁰ to scorne nouþer,¹¹ ʒoolde bodi⁹ ne
 3onge,
 28 But be of fair beerynge & of good tunge ;
 þoru3 þi fair beerynge
 þi worschip haþ encresynge,
 Mi leue child.

Be courteous to
 all.

32 ¶ If ony man biddiþ¹² þe worschip, and wolde Despise no offer
 wedde þee, of marriage, but
 Loke þat þou scorne him not,¹³ what-so-euere he
 be,
 But⁹ schewe it to þi freendis, & for-hile þou¹⁴ it [Page 104.]
 nou3t ; consult your
 friends ;
 Sitte not¹³ bi him, neiþer stoonde,¹⁵ þere synne
 my3te be wrou3t, and don't go
 where your lover
 might get you into
 trouble.
 36 For⁹ a sclaundre reisd ille⁹
 Is yuel for to stille,
 Mi leue childe.

¹ Gladly thow ² offrynges ³ bedered þat þey be thee nat
⁴ 3eue thow hem of thy good and be þou ⁵ seldom ys the
⁶⁻⁶ Welle he tresoreth that the poore honowreth ⁷ And when
⁸ bedys to ⁹⁻⁹ Omitted. ¹⁰ lawe þou nat ¹¹ neyther
¹² Yef any man bid ¹³ nat. (Throughout, *nat* is written for *not*.)
¹⁴ forhele ¹⁵ stand

Love your husband above all earthly things. Answer him meekly and he'll love you.

That man þat schal þe wedde bifor god wiþ a ryng,

40 Loue þou¹ him & honoure moost of erþeli þing ;
Meekely þou him answere,² And not³ as an attir-
ling,

And so maist þou slake⁴ his mood, And ben his dere derlynge :

44 A fair worde ⁵and a meeke
doop wrappe slake,⁵
Mi leue child.

Be cheerful

Fair of speche schalt þou be, gladde, & of mylde mood,

and true,

Trewe in worde & in dede, and in conscience⁶ good ;

and keep free from blame.

48 Kepe þee from synne, fro vilonye, & fro blame,
And loke þat¹ þou beere þee so þat men seie þee no schame ;

⁷ For he þat in good lijf rennep,
Ful ofte weel he wynnep,⁷

52 Mi leue child.

Be well-mannered,

⁸ **B**e of semeli semblaunt, wijs, and oþer⁸ good maner,

[* Page 105.]

Chaunge not þi contynauce for nouȝt þat * þou may heere ;

not a romp or rude.

Fare not³ as a gigge, for nouȝt þat may bitide,
56 Lauȝe þou¹ not to loude,⁹ ne ȝane þou not to⁹ wide,

¹⁰ But lauȝe þou softe & myelde,
And be not of cheer to wielde,¹⁰

Mi leue child.

¹ Omitted.

² Answere hym faire

³ nat

⁴ thou shalt styll

⁵⁻⁵ to þy make oft wrethe doth stake

⁶ thy conseyence

⁷⁻⁷ Good lyfe reneweth and welle wynneth

⁸⁻⁸ Of fayre semblant shalt thou be, wys, and of good manere

⁹⁻⁹ long, ne yane nat

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ Yet lawgh thou may & mery wordys say

- 60 **A**nd whan þou goist in þe way, go þou¹. not to In walking,
 faste,
 Braundische not with þin heed, þi schuldris þou don't toss your
 ne caste ; head and wriggle
 your shoulders.
 Haue þou not to manye wordis ; to swere be þou Don't swear.
 not leefe,
 For alle such maners comen to an yuel preef :
 64 ² For he þat cacchip to him an yuel name,
 It is to him a foule fame,²
 Mi leue childe.

- G**o þou not into þe toun as it were a gase In town, don't
 gad about,
 68 From oon hous to anoþer for to seke þe mase ;
 Ne wende þou not to þe¹ market þi borel³ for to
 selle,
 And þanne⁴ to þe tauerne þi worschip to felle,⁵ or get drunk on
 your cloth-money.
⁶ For þei þat tauernes haunten,
 72 Her þrifte þei adaunten,⁶
 My leue child.

- A**nd if þou be in place where⁷ good ale is on Where good ale
 is going,
 lofte,
 Wheþer þat þou serue *þerof, or þat þou sitte [* Page 106.]
 softe,
 76 Mesurabli⁸ þou take þer-of þat þou falle in no drink moderately.
 blame,
 For if þou be ofte drunke, it falle⁹ þee to If you get drunk
 often, you'll be
 schame ; disgraced.
¹⁰ For þo þat ben ofte drunke,
 þrift is from hem sunke,¹⁰
 80 Mi leue child.

¹ Omitted.²⁻² Euyllē name ys euelle · fame³ borelle⁴ Ne⁵ for to fylle⁶⁻⁶ He that tauernes haunteth, hyr thryft adaunteth⁷ þere⁸ Mesurely⁹ hit falleth¹⁰⁻¹⁰ He þat ys oft drunke, thryft ys fro hym sonke,

Don't go to public
shows like a

strumpet, but stay
at home.

When any man
speaks to you,

greet him only,

and then let him
go on,

as he might tempt
you to wrong.

[* Page 107.]
Take no gifts;

they're the ruin
of many a true
woman.

Go not to þe¹ wrastelinge, ne to schotyng at²
cok,

As it were a strumpet or a gigggelot:
wone³ at hom, dou3tir, and loue þi werk myche,

84 And so þou schalt, my leue child, wexe soone
riche.

⁴ It is euermore a myrie þing,
A man to be serued of his owne þing,⁴
Mi leue child.

88 **A**qweynte þee not with eche man þat goop bi
þe strete;

þou3 ony man speke⁵ to þee, Swiftli þou him
grete;

Lete him go bi þe wey; bi him þat þou ne⁶
stonde,

þat he¹ bi no vilonye þin herte my3te fonde,

92 ⁷ For alle men ben not trewe
þat kunne fair her wordis schewe,⁷
Mi leue child.

Also,⁸ for no coueitise, 3iftis þat þou *noon
take;

96 But þou wite ri3t weel whi ellis,¹ soone þou hem
forsake,

For with 3iftis men may wommen⁹ ouer goon
þou3 þei were as trewe as steel eiþer stoon.

¹⁰ Bounden forsoþe sche is
100 þat of ony man takip 3iftis,¹⁰
Mi leue childe.

¹ Omitted.

² shetyng at þe

³ Syt

⁴⁻⁴ Mery[er] ys owne thyng on to loke þan any oþer mannys on
to tote

⁵ he speke feyre

⁶ nat

⁷ For alle men be nat trew þat feyre spekyn

⁸ Ne

⁹ wemen

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ For boundyn ys she þat taketh yeftys

- A**nd wijsli gouerne þou þin hous and þi¹ meyne : With your house-
 To bittir ne to bonour with hem þat þou ne² be, sharp or too easy ;
 104 But² loke weel³ what is moost neede to doone, set 'em at work at
 And sette þi meyne þerto boþe ratheli⁴ & soone, what most needs
 For redi is at nede doing.
 A forn doon dede,
 108 Mi leue child.

- A**nd if þin husbonde be from⁵ hoome, lete not If your husband's
 þi meyne goon⁶ ydil, away, make your
 But loke weel who dooþ myche⁷ eiþer lital, people work, and
 And he þat weel dooþ, þou² qwite him weel his treat them ac-
 whyle,⁸ cording to what
 112 And he þat dooþ oþer, serue him as þe vile they do.
 A forn doon dede
 Wole an oþer spede,
 Mi leue child.

- 116 **A**nd if þi nede be greet & þi tyme streite, When need is,
 þan² go þi silf þerto & worche *an houswijfes⁹ self,
 brayde, [* Page 108.]
 10 þanne wille þei alle do þe bettir þat aboute þee all will do better
 stande[s].¹⁰ for it.
 þe work is þe sonner do þat haþ many handis,¹¹
 120 ¹² For manye handis & wight
 Make an heuy worke light ;
 Aftir þi good seruise
 þi name schal arise,¹²
 124 Mi leue childe.

¹ Gouerne welle also thyne howse & wysely thy ^{2.2} Omitted.

³ welle abowte ⁴ and þat lyghtly ⁵ yef þy mastyr be fro

⁶ go ⁷ mykylle

⁸ Trin: Coll. MS. whyle. (*The Lambeth MS. has mede.*)

⁹ and make a wyues breyde

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ Alle þey doon the bettyr þat about þee stondyn

¹¹ hondyn ¹²⁻¹² Many hondys & smert makyn lyght werke

Look after your
household when
at work,

And ¹ what so ² þi meyne do, aboute ³ hem þou
wende,

And ⁴ as myche as þou maist, be at þat ⁵ oon
eende,

and have faults
put to rights at
once.

And if þou fynde ony ⁶ defaute, do it soone ⁷
ameende

128 So ⁸ þei haue tyme ² and ² space & ⁹ may hem de-
fende.

¹⁰ To compelle a dede to be doon & þere be
no space,

It is but tyrannye with-out temper-
aunce & grace, ¹⁰

Mi leue child.

See everything
straight when
they leave work;
keep your keys
yourself,

132 ¹¹ **A**nd loke þat alle þingis be weel whanne þei her
werkis lete,

And take þe keies in-to þi warde, loke þei ben
not forgete ;

and beware whom
you trust.

And be waar to whom þou trustis, and spare for
no qweyntise,

¹ Loke

²⁻² Omitted.

³ and about

⁴ At euery dede þat shuld be do

⁵ the

⁶ fyndyst a

⁷ sone do hit

⁸ So þat

⁹ þat þey

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ Meche besynesse behoueth hem þat shall howse holden

¹¹ The next two stanzas of the Lambeth MS. are transposed (in an altered form) to another part of the Trinity MS. as shown in the second and first stanzas in the notes on p. 45 and p. 46. The Trin. MS. has here, for ll. 132-45, the following :

In other mennys housys make þou no maystry ;
Blame þou nat wrongfully þat þou seest with thyne ey.
Dowgtyr, I pray thee, bere the so welle
That alle men mow sey þou art as trew as steele :
A good name many folde ys more worthe then golde,

} My leue
Chylde.

Be thow no chyder, ne of wordys boold
To myssay by neyghbors nouthur yong ne oolde ;
Be þou nat to mody ne to enuyous
For nought þat may betyde in oper mennys hous :
An enuyous hert oft doth smert,

} My leef
Chylde.

For myche harme hap falle to them þat ben not
wise ;

136 But, dou3tir, loke þat þou be wise, & do
as y þee teche,

And trust * noon bettir þan þi silf, for no [* Page 109.]
fair speche,

Mi leue childe.

140 **A**nd 3eue þi meyne ther hire At þer terme day Pay your people ;
Wheþer þat þei dwelle stille or þei wende away, on wages-day,
Doo weel bi hem of þi good þat þou hast in and be generous
welde, to them.

And þan schal þei seie weel of þee, boþe þe yonge
and oolde ;

144 þi good name is to þi freendis
greet ioie & gladnes,
Mi leue childe.

And if þi neighboris wijf hap¹ on riche a-tire, Don't be jealous
þerfore mocke þou ne scorne,² brenne not as fier, of your neigh-
bour's fine dress.
148 But þanke god of heuen for þat he hath þe 3eueene, Thank God for
And so þou schalt, my dou3tir, a good lijf what you have.
lyuande.³

⁴ he hap eese at weelde
þat þankeþ god feele & seelde,⁴
152 Mi leue child.

Houswijfli þou schalt goon on⁵ þe worke day Work diligently
[iwis,]⁶ on work days,

Pride, reste, & ydilnes, makip on-þriftines ;⁷

And⁶ whanne þe holi day is come, weel⁸ schalt and worship God
þou be

156 þe holi day in⁹ worschipe, & god wole loue þee ;

¹ haue ² make þou no stryfe ne ³ lyuen

⁴⁻⁴ He hath esy to welde þat thanketh selde

⁵ Honestly shalt þow go ⁶ Omitted. ⁷ cast hit alle away

⁸ clothyd honestly ⁹ The good lord

on Holydays.

¹ Haue in mynde to god is worschip [ay],
 For myche pride comeþ of þe yuel day,¹
 Mi leue child.

[Page 110.]

Love your
neighbours,and do as you'd
be done by.

160 ¶² Whanne þou art a wijf, a nei3bore for to be,
 Loue þan weel þi nei3boris, as god hap
 comaundide þee ;
 It bihoueþ þee so for to do,
 And to do to þem as þou woldist be doon to.
 164 If ony discorde happen nyght or daye,
 Make it no worse, meende it if þou
 may,
 Mi leue child.

If you are rich,
be hospitable

And if þou schalt be a riche wijfe, Be þan not
 to hard,

and help the poor
in their need.

168 But weelcome faire þi neiboris þat comen to þee
 warde
 With mete, drinke, & honest chere, Such as þou
 maist to hem bede,
 To ech man after his degre, & help þe poore at
 neede ;
 and also for Hap þat may bitide,

¹⁻¹ More for goddes frenshyp than the worldes worshyp

² Instead of lines 160-187, the Trin. Coll. MS. has the following :

Moche shame be they worthy, & sorow wolle hem betyde
 That maketh hyr housbondes poore þorow her moche
 pryde. } My leef
 Be fulle wyse, doughtyr, & An howsewyfe good ; } chylde.
 Aftyr the wrenne hath veynes let þou hyr blood.
 Hys thryft wexeth thynne þat spendeth or he wynne,

Syt nat vp long At euyn As A gase with the cuppe
 To sey wessayle, & drynke heylle, Our syrrys thryft ys }
 vppe, } My leef
 But go to bedde betyme, & A morow ryse blyue, } chylde.
 And so þou shalt, my leue chylde, bothe wynne & thryue,
 Alle ease may nat falle to h̄ym þat thryue shalle,

172 Please weel þi nei3boris þat dwelle þee
 biside,
 Mi leue child.

Doughtir, loke þat þou be waare, what-sum- Don't ruin your
 euere þee bitide, husband with
 Make not þin husbonde poore with spendinge your extrava-
 ne with pride. gance,

176 A man must spende as he may þat hap but if he's poorly off.
 easy good,

4 For aftir þe wrenne hap veynes, Men must lete Bleed a wren
 hir blood ; according to its
 veins.

His * þrifte wexiþ þinne
 þat spendiþ or he wynne,

[* Page 111.]

180 Mi leue child.

Borowe not to besely, nor take not þin hire Don't borrow, or
 first take your own
 dues first,

But if þe more nede it make, & grettir distresse ;

Ne make þee not to seme riche With oper or show off with
 mennis þing, others' goods.

With ryche Roobys and garlondes, & with ryche thyng,
 Counterfete no lady as thy hosbond were a kyng.
 With suche as he may the ayde, apayde shalt þow be,
 That no countenaunce be lost for cause of thee :
 Ouyrdone pryde maketh nakyd syde, .

} My leef
 chylde.

Loke welle abowte ; for no þyng þat þow lete ;
 Take the keyes in to þy warde, be they nat foryete ;
 Bethynke the welle in þought ; let for no queyntyse ;
 And but yef þow do so, þou dost nat as the wyse.
 For who þat loueþ hym sylf best, Most may lyue in rest,

} My leef
 chylde.

Sorow¹ nat to blythely, ne take nat þy hyre furst,
 But the more nede hyt make or the grettir byrst.
 Make the nat ryche with other mennys thyng,
 Ne neuyr the boldyr to spende a farthyng ;
 For what soeuer þou haue to done,
 Borowyd thyng wylle home

} My leef
 chylde.

¹ A mistake for 'Borow.'

184 Ne þerfore spende neuere þe more of a ferthing ;
 For þou3 þou borowe faste,
 It must hoome a3en at laste,
 Mi leue child.

If your children
 are saucy,

don't curse them,

but give 'em a
 smart flogging.

188 **A**nd if þi children been¹ rebel, & wole not hem
 lowe,²

If ony³ of hem mys doop, nouþer⁴ banne hem ne
 blowe,

But take a smert rodde,⁵ & bete hem on a rowe
 Til þei crie mercy, & be of her gilt aknowe.

192 ⁶ Leue child, by-houep loore,
 And euere leuer þe more,⁶
 Mi leue child.

On your daugh-
 ters' births

begin to collect
 goods for their
 marriage.

And⁷ loke to þi dou3tren⁸ þat noon of hem be
 lorn :

196 Fro þat ilk tyme þat þei be of þee⁹ born,
 Bisie þee, & gadere faste towarde her mariage,
 And 3eue hem to spowsynge as soone as þei ben
 ablee.¹⁰

200 ¹¹ Maydens ben fair & amyable,
 But of her loue ful vnstable,¹¹
 Mi leue child.

[Page 112.]
 Keep all that I've

Now haue y þee tau3t, dou3tir, As my modir
 dide me ;
 þinke þeron ny3t and day, for3ete þat it not be ;

And yeue þy meyny her hyre at her terme day,
 Whether they abyde styll or wende away ;
 Yeue þou hem of thyne owne, & so wysely thee welde
 That þy frendys haue Ioy of thee, both yong And elde :
 Thy thryft ys þy frendes myrthe.

} My leef
 chylde.

¹ Chyldre be ² bowe ³ any ⁴ mysdo, ne ⁵ yarde

⁶⁻⁶ Leue chylde behoueth lore, And euer þe leuyr the more,

⁷ Omitted. ⁸ doughtres ⁹ the ¹⁰ be of age

¹¹⁻¹¹ Maydonys be louely, but to kepe þey be vntrusty

- 204 Haue mesure and lownes, as y haue þee tauȝt, told you, and your
 And¹ what man þe wedde schal, him dare care husband won't
 nouȝt. repent marrying
 you.
 Betere were a child vnborne
 þan vntauȝt of wijs lore,²
 208 Mi leue child.

Now þrift and þeedom mote³ þou haue, my swete My sweet girl,
 barn,⁴

Of⁵ alle oure former fadris þat euere were or aren, may all the
 Of alle patriarkis and prophetis þat euere weren patriarchs'
 alyue,⁶

- 212 Her blessinge mote þou haue, & weel mote þou blessing be with
 þriue!⁷ you, and may you
 thrive!

For weel is þe child
 þat wiþ synne wole not be filid,
 Mi leue child.

- 216 **T**he blessynge of god mote þou haue, and of May Christ, and
 his modir briȝt, Mary, and all
 Of alle aungils & of alle archaungils, and of alle Angels bless you,
 holy wight,
 And þat þou mowe haue grace to wende þe wey and give you
 ful riȝt grace to get to
 To þe blis of heuene þere sittip god almyȝt, heaven's bliss!
 A M E N.

¹ Omitted

² þen vntaught

³ the blessyng of god mot

⁴ baren

⁵ And of

⁶ on lyue

⁷ The Trinity MS. ends here with "My leef Chylde. Amen."

How the Wise Man tauzt His Son.

[*Lambeth MS. 853, ab. A.D. 1430, page 186.*]

Hear how the
wise man taught
his son,

L Istniþ lordingis, & 3e schulen here
How þe wise man tauzt his sonne,
And take good tent to þis matere,
4 And lerne it also if 3e kunne.
þis song was maad bi good resoun
To make men true and stidfast;
And whanne a þing is weel bigunne,
8 It makip a good eende at þe laste.

while it was
young

Ther was a wise man tauzt his child
While it was 3ong and tendir of age;
þe child was boþe meeke & myelde,
12 Faire of body and of visage;
To leerne it hadde a good corage,
And to al goodnesse a greet desire;
With good ensaumples and faire langage
16 His fadir tauzt him weel and faire,

and desirous to
learn.

'First in the
morning, pray
to God

[Page 187.]

that you may not
sin.

And seide, "my sonne, take good hede,
Bi þe morewe euery day
Or þou do ony wordli deede,
20 Lifte vp þin herte to god, & pray
Deuoutly as þou can or may
þat þou in grace þi lijf may lede,
And synne to flee boþe nyzt & day,
24 þat heuen blis may be þi mede.

- A**nd sonne, where þat euere þou go,
 Be not to tale-wijs bi no wey,
 þin owne tunge may be þi foo;
 28 þerfore be waar what þou doist say,
 Where, & to whom, be ony wey,
 Take good hede if þou do seie ouȝt,
 For þou myȝte seie a word to-day
 32 þat .vij. ȝeer after may be for-þouȝt.

Don't be too
full of tales;

beware what you
say,

you may repent
it afterwards.

- A**nd sonne, what maner man þou be,
 ȝeeue þee not to ydilnesse,
 But take good hede of þi degree,
 36 And þeron do þi bisynesse.
 Be waar of reste and ydilnesse,
 Whiche þingis norischen slouþe,
 And euere be bisi more or lesse,
 40 It is a ful good signe of trouþe.

Don't be idle,

but work.

Always be busy.

- A**nd sonne, also y waarne þee,
 Desire noon office for to beere,
 For þan it wole noon opir bee,
 44 þou muste þi neiȝboris displese & dere,
 Or ellis þou muste þi silf forswere,
 And do not as þin office wolde,
 And gete þee mawgre heere & þeere
 48 More þan þank, an hundrid folde.

[Page 188.]
Don't bear office,

for you must
either offend
your neighbours
or not do your
duty.

- A**nd sonne, as fer as þou may lere,
 On yuel qwestis þou not come,
 Neiþer fals witness þou noon bere
 52 On no mannys matere, al neiþer somme;
 þou were betere be deaf & dombe
 þan falseli to go upon a qweste.
 Sonne, þinke upon þat dreedful dōome,
 56 How god schal deeme us at þe laste.

Don't go on im-
proper inquests,
or bear false wit-
ness in any cause.
You'd better be
deaf and dumb.

Beware of tavern-
haunting, dice,

[Page 189.]
and lechery.

- A**nd sonne, of oon þing y þee waarne,
And on my blessinge take good hede,
Be waar of vsinge of þe tauerne,
60 And also þe dijs y þee forbede,
And flee al letcherie in wil and dede
Lest þou come to yuel preef,
For alle þi wittis it wole ouer lede,
64 And bringe þee into greet myscheef.

Don't sit up too
long, have late
suppers, or be out

too late.

- A**nd sonne, sitte not up at euen to longe,
Neiper vse no rere souperis late ;
þou3 þou be boþe hool an strong,
68 With such outrage it wole aslake ;
And of late walking comeþ debate,
And out of tyme to sitte & drink,
þerfore be waar & keep þi state,
72 And go to bedde bi tyme, & wynke.

Don't marry a
wife for money,

but find out all
about her, and
have a meek one ;
never mind her
being poor.

- A**nd sonne, if þou wolt haue a wijf,
Take hir not for coueitise,
But wijseli enqweere of al hir lijf,
76 And take good hede, bi myn avice,
þat sche be meeke, curteis, and wijs ;
þou3 sche be poore, take þou noon hede,
And sche wole do þee more good seruice
80 þan a riccher, whanne þou hast neede.

[Page 190.]
If she is meek
and serves you
well, don't burden
her too much,

but cherish her.

- A**nd if þi wijf be meeke and good,
And seruiþ þee weel and plesauntly,
Loke þat þou be not so woode
84 To charge hir to greuously ;
But rewle þee faire and eesili,
And cherische hir weel for hir good dede,
For ouer-doon þing vnskilfully
88 Makip grijf to growe whanne it is no nede.

- F**or it is *betere with* reste and pees,
 A melis meete of hoomeli fare,
 þan for to haue an hundrid mees
 92 *With* grucchinge & wiþ myche care ;
 And þerfore learne weel þis lore,
 If þou wolt haue a wijf *with* eese,
 For ritchesse take hir neuere þe more
 96 þouȝ sche wolde þee boþe fesse & ceese.

Peace and homely
 fare are better
 than 100 dishes
 with quarrels.

If you want a
 quiet life, don't
 choose a wife for
 her money.

- A**nd þou schalt not þi wijf displese,
 Neip̃er calle hir bi no vilouns name ;
 And if þou do, þou art not wijs,
 100 To calle hir foule it is þi schame ;
 If þou þin owne wijf wilt defame,
 No wondir þouȝ anopir do so,
 But softe & faire a man may tame
 104 Boþe herte and hynde, bucke & do.

Don't cross your
 wife or call her
 names.

Soft and fair will
 tame anything.

- A**nd y wole neip̃ir glose ne peynt,
 But y waarne þee on þe opir side,
 If þi wijf come wiþ a playnt
 108 On man or child at ony tide,
 Be not to hasti to fize & chide,
 And be not a-wreke til þou know þe soþe,
 For in wrappe þou myȝte make a braide
 112 þat aftirwarde schulde rewe ȝou boþe.

But mind,

don't be too ready
 to believe your
 wife's complaints,

or you may both
 rue it.

- A**nd sonne, if þou be weel at eese,
 And warme amonge þi neiȝboris sitte,
 Be not newfangil in no wise ¹
 116 Neip̃er hasti for to chaunge ne flitte,
 And if þou do, þou wantist witte
 And art vnstable on euery side,
 And also men wole speke of itt,
 120 And seie " þis foole can no where abide."

When you are
 comfortably
 settled,

[¹ MS. *wisee*]

don't be in a
 hurry to change,

or men will call
 you a fool.

[Page 192.]
The more you
have, the meeker
you should be.
Only fools brag.

Riches vanish at
death.

See how little
good other men's
property does
them when they
die, and strangers

marry their wives
and take their
money.

Make amends for
your sins,

try to save your
soul.

[Page 193.]

Set not by this
world's wealth.

Nothing is so
certain as death,

so ponder my
words,

and may Jesus
bring us to His
bliss.

And sonne, þe more good þat þou hast,
þe raper here þee meeke and lowe,
And booste not myche, it is but waast;
124 Bi boostynge, men mowe foolis knowe.
And loke þou paye weel þat þou doost owe,
And bi opir richesse sette no greet price,
For deep wole take boþe hize and lowe,
128 And þan fare-weel al þat þere is.

And þerfore do þou bi my councelle,
And take ensauple of opir men,
How litil her good doop hem a-vaile
132 Whanne þei be doluen in her den,
And he þat was not of hys kyn
Hap his wijf, and al þat þere is.
Sonne, kepe þee out of deedly synne,
136 And asaye to gete þee paradijs,

And of þi trespas make a-meendis,
And to poore men of þi good þou dele,
And of þi foo-men make þi freendis,
140 And asaye to gete þee soule heele,
For þe world is boþe fals and freel,
And euery day it doop appaire :
Sonne, sette not bi þis worldis weele,
144 For it fariþ but as a cheri faire.

And deep is eue, as y trowe,
þe moost certeyn þing þat is,
And no þing is so vncerteyn to knowe
148 As is þe tyme of deep y-wis :
þerfore my sonne, þinke on þis
Of al þat y haue seid biforn,
And ihesu bringe us to his blis
152 þat for vs bare þe crowne of þorn ! Amen.

Recipes.

[From Harleian MS. 5401, ab. 1480-1500 A.D.]

FRUTURS. (page 194 or fol. 69 b.)

Recipe þe¹ cromys of whyte brede, & swete apyls, & 3okkis of eggis, & bray þam wele, & temper it with wyne, & make it to sethe ; & when it is thyk, do þer-to gode spyces, gynger & galingay & canyll & clows, & serve it forthe. (See also *Liber Cure Cocorum*, p. 39-40.)

FRUTURS OF FYGIS. (p. 197 or fol. 98.)

Recipe & make bature of floure, ale, peper & saferon, with oþer spices ; þan cast þam² in to a frying pann with batur, & ole, & bake þam & serve. (See another recipe in *Household Ordinances*, p. 450, under the head "Turtelettys of Fruture.")

IUSSELL. (p. 198 or fol. 98 b.)

Recipe brede gratyd, & eggis ; & swyng þam to-gydere, & do þerto sawge, & saferon, & salt ; þan take gode brothe, & cast it þer-to, & bole it enforesayd, & do þer-to as to charlete &c. (See also *Liber Cure Cocorum*, p. 11 ; Jussel of Flesh, *Household Ordinances*, p. 462 ; Jussel enforced, p. 463 ; Jussel of Fysshe, p. 469.)

MAWMENY. (p. 201 or fol. 100.)

Recipe brawne of Capons or of hennys, & dry þam wele, & towse þam smalle ; þan take thyk mylk of almonds, & put þe saide brawn þer-to, & styr it wele ouer þe fyre, & seson it with suger, & powder of Canelle, with mase, quibibs, & anneys in confete, & serve it forthe. (See also the recipe "For to make momene" in *Liber Cure Cocorum*, p. 26 ; for "Mawmene for xl. Mees" in *Household Ordinances*, p. 455 ; and "Mawmene to Potage," p. 430.)

FRETOURE. (*Harl. MS.* 276.)

Vyaunde leche. Fretoure. Take whete Floure, Ale, 3est, Safroun, & L.iiii. Salt, & bete alle to-gederys as þikke as þou schuldyst make oþer bature in fleyssche tyme, & þan take fayre Applys, & kut hem in maner of Fretourys, & wete hem in þe bature vp on downe, & frye hem in fayre Oyle, & caste hem in a dyssche, & caste Sugre þer-on, & serue forth. [The recipe for "Tansye" is No. l.vi.]

¹ The þ is always y in Harl. 5401.

² that is, the figs.

A Diatorie.

[*Lambeth MS. 853, ab. 1430 A.D., page 182.*]

To be rulid bi þis diatorie do þi diligence,
For it techiþ good diete & good gouernaunce.

(I. LATIN II.)

If you can't get a
doctor,
be careful in your
diet. Eat moder-
ately, work
temperately,

be meek, not
anxious,

nor grudging, but
cheerful.

- I**F so be þat lechis doon þee faile,
Vse good diete bi þe councel of me,—
Mesurable fedyng and temperat trauaile,—
4 And be not maliciose for noon aduersite,
But be meeke in trouble, glad in pouerte,
Not pensif ne þouȝtful for ony sodein chaunce,
Not grutchinge, but myrie aftir þi degree.
8 If fisijk lacke, make þis þi gouernaunce,

(II. LATIN I.)

[Page 183.]
Keep your feet
and head from
cold.
Rise from meals
with an appetite.
Be chaste,

not wrathful,
and don't sup late.

- ¶ Kepe from colde þi feet, þi stomak, & þin heed ;
Ete no raw mete, take good hede þerto,
Drinke holsum drinke, & feede þee on lizt breed,
12 & with an appitid from þi mete looke þat þou goo.
Lede þi lijf in chastite, þou schalt finde it best so ;
Drinke not vpon þi sleep, but do as y þee teche,
And bere no wrappe to freende ne to foo ;
16 vse not to soupe late, ne to drinke myche.

(III. LATIN IV.)

Don't dine before
you have an
appetite.

- ¶ Digne not on þe morewe to-fore þin appitide ;
Cleer eir & walking makip good digestioun.

Dietarium.

[Sloane MS. 3534, ab. 1460 A.D., fol. 1.]

(I. ENGLISH II.)

- Vixeris ut sanus, capud ex algore tegatur,
 Ne comedas aliqua cruda, salubre bibas
 Vinum, te pasce leui pane *que*, dum petis illos,
 4 Surge, relinque cibos ; effugias vetulas ;
 Non cito post sompnum bibe, letus adito graba-
 tum,
 Exsurgas hillaris : cero *que* cena nocet.

(II. ENGLISH I.)

- Si phisici desint, onus¹ & moderata dieta, [¹for opus]
 8 Rebus in oppositis non malus esto tuis,
 Mitis in aduersis, in paupertate ioceris ;
 Sis modico diues ; quod satis est, placeat,
 Non tibi murmur erit ; ut conuenit, esto iocun-
 dus :
 12 Si phisici desint, hoc tibi fac regimen.

(III. ENGLISH V.)

- Non omni mox dicto credas, nec impetuosus
 Sis, aut vlciscens materias subito ;
 Pauperibus *vmquam* non monstres te violentem ;
 16 In verbis lepidus, edendo sis mensuratus.
 Escas si varias mensa proponi continget,
 Non auide sumas, nec videaris edax.
 Loquendo prudens, vel linguam stude frenare ;
 20 Non verbo decipiens, quod melius stude proferre.

Don't drink
between meals,

and avoid over
salt meat.

- Drinke not bitwene melis for no froward delite
20 But if þurst or traueile 3eue þee occasioun.
And ouer salt mete doop greet oppressioun
To feble stomakis þat wole not hem refreyne
From þingis þat ben contrarie to her complex-
ioun,
24 þei doon to her stomakis ofte myche peine.

(IV. LATIN VII.)

Don't get surfeit-
ed, eat late
suppers, or sit up
nodding by candle
light.

[Page 184.]

Have nothing to do
with drunkards,
liars, lechers, and
dice-players.

- ¶ Vse no surfetis neiþir day ne nyght,
Neiþer ony rere soupers, which is but excesse ;
And be waar of nodding heedis & of candil liȝt,
28 And also of long sleep and of ydilnesse
¶ The which of alle vicis sche is porteresse.
And voide alle drunkelew folk, liers, & letchouris,
And alle hem þat vsen suche vnþriftynesse,
32 And also dijs pleiers and hacerdouris.

(V. LATIN III.)

Give no heed to
evil tales; don't
be too hasty, or
violent to the
poor,
but gentle in talk.

Long sleep after
meals is bad.
Try to say the
best of everybody.

- ¶ To yuel talis 3eeue noo credence ;
Be not to hasti, ne to sodeyn veniable ;
To poore folk do þou no violence ;
36 Be gentil of langage, in fedinge mesurable ;
On sundri metis be not gredi at þe table ;
Long sleep aftir mete doop myche greuaunce.
Blame no condicioun which is commendable ;
40 But to seie þe beste, sette alle þi plesaunce.

(VI. LATIN VI.)

Have a fire morn
and eve.

Rise early and say
your prayers.

Visit the poor,
pity the needy,

- Use fier bi þe morewe, & to bedward at eue
Aȝens blake mystis and eir of pestilence ;
And arise þou eerli if þou be in heele,
44 And first bi þe morewe do god reuerence.
To visite þe poore do þi diligence,
And on þe needi haue compassioun,

(IV.)

- Os duplex odias ; ad mensam non paciari
 Detractus ; populos iurgantes despice semper
 Non sustine falsos, blandos, nec adulatorem
 24 Tecum ; scismaticos pro[s]pera impediētes ;
 Rixam monentes non tecum sint permanentes :
 Sed cum vicinis pace viuendo frueris.

Hate double-faced
 people.

Keep no flatterers
 with you.
 Help those who
 annoy schis-
 matics.
 Live at peace
 with your
 neighbours.

(V. ENGLISH VII.)

- Munde vestitus tuus ut status exigit esto ;
 28 Limina ne cellas, & tua pacta tene.
 Cum tribus hominibus litem tu suscitare nolito,
 Cum te meliore iurgia nulla move,
 Contra consortem nullam mouebis querelam,
 32 Contra subiectum pudor esset pandere luctum.
 Consulo propterea dum vixeris assequi velis
 Pacem, & tibi adquire nomen bonum.

(VI. ENGLISH VI.)

- Ignis in aurora, & contra nebula cero,
 36 Aere pestifero, nesciat esse foris.
 Audi mane missam, melius nam sic prosperis.
 Primo dum eleuas, deum laudare iuberis,
 Pauperes post visita ; interna dilectione
 40 Si super egenos pie compaciari,
 Dabit affluentiam dominus, & accumulabit
 Cum incremento, tua possessio stabit.

(VII. ENGLISH IV.)

- Crapulam nullam domo cero paciari in tua,
 44 Cenas repetentes, excessu magno edentes,
 Et capud quod innuit, candela accensa que igne.
 Pigricies mane sompnolenta ociositas que
 Mater viciorum omnium est janitrix dicta.
 48 Sic que ebriosi, mendaces, luxuriosi,

* * * * *

and get possessions in heaven.

For good deedis causiþ mirþe in conscience,
48 And in heuene to haue greet possessioun.

(VII. LATIN V.)

[Page 185.]
Don't dress too finely,

strive with your better,

your equal, or your inferior,

but live in peace and win a good name.

Be not nyce in cloþinge passing þin astate ;
Be rewlid bi temperaunce while þou art a-lyue ;
And with .iiij. maner of folk be not at debate :
52 First with þi bettir be waar for to stryue,
Aþens þi felaw noo quarel þou contryue,
With þi suget to stryue, it is but schame ;
þerfore y councelle þee, while þou art a-liue,
56 To liue in pees, and gete þee a good name.

(VIII. LATIN X.)

Man is only body and soul.

Moderate feeding for the one :
Charity for the other.
This diet is good, though it's bought of no apothecary.

so, keep to it.

¶ In two þingis stondiþ a mannis welþe,
In soule & bodi, who-so wole hem sewe,
Mesurable fedinge kepiþ a man in helþe,
60 And riȝt so is charite to þe soule dewe.
Forȝete not þis diete, for it is good & trewe ;
þouȝ it be bouȝt of no potecarie
Ne of noon oþer maister þat greet cunnyng can
schewe,

64 ȝit y councelle þee, be dietid bi þis diatorie.

(IX.)

Serve God,
eat your meals merrily, and live in rest.

Thank God highly ; he will improve your condition when He sees fit.

Serue ȝe god deuoutly } and euere liue ȝe in
And þe world truly, } reste.
Ete ȝe ȝoure mete mirili }
68 þanke ȝe euere god hyȝli ; } whanne him likiþ
þouȝ þat ȝe liue here poreli, } beste.
He may amende it liȝtly }

[A different and later version of this Poem was printed by Mr Halliwell from MS. Harl. 2251, fol. 4-5, in his *Selection from the Minor Poems of Dan John Lydgate* for the Percy Society, 1840, pp. 66-69. He remarks that the "poem is very common in manuscript, but several of the copies vary considerably from each other. It may be sufficient to refer to MS. Harl. 116, fol. 116 ; MS. Oxon. Bernard. 1479 ; MS. Rawl. Oxon. C. 86 ; MS. Arund. 168 ; MS. Sloan. 775 ; and MS. Sloan. 3554, which contains a Latin version. Ritson has inserted this in his list of Lydgate's works in two places, under Nos. 55 and 61." Harl. 5401 contains a late copy.]

(VIII.)

- Post epulas sumptas sompnum longum non tibi
sumas ;
Capud, pes, stomachus frigora non paciantur ;
Non contristeris corde, molestiam tolle.
- 52 Vt poscunt redditus, tuam decet regere domum.
Tempore tu patere iusticiam semper tuere,
Nec iurare velis, quo quisquam decipiatur.
Du[m] iuuenis fueris, monstra te elegantem ;
- 56 Cum cedit senectus, ut sapiens cohibe mentem.
Non semper stabunt mundi gaudia, sed variabunt.
- Don't sleep long
after meals.
The head, feet,
and stomach will
not bear cold.
- Manage your
home according
to your income.
Don't swear so as
to deceive any
one.
When young,
dress elegantly ;
when old, show
self-restraint.
This world's joys
will change.

(IX. ENGLISH III.)

- Non comedas mane donec tuus appetit vsus ;
Digestant bene limpidus aer & corporis motus.
- 60 Inter prandendum tibi potus est denegandus,
Ni sitis aut labor tibi prestent occasionem.
Salsa nimis nocent stomachis debilitatis,
Dum nequeant a se contraria pellere quoque ;
- 64 Namque pena stomacho interdum maxime crescit
Ex manu veloci, dum se reprimere nescit.

(X. ENGLISH VIII.)

- Sic in duobus consistit sanitas tota,—
Corporis ac anime ; qui ea sequi velit,
- 68 Conuenit saluti cibi sumpcio moderata,
Excessuque salus ab homine est reuocata.
Caritas est anime omnino debita valde,
Ex apothecario sumpsio prorsus emitur nullo.
- 72 Nec¹ ab Antonio, nec ab hugone magone,
Sed cunctis ditissimum vtentibus est dietarium.
- [1 MS. Hec.]

Recipes.

[From Harl. MS. 279, ab. 1430-40 A.D. A pretty MS. that
ought to be printed.]

Potage dyuers **Harys in cyueye.** Take Harys, & Fle hem, & make
 .lxiiij.
 (fol. 15 a.) hem clene, an hacke hem in gobettys, & sethe hem in
 Watere & Salt a lytylle; þan take Pepyr, an Safroun, an Brede,
 y-grounde y-fere, & temper it wyth Ale. þan take Oynonys &
 Percely y-mynced smal to-gederys, & sethe hem be hem self, & after-
 ward take & do þer-to a porcyon of vynegre, & dresse in. (See also
 the recipe for "Harus in Cyue" in *Liber Cure Cocorum*, p. 21, &
 that for "Conyngus in cyue" p. 20. *Chive* is a kind of small onion.)

.lxxiii. **Conyngys in cyveye.** Take Conyngys, an fle hem & seþe
 (fol. 16 a.) hem, & make lyke þou woldyst make a sewe, saue alle
 to-choppe hem, & caste Safroun & lyer þer-to, & Wyne. (See also
 "Conyngus in cyue" in *L. C. C.*, p. 20; and "Conynges in Cyue"
 in *Household Ordinances*, p. 434.)

xv. **Doucettes.** Take Creme a gode cupfulle, & put it on a stray-
 (fol. 39 b.) noure, þanne take 3olkys of Eyroun, & put þer-to, & a lytel
 mylke; þen strayne it þrow a straynoure in-to a bolle; þen take Sugre
 [1 fol. 40.] y-now, & put þer-to, or ellys hony for defaute¹ of Sugre; þan
 coloure it with Safroun; þan take þin cofyns, & put it in þe ovynne
 lere, & lat hem ben hardyd; þan take a dyssshe y-fastenyd on þe pelys
 ende, & pore þin comade in-to þe dyssche, & fro þe dyssche in-to þe
 cofyns; & whan þey don a-ryse Wel, teke hem out, & serue hem
 forth.

xxxviij. **Doucettes.** Take Porke & hakke it smal, & Eyroun y-mellyd
 (fol. 43 b.) to-gederys, & a lytel Milke, & melle hem to-gederys with
 Hony & Pepir, & bake hem in a cofyn, & serue forth.

xxxviij. **Doucettes a-forcyd.** Take Almaunde Milke & 3olkys of
 Eyroun y-mellid to-gederys, Safroun, Salt, & Hony: dry þin cofyn,
 & ley þin Maribonys þer-on, & serue forth.

The boke of Nur-
ture, or Schoole of

good maners :
For men, Seruants, and chil-
dren, with Stans puer ad men-
sam. Newly corrected, be-
ry necessary for all
youth and chil-
dren.

[COMPYLED BY]
[Hugh Rhodes of the Kinges Chappell,]
[‘ born and bred in Deuonshyre to,’ p. 69. l. 11.]

¶ *Imprinted at Lon-*
don in Fleetestreete, beneath
the Conduite, at the Signe
of S. Iohn Euaungelist,
by H. Iackson.

1577.

The book of Numbers

Book of Numbers

Chapter I

And the Lord spake unto Moses

in the wilderness of Sinai

saying unto Moses

and Aaron

and unto the whole

congregation of the

children of Israel

saying

Behold I have

chosen you

unto me

and ye shall be

my sanctuary

in the wilderness

of Sinai

and ye shall be

my sanctuary

in the wilderness

of Sinai

and ye shall be

my sanctuary

in the wilderness

of Sinai

and ye shall be

my sanctuary

in the wilderness

of Sinai

and ye shall be

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The Booke of Nurture,

for Men, Seruauntes, and

Chyldren.

There is fewe thinges to be vnderstand more necessary then to teache and gouerne Children in learning and good manners, for it is a hye seruyce to God, it getteth fauour in the syghte of men, it multiplyeth goods, and increaseth thy good name, it also prouoketh to prayer by whiche Gods grace is obtayned, if thus they bee brought vp in vertue, good maners, and Godly learning. The cause of the world being so euill of lyuing as it is, is for lack of vertue, and Godly bringing vp of youth. Whych youth sheweth the disposytions and conditions of their Parentes or Maysters, vnder whome they haue bene gouerned. For youth is disposed to take such as they are accustomed in, good or euill. For if the behauyore of the gouernour be euill, needes must the Chylde be euill.

For Parents and Masters.

The teaching of children is a high service to God.

Our evil living is due to lack of Godly bringing up.

As is the Governor so is the Child.

And thus by the Chylde yee shall perceiue the disposytion of the Gouernour. For of euill examples, many daungers, & abhominable sinnes follow. For the which both the Discyple and the Mayster shall suffer euerlasting paynes.

From bad example follow abominable sins.

It is also necessarye for Fathers and Maysters to cause their Chyldren and seruauntes to vse fayre and gentle speeche, with reuerence and curtesye to their Elders and Betters, rebuking as well their ydle talke and stammering, as their vncomly iestures in going or standing. And if yee put them to schoole, see that

Children must be made to use fair and gentle speech.

Schoolmasters
must fear God,
and punish
sharply.

Parents must
teach children
God's laws.

Look to the
characters of new
servants.

Reprove tale-
tellers.

Don't dress chil-
dren or servants
sumptuously,

or let them speak
words of villany.

Stop the vices
they are inclined
to.

Make them read
the Bible and
Godly books,
and not wanton
stories and songs
of love.

their maysters be such as feare God, and lyue vertuouslye, such as can punishe sharpely with pacience, and not with rygour, for it doeth oft tymes make them to rebell and run away, wherof chaunceth ofte times much harme. Also their Parentes must oft tymes instruct them of god and of his lawes, and vertuous instructions of hys worde, and other good examples, and such lyke. And thus by litle and litle they shall come to the knowledge of reason, fayth, and good christen liuing. For as S. Paule sayth vnto Timothy: He that doth not regard the cure and charge of them that are vnder the charge of his gouernance, he denieth the faith, and is worse then a Pagan. And take good heede of anye newe seruauntes that you take into your house, and howe yee put them in authorytye among your children, and take heede howe they spende that is giuen them: if they be tale tellers or newes caryers, reprove them sharpely, and if they will not learne nor amende, auoyde them thy house, for it is great quyetnesse to haue people of good behauour in a house. Apparell not your chyldren or Seruauntes in sumptuous apparell, for it increaseth pryde and obstynacye, and many other euils, nor let your Chyldren go whether they will, but know whether they goe, in what company, and what they haue done, good or euill. Take hede they speake no wordes of villany, for it causeth much corruption to ingender in them, nor shew them muche familiaritye, and see that they vse honest sportes and games. Marke well what vice they are specially inclined vnto, and breake it betymes. Take them often with you to heare Gods word preached, & then enquire of them what they heard, and vse them to reade in the Bible and other Godly Bokes, but especyally keepe them from reading of fayned fables, vayne fantasyes, and wanton stories, and songs of loue, which bring much mischief to youth. For if they learne pure and cleane doctryne

in youth, they poure out plentye of good workes in age.

If any stryfe or debate bee among them of thy house,
at nighte charytably call them togyther, and wyth

Settle all disputes
before nightfall.

wordes or strypes make them all to agree in one. Take

heedè, if thy seruaunt or Chyld murmure or grudge
agaynst thee, breake it betyme. And when thou hearest

Stop all grumb-
ling,

them sweare or curse, lye & fyght, thou shalte reproue

swearing, lying,
and fighting.

them sharpelye. And yee that are friends

or Kynne shall labour how

to make them loue and

dreade you, as well for

loue as for

feare.

Make yourself
loved as well as
feared.

The Manner of Serving a Knight, Squire, or Gentleman.

For Servants.
Find out your
master's ways.

First yee must be dilligent to know your Maysters pleasure, and to knowe the order and custome of his house, for dyuers maysters are of sundry condicions and appetytes.

Take an inventory
of all you have
charge of.

As Panter, have
your bread
squared, and your
linen and house of
office clean,

*To prepare for
Dinner.*

Dress your cup-
board.
Lay your cloth.
Set on bread, salt,
and trenchers;

a trencher, nap-
kin, and spoon, to
every man,

according to the
rank of each.

If many people
dine, you may lay
for them after
they are seated.

And if thou be admitted in any offyce, as Butler or Panter,—in some places they are both one,—take an Inuitory of such thinges as ye take charge of, and see how it is spente: For it pleaseth a Mayster much to haue a true reckoning. Then in your offyce of the Pantrye, see that your bread be chipped and squared, & note how much you spend in a daye. And see your napry be cleane, & sort euery thing by it selfe, the cleane from the foule. Keepe euery house of offyce cleane, and all that belongeth to it. When your Mayster will goe to his meate, take a towell aboute your necke, then take a cupbord cloth, a Basen, Ewer, & a Towell, to aray your cupbord: couer your table, set on bread, salt & trenchers, the salt before the bread, and trenchers before the salte. Set your napkyns and spoones on the cupbord ready, and lay euery man a trencher, a napkyn, & a spone. And if you haue mo messes then one at your maisters table, consider what degree they be of, and thereafter ye may serue them: and then set down euery thing at that messe as before, except your Caruing kniues. If ther be many Gentlemen or yomen, then set on bred, salt, trenchers & spoones, after they be set, or els after the custome of the

house. And some do vse to set before euerye man a lofe of bread, and his cup, and some vse the contrary. Thus muste you haue respecte to the order of the house. And in some places it is vsed to set drink and a lofe or two. In some places the Caruer doth vse to shew and set down, and goeth before the course, and beareth no dysh, and in some place he beareth the first dish, and maketh obeysaunce to hys Maister, and setteth it downe couered before the degree of a Knight, or else not vsed, & take the Couers and set them by. Also the Caruer hath authoritye to Carue to all at hys Maisters messe, and also vnto other that syt ioyning by them, if he list: see ye haue Voyders ready for to auoyd the Morsels that they doe leaue on their Trenchours. Then with your Trenchour knyfe take of such fragmentes, and put them in your Voyder, and sette them downe cleane agayne. All your Soueraygns Trenchours or bread, voyde them once or twyse, specially when they are wet, or gyue them cleane, and as yee see men leaue eating of the fyrst and seconde dish, so auoyde them from the Table. And then if so be ye haue any more courses then on or two, ye may make the more hast in voyding, and euer let one dish or two stande til the next course, and then take vp al, and set downe fresh, and cleane voyders withall, and let them not bee to full before ye empty them, and then sette cleane agayn. And looke what sauce is ordayned for any meate, voyd the sauce thereof when yee take awaye the meat; & at the degree of a knight ye may set downe your cup couered, and lifte of the couer and set it¹ on agayne, and when he listeth to drinke, and taketh of the couer, take the couer in thy hand and set it on agayne. When he hath dronken, loke the cup of Wyne or ale be not empty, but ofte renued. Also the Caruer shall break his dish before his Mayster, or at a syde Cupboorde, with cleane knyues, and see there lacke not breade nor drinke; and

Some Panters
give each man a
loaf and a cup;

some Carvers sew
(or arrange, l. 658
Russell) the
dishes, but carry
none, others carry
the first dish.

All carve for the
guests at their
Master's mess.

Have Voiders
ready to remove
the bits left on
the trenchers:
take them off
with your
trencher-knife.

Remove your
Master's trencher
when wet.

With three or
more courses, be
quick in remov-
ing,

and take away the
sauce with its
meat.

[1 MS. in]

Keep the cup of
wine or ale filled.
The Carver must
carve with clean
knives.

When clearing
the table, take
1. the lowest mess,
2. the spoons,
3. broths and
baked meats,
4. voiders,
5. dishes of meat.
Then set down

fruit-cheese;
remove it; then
ale and wine.

[² Printed borad.]

Sweep off the
pieces and crumbs
with your
trencher-knife:
remove the bread,
voider, salt, and
make your bow.

If your Master
washes at table,
put a towel by
him, a basin
before him, and
pour out water.

Remove the basin
and jug, and then
the table-cloth
with the towel
inside.

For *Conceits* or
dessert (apples,
nuts, &c.),

lay a towel on the
table, and a loaf or
two,

when men haue well eaten, and doe begyn to wax weary of eatyng, or yf ye perceyue by the countenance of your Mayster when ye shall take vp the meate, & voyd the table, begin at the lowest messe, take away your spoones, if there be any, how be it ye may auoyd them, after Broths & baked meat are past, take away your voiders¹; and your dishes of meat, as they were set down, so take them vp in order. Then set downe cheese of fruytes, and that ended, voyd your cheese and fruits, and couer your Cup, Ale, or Wyne: Fyrst voyde the Ale, and then the Wyne: Then set a broad² voyder and put therin the small peces of Bread, and small crooms, with Trenchers and napkins, and with your trencher knyfe or napkin make clean the table, then set away your bread whole, and also your voyder, then take vp the salte, and make obeysaunce: and marke if your Mayster vse to wash at the table, or standing: if he be at the table, cast a clean Towell on your table cloth, and set downe your basen and Ewer before your soueraigne, and take the ewer in your hand, and gyue them water. Then voyd your Basen and Ewer, and fold the bord cloth together with your towell therin, and so take them of the boord. And when your soueraygne shall wash, set your towell on the lefte hand of him, and the water before your soueraygne at dinner or supper; if it be to bedwarde, set vp your basyn and towell on the cupbord agayne. And if your Mayster will haue any conceites after dinner, as appels, Nuts, or creame, then lay forth a Towell on the boord, and set thereon a lofe or two, see also ye haue your trenchers and spones in a readynes if neede requyre, then serue forth your Mayster wel, and so take it vp againe with a voyder.

[¹ A voider or vessell, to take vp the Table with, *dicitur vasculum fragmentarium, vel analectarium*. *Analecta*, fragmentes of meate. Broken meates, *fragmenta*. Withals. Fr. *Portoire*. Any thing that helpes to carry another thing; as a *Voyder*, *Skep*, *Scuttle*, *Wheelbarrow*, &c. Cotgrave.]

How to order your Maysters Chamber at night to bed- warde.

A Ray your Cupboord with a Cupboorde Cloth, wyth your Basyn, Ewer, Candle light, and Towell; if ye haue helpe, set one to beare a torch or some other lighte before him, and an other fellowe to beare a Towell, and bread for your table as you shall see neede. And if ye haue Banket dishes, whatsoeuer it be, as fruites put in sundry Dyshes, and all other confections, and conceyts of Spycery, also when the Dyshes are empty, auoyde them from the Table; if your Soueraign be a Knight or Squyre, set downe your Dishes couered, and your Cup also. And if your Soueraygne be not set at the Table, lette your Dishes stande couered tyll hee be set, and when he is set, then take the Voyders & vncouer them: when your mayster intendeth to bedward, see that you haue Fyre and Candell sufficyent. Ye must haue cleane water at night and in the morning. If your Mayster lye in fresh sheets, dry of the moystnesse at the fyre. If hee lye in a strange place, see his sheetes be cleane, then folde downe his bed, and warme his night Kercheife, and see his house of offyce be cleane, helpe of his cloathes, and drawe the Curteynes, make sure the fyre and Candles, auoyde the dogs, and shutte the dores; and at night or in the morning, your Mayster being alone, if ye haue any thing to say, it is good knowing his pleasure. In the morning if it be cold, make a fyre, and haue readye cleane water, bring him his petticote

Put on your cup-board, a basin, jug, candle, and towel;

If you have

dishes of fruits, preserves, &c.,

remove them when empty.

Keep full dishes covered till your master is set.

At bed time, have fire and candle enough.

Dry damp sheets.

See they are clean; warm the night kerchief,

turn out the dogs.

On cold mornings make a fire, bring your

master's petticote warm,	warme, with his doublet, and all his apparell cleane brusht, and his shoes made cleane, and help to araye
see all cleanly about him, and	him, trusse his poyntes, stryke vp his Hosen, and see all thing cleanlye aboute him; giue him good attend-
attend to him well.	ance, and especyally among straungers, for attendaunce doth please Maysters very well. Thus doing wyth dillygence, God will preferre you to honour and good Fortune.

Here followeth the Booke of Nurture and
Schoole of good manners for man
and for Chylde.

- A** L ye that wysdom seeke to learn,
 and would be called wyse :
 Obedience learn you in your youth,
 4 in age auoyde you vyce.
 I am full blynde in Poets Arte,
 thereof I can no skill :
 All elloquence I put apart,
 8 following myne owne wyll.
 Corrupt in speeche, be sure, am I,
 my breefes from longes to know,
 And born and bred in Deuonshyre to,
 12 as playne my tearmes doe show.
 Take the best, and leaue the worst,
 of truth I meane no yll :
 The matter is not curyous,
 16 the intent good, marke it well.
 Pardon I aske if I offend
 thus boldly now to wryte :
 To Mayster, seruaunt, yong and olde,
 20 I doe this booke commit.
 Requyring friendly youth and age,
 if any doe amis,
 For to refourme and hate abuse,
 24 and mend where neede there is.
 Set your yong people forth with spede
 good manners for to learne :

Learn Obedience
in youth. Avoid
vice in age.

(I am no poet,

but follow my
own will,

and use Devon-
shire terms ;

so take the good,
and leave the ill,
in what I say.

I ask pardon if I
offend in teaching
masters and
servants.)

Set young people
to learn good
Manners.

- Be gentle to your
elders.
- 28 Vnto your Elders gentle be,
agaynst them say no harme.
- If youth doe euill, their Parentes sure
reape this reporte full soone :
- Be good before
you teach good.
- 32 They that should teach other folkes good,
belyke themselues haue none.
- A good Father
makes good
children.
- A good Father, good children makes,
grace being them within ;
For as they be vused in youth,
- 36 in age they will begin.
- Without Good
Manners and
- He that good manners seemes to lack,
no wyse man doth set by ;
- virtuous condi-
tions you're not
worth a fly.
- 40 Wythout condicions vertuous,
thou art not worth a flye.
- Reuerence to thy parentes deare,
so duety doth thee bynde :
- Such children as vertue delight,
- 44 be gentle, meeke, and kynde.
- Don't answer your
Parents.
- Agaynst thy Parentes multiplie
no wordes, but be demure :
- It will redowne vnto thy prayse,
- 48 and to thy friends pleasure.
- A plant without moysture sweete
can bring forth no good flower :
- If in youth ye want vertue,
- 52 in age ye shall lack honour.
- Dread God,
- Fyrst dread you God, and flye from sin,
earthly thinges are mortall :
- be not haughty,
- Be thou not hawty in thy lookes,
- 56 for pryde will haue a fall.
- rise early,
- Ryse you earely in the morning,
for it hath propertyes three :
- Holynesse, health, and happy welth,
- 60 as my Father taught mee.
- at six o'clock
- At syxe of the clocke, without delay,
vse commonly to ryse,

- | | | |
|----|--|-------------------|
| | And giue God thanks for thy good rest | thank God |
| 64 | when thou openest thyn eyes. | |
| | Pray him also to prosper thee | and say your |
| | and thyne affayres in deede : | prayers, |
| | All the day after, assure thy selfe, | |
| 68 | the better shalt thou speede. | |
| | Or from thy chamber thou doe passe, | clean your nose |
| | see thou purge thy nose cleane, | |
| | And other fylthy thinges lyke case, | and other filthy |
| 72 | thou knowest what I meane. | things, |
| | Brush thou, and sponge thy cloaths to, | sponge your |
| | that thou that day shalt weare : | clothes, |
| | In comly sorte cast vp your Bed, | make up your bed, |
| 76 | lose you none of your geare. | |
| | Make cleane your shoes, & combe your head, | clean your shoes, |
| | and your cloathes button or lace : | button your |
| | And see at no tyme you forget | clothes, |
| 80 | to wash your hands and face. | wash your hands |
| | Put on clothing for thy degree, | and face. |
| | and cleanly doe it make : | |
| | Bid your fellow a good morrow | Wish your mates |
| 84 | or you your way forth take. | good morning, |
| | To friends, father and mother, | |
| | looke that ye take good heede : | |
| | For any haste them reuerence, | pay your respects |
| 88 | the better shalt thou speede. | to your Parents, |
| | Dread the curse of Parents thyne, | |
| | it is a heauy thing : | |
| | Doe thou thy duety vnto them, | |
| 92 | from thee contempt doe flyng. | do them reverence |
| | When that thy parents come in syght, | when you see |
| | doe to them reuerence : | them, |
| | Aske them blessing if they haue | |
| 96 | bene long out of presence. | Have your dress |
| | Cleanly appoynt you your array, | clean. |
| | beware then of disdayne : | |

- Be gentle of
speech, 100 Be gentle then of speech ech tyde,
good manners doe retayne.
As you passe by in towne or streete,
walk demurely,
sadly go forth your way :
don't scold;
104 Gase you, ne scoffe, nor scold; with man
nor chyld make ye no fray.
Fayre speech gets grace, & loue showes well
alwayes a gentle blood ;
foul speech is
hateful. 108 Foule speech deserues a double hate,
it prooues thou canst small good.
At Church, don't
When that thou comest to the Church,
thy prayers for to say,
sleep, or talk,
112 See thou sleepe not, nor yet talke not,
deuoutly looke thou pray,
or stare about
Ne cast thyne eyes to ne fro,
as thinges thou wouldst still see ;
like a fool ;
116 So shall wyse men iudge thee a foole,
and wanton for to bee.
but
[1 see may be seat
sb.]
When thou are in the Temple, see¹
thou do thy Churchly warkes ;
hear God's word,
Heare thou Gods word with diligence,
ask His pardon, 120 craue pardon for thy factes.
When those thinges you haue done,
and then go home
to dinner.
124 Draw home to your maysters presence,
there doe your true indeuour.
Whether you
serve or dine,
If it be your hap to serue, to syt,
or eate meate at the Table,
be well-mannered.
128 Encline to good maners, and to
nurture your selfe inable.
And if your soueraygne call you
wyth him to dyne or sup,
let him begin.
132 Giue him preheminance to begin,
of meate and eake of Cup.
Don't press up too
high,
And of this thing beware, I wish,
prease not thy selfe to hye ;

- Syt in the place appoynted thee,
 136 for that is curtesye :
 And when thou arte set, and Table
 couered thee before,
 Pare not thy nayles, fyle not the cloth ;
 140 see thou obserue this lore.
 And if thy mayster speake to thee,
 take thy cap in thy hande ;
 If thou syt at meate when hee talketh
 144 to thee, see thou stande.
 Leane not asyde when thou shalt speke,
 vpright be thou standing ;
 Hold still thy hands, moue not thy feete,
 148 beware thou of tryfling.
 Stand sadly in telling thy tale
 whensoever thou talkest ;
 Tryfle thou with nothing, stand vpright
 152 whensoever thou speakest.
 Thwart not thou with thy fellow,
 nor speake wyth hye voyce :
 Poynt not thy tale with thy fynger,
 156 vse thou no such fond toyes.
 Haue audyence when thou speakest,
 speake with authoritye,
 Else if thou speake of wisdomes lore,
 160 little will it auayle thee.
 Pronounce thy speeche distinctly,
 see thou marke well thy worde,
 It is good hearing of a Chylde :
 164 be ware wyth whome ye borde.
 Talke not to thy soueraygne deare
 no tyme when he doth drinke ;
 When he speaketh, giue audyence,
 168 and from him doe not shrinke.
 Before that you doe syt, see that
 your knyues be made bright,

sit in the place
appointed you.

At Table,

don't pare your
nails.

When your
Master speaks to
you, take off your
cap,

and stand up.

When speaking,
stand upright,
keep your hands
and feet still

stand quiet,

and don't play
with anything.

Don't cross your
companions or

point your tale
with your finger.

Speak with
authority.

Pronounce your
words distinctly.

Mind whom you
jest with.

Listen when your
master speaks.

Have your knives
bright

- and your hands
clean. 172 Your hands cleane, your nayles parde :
it is a goodlye sight.
- When speaking to
a man, When thou shalt speake to any man,
role not to fast thyne eye,
don't look about
you. 176 Gase thou not to and fro as one
thats voyde of curtesye,
For a mans countenaunce ofte tymes,
discloseth still his thought :
- 180 His lookes with his speeche, trust thou me,
will iudge him good or nought.
- Have your knife
harp and clean. 184 Looke that your knyfe be sharp & kene
to cut your meate withall ;
So the more cleanlyer, be sure,
cut your meate you shall.
- Try your soup
before putting
bread in it. 188 Or thou put much bread in thy pottage,
looke thou doe it assay :
Fill not thy spoone to full, least thou
loose somewhat by the way.
- If another shares
your dish, don't
crumble bread in
it, as your hands
may be sweaty. 192 If any man eate of your dish,
crom you therein no Bread
Lest that your hands be found sweaty ;
thereof take ye good heede :
- 196 They maye be corrupt, that causeth it,
for it is no fayre vsage.
- Cut nice bits of
bread to put in
your broth, 200 Of bread, slyce out fayre morsels
to put into your pottage ;
Fill it not to full of bread,
for it may be reprooueable
Least that thou leaue parte, for then to
measure thou arte varyable.
- and don't sup that
up too loudly. 204 And suppe not lowde of thy Pottage,
no tyme in all thy lyfe :
- Don't dip your
meat in the salt-
cellar. 204 Dip not thy meate in the Saltseller,
but take it with thy knyfe.
When thou haste eaten thy Pottage,
doe as I shall thee wish :

- Wype cleane thy spone, I do thee reed,
 208 leaue it not in the dish ;
 Lay it downe before thy trenchoure,
 thereof be not afrayde ;
 And take heede who takes it vp,
 212 for feare it be conuayde.
 Cut not the best peece for thy selfe,
 leaue thou some parte behynde :
 Bee not greedye of meate and drinke ;
 216 be liberall and kynde.
 Burnish no bones with thy teeth,
 for that is vnseemely ;
 Rend not thy meate asunder,
 220 for that swarues from curtesy ;
 And if a straunger syt neare thee,
 euer among now and than
 Reward thou him with some daynties :
 224 shew thy selfe a Gentleman.
 If your fellow sit from his meate
 and cannot come thereto,
 Then cutte for him such as thou haste ;
 228 he may lyke for thee doe.
 Belche thou neare to no mans face
 with a corrupt fumositye,
 But turne from such occasyon, friend,
 232 hate such ventositye.
 Eate you small morsels of meate,
 not to great in quantytye ;
 If ye lyke such meates, yet follow not
 236 euer your owne fantasye.
 Defyle not thy lips with eating much,
 as a Pigge eating draffe ;
 Eate softly, and drinke manerly,
 240 take heede you doe not quaffe.
 Scratche not thy head with thy fyngers
 when thou arte at thy meate ;

Wipe your spoon
clean, put it down
before your
trencher,

and take care it is
not stolen.

Don't be greedy.

Burnish no bones
with your teeth,

tear not your meat
asunder.

Help strangers

to dainties,

and for absent
mates cut off their
shares.

Belch near to no
man's face.

Eat only small
pieces,

and not too much,
like a pig at wash.

Eat and drink
quietly.

Don't scratch your
head at meals.

- Don't spit over the
table,
244 Nor spytte you ouer the table boorde ;
see thou doest not this forget.
- or pick your teeth
with a knife.
Pick not thy teeth with thy Knyfe
nor with thy fyngers ende,
Take a stick.
248 But take a stick, or some cleane thyng,
then doe you not offende.
- With putrified,
teeth
If that your teeth be putrified,
me thinke it is no right
touch not the food
that is for others.
252 To touch the meate other should eate ;
it is no cleanly sight.
- Don't pick your
hands.
Pick not thy handes, I thee requyre,
nor play not with thy knyfe ;
Keepe still thy hands and feete also ;
256 at meate tyme vse no stryfe.
- Wipe your mouth
when you drink.
Wype thy mouth when thou shalt drink
Ale, Beare, or any Wyne ;
On thy Napkin thou must wype styll,
260 and see all thing be cleane.
- Don't blow your
nose on the napkin
Blow not your nose on the napkin
where you should wype your hande ;
but on your
handkerchief.
264 But clense it in your handkercher,
then passe you not your band.
- Wyth your napkyn you may oft wipe
and make your mouth full cleene,
Some thing that thou canst not espye,
268 of others may be seene.
- Don't cram your
plate or mouth
Fill not thy trenchour, I thee rid,
with morsels great and large ;
too full ;
272 Cram not thy mouth to full, ne yet
thy stomack ouercharge,
- But temper thou thy selfe with drinke,
so keepe thee from blame :
Dronkenesse hurteth thy honestye,
276 and hyndreth thy good name.
- keepe from all ex-
cess.
Keepe thou thy selfe from all excesse
both in meate and in drinke ;

- And euer vse thou temperaunce,
 280 whether you wake or wynke.
 Fyll not thy mouth to full, leaste thou
 perhaps of force must speake ;
 Nor blow not out thy crums
 284 when thou doest eate.
 Fowle not the place with spitting
 whereas thou doest syt,
 Least it abhore some that syt by :
 288 let reason rule thy wyt.
 If thou must spit, or blow thy nose,
 keepe thou it out of sight,
 Let it not lye vpon the ground,
 292 but treade thou it out right.
 Wyth bones & voyd morsels fyll not
 thy trenchour, my friend, full :
 Auoyde them into a Voyder,
 296 no man will it anull.
 Roll not thy meate wythin thy mouth
 that euery man may it see,
 But eate thy meate somewhat close,
 300 for it is honestye.
 If that thy Soueraigne profer thee
 to drinke once, twyse, or thryse,
 Take it gently at his hand ;
 304 in Court it is the guyse ;
 When thou hast dronke, straighte set it downe,
 or take it his seruaunt ;
 Let not thy mayster set it downe ;
 308 then is it well, I warrant.
 Blow not thy Pottage nor Drinke,
 for it is not commendable ;
 For if thou be not whole of thy body,
 312 thy breath is corruptable.
 Cast not thy bones vnder the Table,
 nor none see thou doe knack ;

Don't fill your
mouth too full,

or blow out your
crumbs,

or spit all about
you.

If you must spit
or snite,

tread it into the
ground.

Turn bones, &c. off
your plate into a
Voider.

Don't roll your
food about in your
mouth.

If your Sovereign
offers you his cup,

take it from him,

drink, and put it
down.

Don't blow on
your soup or drink,

your breath may
stink.

Don't throw your
bones under the
table.

- Don't stretch your
arms, lean back,
316 Stretch thee not at the Table,
nor leane not forth thy back.
Afore thy meat, nor afterward,
score the table,
with knyfe scortche not the Boorde ;
Such toyes are not commendable,
320 trust thou me at a woorde.
Leane not vpon the Boord when that
your mayster is thereat,
For then will all your Elders thinke
324 you be with him Iack mate.
Be not ashamed to eate the meate
which is set before thee ;
Mannerly for to take it, friend,
328 agreeth with curtesye.
Don't stare about
Cast not thyne eyes to ne yet fro,
as thou werte full of toyes :
or wag your head,
Vse not much wagging with thy head,
332 it scarce becommeth boyes.
scratch it, or put
your finger in your
mouth.
Scratch not thy head, nor put thou not
thy fynger in thy mouth :
Don't look at what
comes out of your
nose,
336 Blow not thy nose, nor looke thereon ;
to most men it is loath.
or break wind.
Be not lowde where you be, nor at
the Table where you syt ;
Some men will deeme thee dronken,
340 mad, or else to lack thy wit.
When the table is
cleared,
When meate is taken quyte awaye,
and voyders in presence,
put your trencher
and leavings in the
Voider,
344 Put you your trenchour in the same,
and all your resydence.
with your napkin
and the crumbs.
Take you with your napkin and knyfe
the crows that are fore thee ;
In the Voyder your Napkyn leaue,
348 for it is curtesye.
Be glad to please
others.
Be gentle alway, and glad to please,
be it night or daye ;

- Wyth tongue nor hand, no rygor vse,
 352 let reason rule alwaye.
 When that the meate is taken vp,
 and the Table cloath made cleane,
 Then giue good eare to heare some grace,
 356 to washe your selfe demeane.
 And whyle that grace is saying, friend,
 looke that ye make no noyse,
 And thanke you God for your good fare,
 360 him as your soueraigne prayse.
 When ye begin from boorde to ryse,
 say to your fellowes all,
 "Much good do it ye," gently: then
 364 they curteous will ye call.
 Then goe you to your Soueraygne,
 giue him obeysaunce duely:
 That done, withdraw your selfe asyde;
 368 at no tyme prooue vnruely.
 If ye see men in counsell set,
 prease not to come to neare;
 They will say that you are vntaughte
 372 if you to them giue eare.
 Whysper not thou with thy fellowes oft,
 giue thou no euill language;
 Men are suspicious found, and wyll
 376 thinke it no good vsage.
 Laugh not to much at the Table,
 nor at it make no game:
 Voyde slaunderous and bawdy tales,
 380 vse them not for shame.
 Or thou be olde, beware, I rid,
 least thou doe get a fall:
 If ye be honest in your youth,
 384 in age ye may be lyberall.
- When the cloth is
 cleared,

 hear Grace,
 and wash.

 During Grace
 make no noise,

 but thank God.

 Rise from table,

 say to your com-
 panions, "Much
 good do it ye,"

 bow to your
 Master, and
 withdraw.

 Go not too near
 men consulting
 together.

 Don't whisper to
 people,

 or laugh too much
 at table.

 Tell no bawdy
 stories.

 Take care lest
 you get a fall.

¶ For the Mayting Seruaunt.

- | | |
|--|---|
| | IF ye will be a Seruingman, |
| | with attendaunce doe begin : |
| Serve God first. | Fyrst serue God, then the worlde, |
| | 4 and euer flye from sinne. |
| Dress according to
your degree. | Apparell thee after thy degree, |
| | youth should be cleane by kynde : |
| | Pryde and disdayne goes before, |
| | 8 and shamefastnes behynde. |
| Make friends with
honest men in
authority. | Aquaynte your selfe with honest men |
| | that are in authorytye ; |
| | Of them may you learne in youth |
| | 12 to auoyde all necessitye. |
| Seek for pure
friendship. | Still search thou must for friendship pure, |
| | and beware of flattery : |
| | With lewde persons, I thee counsell, |
| | 16 haue no familyarty. |
| Don't look too
much at your
clothes, | Beholde not thy selfe in thy Apparell, |
| | in church, ne in Streete ; |
| | To gase on thy selfe, men will thinke |
| | 20 it is a thing vnmeete. |
| or talk too loud. | Crye, ne yet speake, with to lowd voyce |
| | whereas thou doest walke, |
| | For lyght-witted or dronken, sure, |
| | 24 men will name thee in talke. |
| Don't be slothful | Be not thou slothfull, for it is |
| | the gouernour of all vyce ; |
| or envious. | Nor be enuyous to any, |
| | 28 for then ye be not wyse. |

- Please thy friends ; delight not in sloth ;
that Vyce wasteth goods,
It dulleth wits, ranckleth flesh,
32 and palleth ofte fresh bloods.
If you come to another mans house
to sporte and to playe,
If the goodman be set at meate,
36 returne, and go your way.
If case thou be aduaunced, friend,
and plaste in high degree,
Be lyberall and gentle found,
40 beloued shalt thou bee.
Be not to liberall nor to scant,
vse measure in eche thing :
To get in one yeare, and spend it in
44 another, is no lyuing.
It is better to saue somewhat
with good prouysion,
Then to wish agayne for that is spent,
48 for that doth breede deuysion.
Measure expence, spend warily,
and flye farre from excesse :
Inough is a feast ; more then ynough
52 is counted foolishnesse.
A dilligent seruaunt taking payne
for his mayster truth to show,
No doubt his mayster will consyder,
56 and agayne for him doe,
A mayster will know where he is,
and sometyme for his pleasure
A seruaunt to suffer in anger,
60 to his mayster is a treasure ;
A seruaunt not reformable, that
takes to his charge no heede,
Ofte tymes falleth to pouertye,
64 in wealth he may not byde.
- Avoid Sloth,

which makes flesh
rank.

If he whom you
visit

is at dinner,
go away.
If you are
promoted,

be liberal,

but practise
moderation in all
things.
Don't spend all
your income ;

save.

Spend warily,
avoid excess.
Enough is a feast.

A truthful servant
will be rewarded,

and one who will
put up with anger
is a treasure.

A careless servant

cannot be rich.

- Begin no quarrel ;
 but if any one
 strike you,
 defend yourself,
 and play the man.
 Don't swear.
 To be unfaithful
 is disgraceful.
 Don't answer
 your master ;
 few words are
 best ;
 many, bad.
 Don't be too free
 with people above
 you.
 Be quick and
 attentive.
- Be manly at neede, begin no quarrell
 in wrong, ne yet in right ;
 A iust quarrell defendes it selfe ;
 68 in wrong doe not fyght.
 Forbeare if thou mayst : if any will
 stryke, then take thou heede,
 Defend thy selfe ; the law will aquyte
 72 thee if thou stand in neede ;
 A man of his handes with hastynesse
 should at no tyme be fylde :
 Auoyde murther, saue thy selfe,
 76 play the man, being compelde.
 Be seruiceable and cleanly,
 and neuer sweare thou oath :
 Be wyse, ready, and well aduysed,
 80 for tyme tryeth thy troth :
 If case thou be not faythfull found,
 and in all thinges trusty,
 Thou doest thy mayster no worship
 84 nor thy selfe honesty.
 Be not checkmate with thy mayster ;
 for one word giue not fower ;
 Such a seruaunt contynueth to long
 88 if he passe but one hower.
 Few wordes in a seruaunt wyse
 deserueth commendation ;
 Such Seruauntes as be of to muche speeche
 92 are yll of operation.
 Be not to bold with men that be
 aboue thee in degree,
 In age, byrth, or substance ; learne thou
 96 to handfast honesty.
 Take payne in youth, be quick,
 attendaunt be, and wyse :
 Be dilligent for to detecte
 100 a seruaunt gyuen to vyce.

- Put thou thy mayster to no payne
by fraude nor fayned subtiltie ;
Wyse men will say little, and suffer
104 to see thy iniquitie.
A man that sayth little shall perceiue
by the speeche of another :
Be thou stil and see, the more shalt thou
108 perceyue in another ;
Gouverne thou well thy tongue, and let
thy wordes not mayster thee.
If ye follow wyll, ye are lyke
112 ne to thryue, beleue mee :
Obstinacy is follye in
them that should haue reason :
They that will not knowe howe to
116 amend, their wits be very geason.
In displeasure forbear thy fellow,
lay all mallice apart,
Nor meddle not with such as you
120 know to be ouerthwart.
A hasty or wilfull Mayster
that ofte chaungeth seruaunt,
And a seruaunt of fleeting,
124 lack wit and wysdome, I warrant.
Chaunge not ofte thy seruyce,
for it sheweth a seruaunte to light ;
He careth for no man, nor none for him,
128 in wrong nor in right.
A plyaunt seruaunt gets fauour
to his great aduauntage ;
Promoted shall he be in offyce or fee,
132 easiler to lyue in age.
Vse honest pastyme, talke or syng,
or some Instrument vse :
Though they be thy betters,
136 to heare they will thee not refuse.

Don't deceive
your master.

Be quiet, and
learn by others'
talk.

Control your
tongue.

Self-will won't
thrive.

Obstinacy is folly.

When out of
temper, keep
clear of com-
panions.

Master and
servant changing
often,

lack wit,

and no one cares
for them.

A pliant servant

gets promotion.

Amuse yourself
by singing or
playing.

- To prate in thy maysters presence,
 it is no humanitye;
 But to speake when he talketh to thee
 is good curtesye.
- Speak only when
 you're spoken to.
- 140
- For your preferment resorte
 to such as may you vauntage :
 Among Gentlemen, for their rewards ;
 to honest dames for maryage.
- Associate with
 those who can
 advance you.
- Look out for a
 well-to-do wife.
- 144
- See your eye be indifferent
 among women that be fayre,
 And if they be honest, to them
 boldly then doe repayre ;
- 148
- Honest quallityes and gentle,
 many men doth aduaunce
 To good maryages, trust me,
 and their names doth inhaunce.
- Gentle qualities
 often
- secure good
 marriages.
- 152
- Of worldly pleasure it is
 a treasure, to say truth,
 To wed a gentle wyfe ; of his
 bargayne he needes no ruth.
- A gentle wife is
 a treasure;
- 156
- What is most trouble to man
 of all thinges that be lyuing ?
 A curst wyfe shortneth his lyfe,
 and bringeth on his ending.
- an angry one,
 man's greatest
 trouble.
- 160
- Women nyse, and not wyse, waketh
 men when they should take sleepe :
 Lyke a feather in the weather,
 of such I take no keepe.
- Foolish women
 are like a feather
 in the air.
- 164
- Fulgentius likens
 Fulgentius declareth, vpon the
 maryage in Cana Galile,
 The condicions of men and wcmen :
 a parte¹ I will shew ye.
- [1 orig. aparte]
 a good man to
 Christ;
- 168
- He lykeneth Christ to a good man,
 the Authour of verity,
 To rule himselfe: and in all thinges
 to obey to man truely
- to rule himself.
 And to obey man
- 172

- He lykeneth a good woman to
 the myrrour of humillitye ;
 In them is roted pacience, sound fayth,
 176 loue and charitye :
 Fayth and trust in good women both,
 in eche deede, and in woorde ;
 Louing God, obeying their husbands,
 180 cleane at bed and at boorde.
 Lykened women to ydols, taken
 for Gods, yet were Deuils :
 Iudge so of women which be corrupte
 184 with such euils.
 Women to blame, or yet defame,
 I will disprayse none :
 Say as ye list, women are yll
 188 to trust, all thinges but one.
 Fayre and good are two quallityes,
 scantly in one body seene :
 Fayrenesse is scone seene, her pacience
 192 and goodnesse is yll to deeme.
 For to saue that a man would haue,
 is at large without a keeper :
 Who can stay that will away,
 196 or without restraynt let her ?
 To wed a woman that is
 good, fayre, and eke wyse,
 Is to haue ynough for himselfe, sure,
 200 and for her as much thryse.
 The company of women being yong,
 wanton, foolish, and light,
 Makes the body and head feeble,
 204 and doth cleane wast the sight.
 Such be yll to please, their harte and
 eye is vnsatiable ;
 An old man, and a yong woman,
 208 to content is vncurable.

he likens a good
woman to the
Mirror of
Humility,

full of love,

trustworthy in
deed and word,

clean at bed and
board.

Yet some are
regular devils.

I dispraise no
women,

but they are ill
to trust.

Fair and good are
seldom seen
together.

Who can stop a
woman who will
go wrong ?
A woman good,
fair, and wise, is
a prize.

Company with
wanton women

weakens men's
body, head, and
sight.

A young woman
is never content
with an old man.

Excited women
don't heed reason.

When womens wits are mooued,
of reason they take no heede :
To please them agayne, muste bee by
212 loue, dread, or else fond meede.

To avoid lechery,

Pryde, couetousnes, and letchery,
if thou wilt from them flee,

look not at fair
women.

216 From gay Apparell, treasure, and
fayre women, draw thy eye.

Be not to bold in worde and deede,
for it is little honesty.

Don't be familiar
with wanton
women.

220 In Chamber with wanton women,
vse no familiarity.

To them tell thou nought that wil not
beleue thee at thy worde :

It appeareth by them, their good
224 wyll they may lyttle aforde.

This is enough
about women.

Of women ye haue herd part, wherby
ye may perceyue my mynde :

228 For few wordes to wyse men is best,
and thus I make an ende.

I hold thee wyse and well taught,
&¹ thou arte lyke to be iollye,

[1 orig. I]

Take warning by
others' folly.

232 That can beware to see the care
of another mans follye.

Follow the steps
of an honest man.

Take the myrrour of an honest man,
and marke how well he doth :

Follow his steps, imbrace vertue,
236 then doest thou well forsooth.

Better be poor
and mirthful, than
rich and sorrow-
ful.

It is better to be poore and
to lyue in rest and myrth,

240 Then to be riche with sorrow,
and come of noble byrth.

Avoid bad diet

If thou wilt haue health of body,
euill dyet eschew :

and bad company.

244 To get a good name,
euill company doe not pursue.

- Euill ayres corrupt mans body,
 ill company doth the same :
 Vse good company, thereof
 248 commeth honesty and good fame.
 All byrdes doe loue by kynde, that are
 lyke of plume and feather,
 Good and bad, ye^l wyld and tame,
 252 all kyndes doe draw togyther.
 Great diuersytie between pryde,
 and honesty is seene :
 Among the wyse it is soone iudgde,
 256 and knowne what they haue beene.
 By condicion and fashion
 all thing sheweth as it is,
 Iagged or ragged, prowde or meeke,
 260 wyse men call it excesse.
 Many haue cunning and vertue,
 without due gouernaunce :
 Wo worth reason yll vused,
 264 for it lacketh remembraunce.
 Better to speake little for profyt,
 then much for thy payne :
 It is pleasure to spend and speake,
 268 but harde to call agayne.
 Vse thou not hastye anger,
 a wyse man will take leasure,
 The custome of sodayne mallyce
 272 will turne to displeasure.
 Fyrst thinke, then speake, and then
 do all thinges with discretion :
 Giue with good will, and auoyde thy
 276 ennemye with prouisyon.
 Euill men take great payn to buy Hell—
 and all for worldly pleasure—
 Dearer then good men buy heauen,
 280 for God is their treasure.

Seek good com-
 panions :

like draws to
 like.
 [l = the]

The difference
 between pride
 and propriety
 soon shows.

Everything is
 known by its
 make.

Woe to reason
 ill used.

Speak little.

Be not quickly
 angry.

First think, then
 speak.

Bad men buy hell

dearer than good
 ones do heaven.

Learn, or be
ignorant.
The proved man's
gloss teaches
more than the
text.

Learn or ye be lewde,
follow the proued mans aduyse,
Thou shall perceyue more by his glose
284 then by the letter is.

Be glad of fair
reproofs.

Be thou content with fayre rebuke,
and haue thy fault in mynde :
The wyser that thou doest, of troth
288 the better shalt thou fynde.

Thank him who
gives you food

If thou bee wyse, consyder
thy friende both in worde and deede :
And thank him that geueth thee cloth,
292 drinke, meat, and also breade ;
Turne not thy face lyke to a Churle,
as voyde of all meekenesse :

or does you good.

To them that do thee good, geue thanks,
296 and shew lyke gentlenesse.

Many couet much, and little paynes
therefore intende to take :

Don't idle your
time away,

If case thou wylte a Mayster please,
300 from sloth thou must awake.
Of one thing take good heed, spend not
thy tyme, I wish, in vayne ;

For tyme mispent and ouergone

304 cannot be calde agayne.

but learn in your
youth,

Seeke thou in youth, and thou shalte fynd,
to be one not vntaught :

Wyse or fonde, foolish to rule,
308 or to be set at nought.

and take pains.

Take payne in youth, if case thou wilt
of men be called wyse,

Or thou must take it in thy age,

312 or be fraught full of vyce.

Be moderate if
you are rich.

Keepe measure euer in happye welth,
a tyme to thee is lent :

Better is it to saue, then to

316 suffer when all is spent.

- To remember before, what wyll fall,
 it shall giue thy harte ease ;
 Fortune doeth ebbe and flowe, be sure ;
 320 good forwit doth men please.
 Lyue iustlye, doe well, and haue well,
 let men say what they list :
 Be euer secrete to thy selfe,
 324 beware of had I wist.
 A Byrd is better in thy hande,
 then in Wood two or three ;
 Leaue not certayne for vncertayne,
 328 my friend, I counsell thee.
 Take heede betyme, if thou be wyse,
 for tyme hath no measure :
 Prayse goodnesse still, blame euill men,
 332 loue is a lasting treasure.
 Better is truth with pouertye,
 then ryches are with shame :
 Couetousnesse quayleth gentlenesse,
 336 letchery bringeth ill name.
 Sufferaunce asswageth yre,
 and mendeth thinges amis :
 In little medling rest is wonne ;
 340 hate stryfe if thou seeke blisse.
 Be not hasty in a matter,
 but marke thou well the ende ;
 Be thou not Foe vnto thy selfe,
 344 though another thee offende.
 Presume thou not to hye, I rid,
 least it turne thee to blame :
 In trust is treason ; be ruled
 348 by reason ; flye thou shame.
 No maystry is it to get a friend,
 but for to keepe him long :
 As to thyne owne selfe, so doe to
 352 thy friendes eche one among.

Prudence will
 secure you ease.

Do right, what-
 ever men may
 say.

A bird in the
 hand is better
 than two in the
 wood.

Take heed
 betimes.

Truth and poverty
 are better than
 riches and shame.

To suffer calms ire.

Be not hasty.

Presume not.

Do to your friends
 as to yourself.

When trusted, be
true.

My friend, where thou art put in trust,
be true in word and deede :

In a little falshood is great shame ;

356 in truth is there much meede.

Squabble not
with your
neighbour.

Brable not thou with thy neyghbour,
but let him lyue in rest ;

For discorde often tymes constraynes

360 thy friendes thee to detest.

Fools quarrel:

Among fooles there is much stryfe,
disdayne, grudge, and debate :

wise men live in
peace, but angry
folk do not.

With wyse men there is rest & peace,
after a blessed rate :

364

Knowne there is no quyettesse
where angry folkes doe dwell :

Ten is nyne to many, be sure,

368 where men be fierce and fell.

Be gentle to a
willing servant.

Shew gentlenesse to thy seruaunt
thats willing to amende,

Wysedome willeth thee to forbear

372 though he doe thee offende.

Don't be revenge-
ful.

In mallyce be not vengeable,
as S. Mathewe doth speake,

Due correction is needefull, sure,

376 for blessed are the meeke.

Don't chide too
often.

Chyde not very often, for therein
gentlenesse is none :

Prooue and then chuse : of two harmes learne

380 alwayes to make but one.

Forbear where
you can conquer,

To forbear where thou mayste ouercome,
is gently still to doe ;

For so shalte thou cease mallyce,

384 and make a friend of thy foe.

A good man does
good.

A good man doth good, and therein
doth alwayes take great payne :

If his deedes be contrary found,

388 all that he doeth is vayne.

- Correct not faults in other,
 and thy selfe do vse the same,
 For so shalt thou be laught to scorne
 392 and be reprooued with shame.
 Fynd thou no fault in discreete men,
 of good perseueraunce ;
 But fyrst see thou correct thy selfe
 396 of wilfull ignoraunce.
 Controle not so your fellowes faultes
 as ye of cryme were cleare,
 But monish him secretlye, and keepe
 400 thy mayster from all yre.
 Releeue and comforte other when
 thou ioyste prosperitye,
 And thou of other shalt haue helpe
 404 in thy aduersytye.
 If thou be come of noble stocke
 and gentle curteous plant,
 Thy condicions and behauyour
 408 will show thee, I warrant.
 Subdue the euill mynded men,
 that order will not byde :
 Beware of common grudge and hate
 412 at euery tyme and tyde ;
 Ne yet conceaue thou in thy mynde
 that thou canst all thinges doe,
 Least in trying somthing thou
 416 canst not attayne thereto.
 A hye mynded man thinketh no wight
 worthy to match with him,
 But when he is to highest power,
 420 yet he is not worth a pin.
 Those vnderneath thy gouernaunce,
 doe charitably blame,
 And vse thou gentle speech eche hower,
 424 so shalt thou get good name.

Don't correct in
 others the faults
 you commit
 yourself,

but correct them
 in yourself,

and admonish
 others secretly.

Help, and you

shall be helped.

If you are well
 bred,

your behaviour
 will show it.

Avoid grudging,

Don't think you
 can do everything.

The conceited
 man

isn't worth a pin.

Always speak
 gently.

Rebuke men
when alone with
them.

A wyse man will rebuke his fault
when he is all alone,
And spye it out from tyme to tyde
428 when he hath euill done.

Don't excite
angry men.

Moue no man that is angry
and will be so to often :

432 A smalle sparke kyndles a great fyre
if it be forste to burne.

Don't disdain
your fellows.

To thy fellow be not coyish,
nor haue of him disdayne ;

436 If vnkyndnesse doe happen,
quickly be friendes agayne.

Forbear in anger.

To forbear in anger is
the poynt of a friendly leech ;

440 When the rage is past, men repent
their euill corrupt speche.

It is so easy to be
quiet and
reasonable !

A wonderfull thing this is to doe,
and easy to be done :

444 To leaue pleasure, and keepe sylence,
and to follow reason.

Better be ruled
than rule.

For farre more better is it
to rule then to be ruled ;

448 Disdayne not therefore gouernaunce
least your name be defyled.

Love vertue.

Loue thou vertue, and hate all vyce ;
see that thou no tyme waste ;

Be saving.

452 Spend in measure as thou doest get ;
make spare of that thou haste.

Babble not ouer much, my friende,
if thou wylt be called wyse ;

Talk breeds lies.

456 To speake or prate, or vse much talke,
ingenders many lyes.

A fool will never
be taught.

A foole will be alwayes teaching,
but will no tyme be taught :

460 Contrary him in his sayinges,
he setteth thee at nought.

- All men be knowen by the workes
they vse to go about :
- A stedfast mans words ye neuer needs
464 for to suspect, nor doubt.
- If ye haue sturdy Sampsons strength
and want reason withall,
- It helpeth you nothing, this is playne,
468 selfe will makes you to fall.
- Many haue knowledge, and yet lacke
that should belong thereto :
- And some are in authoritye
472 that very little good doe.
- All pollicie no one man hath,
though he be of hygh science ;
- One hath great learning, another hath
476 got in tyme experience.
- Cunning with pryde in an officer fell
is sure a heauy case :
- The pore man prowde, the riche a theefe,
480 both of these doe lack grace.
- There is a tyme for all things founde,
to be merry and glad :
- He that hath cunning without grace,
484 of troth is but ill clad.
- Put not yong men in authority
that are to prowde and lyght :
- A man tryed well in youth,
488 his experience is of might.
- Many take much pryde in their owne skill,
and carpe as they were cunning ;
- But in the ende his peeuish pryde
492 makes all not worth a pudding.
- A fooles displeasure to a wyse man,
is found profytable ;
- For his good will is vnstedfast,
496 his lust is vnsatiabable.

A man is known
by his work.

Strength without
reason is no good.

Some in authority
do very little
good.

No one can
manage every-
thing.

Cunning, pride,
and cruelty are
bad in officers.

There's a time for
all things.

Put not young
men in authority.

Peevish pride
ruins everything.

Don't answer a
proud nasty man,

beat him.

Stedfastness is
profitable.

If you play with
an inferior,

play gently.

[1 MS. *Veware*]

Boast not of
bawdiness,

but be cleanly in
speech as well as
dress.

Honesty is worth
more than velvet
hoods.

Reverence your
elders.

- Reply not thou agaynst a prowde,
and yll mans tale to much,
For he thinkes of hymselfe, bee sure,
500 no man hath wysedome such ;
Better is it to beate a prowde man
then for to rebuke him,
For he thinkes in his owne conceyte
504 he is wyse and very trim.
Stedfastnesse in a man
aduaunceth his good name,
But to be slow in godly deedes
508 increaseth a mans shame.
If thou play, game, or sporte,
with thy inferyour by byrth,
Vse gentle pastyme, men will then
512 commend you in your myrth.
¹ Beware of subtle craft and guyle,
therewith be not infect ;
If euill be done where thou arte,
516 men will thee soone suspect.
Boast not of bawdinesse, for therein
shalt thou, sure, be knowne
To be found letcherous, and thy
520 yll name will be soone blowne.
A man cleanly arayed, oughte cleane
and pure wordes to preache :
As thou wouldest be cleane in arraye,
524 so be cleane in thy speeche.
Be not to bolde in your array,
nor yet boast of your goods :
More worth is honesty, be sure,
528 then gawdy veluet hoodes.
To giue reuerence to thy Elders,
be thou still glad and fayne,
Or else they will haue, learne thou this,
532 of thee no small disdayne.

- Reporte no slaunder, ne yet shew
 the fruites of flattery ;
 It shewes that mallyce raygns in thee
 536 as voyde of curtesye.
 Meddle little, and thou shalt fynde
 therein a double ease :
 But in redressing things amis,
 540 thou highly God shalt please.
 Aduise well what thou speakest, friend,
 to whome, where, how, and whan ;
 So shalt thou get thee perfyte loue,
 544 and proue a wittye man :
 Thinke or thou speake ; for feare of yre
 take good heede at the least ;
 By thy speeche men will perceyue
 548 thee to be man or beast.
 Prease not thy selfe, if thou be wyse,
 to haue the soueraygntyte :
 Good deeds and wisdom shal thee get
 552 in tyme authorityte.
 At thyne owne conceite laugh not,
 nor make thou any game :
 Auoyde thou slaunderous bawdy tales ;
 556 for why, they purchase shame.
 Laugh not to much, I thee aduyse,
 therein take thou no pleasure ;
 Much laughing, friend, some men doe say,
 560 a cockscombe doth procure.
 To sad, it is not best,
 the meane is aduauntage :
 Myrth for pollicy sometyme
 564 is wysedome and no rage.
 Or ye begin, marke well the ende,
 and thereof take good heede ;
 A good forethought is founde a friend
 568 at euery tyme of neede.

Don't repeat
slanders, or

meddle in others'
affairs,

but set wrong
things right.

Mind whom you
speak to,

and think before
you speak.

Don't strive too
much for power,

or laugh at your
own jokes.

Avoid bawdy
tales.

Much laughing
procures a cock's
comb. (See p. 108.)

Keep to the
middle.

Forethought is
ever a friend.

Don't answer
hastily.

Be not hasty, aunswere to giue
before thou it debate,
Lest thou repent thee afterwardes
572 when it will be to late.

Get before you
spend.

Get ere thou spend, then shalt thou bid
thy friendly friend good morrowe ;
But if thou spent before thou get,
576 thou shall feele much sorrowe :

A bird in the
hand is worth
ten in the air.

A byrd in hand, as some men say,
is worth ten flye at large :

He that may be free and will not,
580 take vpon him no charge.

Don't slander any
one behind his
back.

Disprayse not any man in absence,
nor yet be vengeable :

For small faultes, small correction
584 is moste commendable.

Refrain from
wrath.

Refraine from wrath, and correct thou
with meekenesse at leysure :

To vtter mallice sometyme, friende,
588 bringeth thee displeasure ;

Honest men speak
honest words.

Know honest men haue honest wordes
early and also late :

Before thy equals and thy betters,
592 playe thou not, friend, check mate.

When out, leave
when the score is
paid.

At thy friendes house, or else where,
see that by night or day

When the reckoning is past, and payde,
596 then boldly go thy way.

Pay your debts
punctually,

When thou borrowest, keepe thy day
though it be to thy payne ;

Then shalt thou the sooner borrow
600 of thy lender agayne.

and keep your
promises.

Loke thou keepe promyse and thy day,
thereon haue thou thy thought,

Or else of thee and thyne, know well
604 it may be dearer bought.

- Some men to borrow euer loue,
and neuer pay agayne :
- 608 Euer needy still some be found,
putting their friendes to payne.
Alway to begge and borrow still,
cannot long tyme indure :
- 612 Such men do fayle, when they thinke
themselves to be most sure ;
No heauynesse its to a man
that nothing hath to lose ;
- 616 Great greefe to them that plenty hath,
so sayth the common glose.
If that thou spent past thy degree,
thy stock thou soone shalt slake :
- 620 Take heede betyme, so you may sleepe
when other men doe wake.
Past thy degree, couet thou not
thy post for to mayntayne :
- 624 Spend not thy goods to prodigallye,
spend not thy store in vayne.
Looke before thou leape, I wish ;
more ease thou mayst take :
- 628 If that thou leape or thou doe looke,
wysedome will thee forsake.
Good counsayle in thy words to take,
shall thee content and please :
- 632 Be comfortable to thy friends,
and to thy selfe wish ease.
Be not mooued if case thy friend
tell thee thy faultes full playne :
- 636 Requyte him not with mallyce great,
nor his good will disdayne.
A mans wysdome is prooued playne
when he is ill sayd vnto :
- 640 To suffer wrong is vertue pure,
fond fooles cannot doe so.
- Some men borrow
and never pay,
- but that must
end in failure,
- which is no
trouble to a man
who has nothing.
- Don't spend more
than your income,
- or too prodigally.
- Look before you
leap.
- Take good counsel
in your speech.
- Don't be angry
with the friend
who tells you
your faults.
- Wise men can
suffer wrong ;
- fools can't.

Make hay while
the sun shines.

When occasyon comes, thy profyt take,
tyme lasteth not for euer :

Tyme flits away, thy welth augments

644 as pleaseth God the giuer.

Wait for your
master if you
want to see him.

If with thy mayster thou wilt speake,
his leysure learne to see :

It were contrary equitye

648 that he should wayght for thee.

Borrowers seek

Some men are euer borrowing found,
wythout respect of tyme :

their own ad-
vantage, not
yours.

They gape for their commoditie,
652 the[y] sieldome wish for thyne.

Give to the Poor.

Vse thou gentle condicions, friend ;
giue the pore of thy good ;

Part thou therof toward their want,

656 giue them reliefe and fo[o]d.

Speak the truth
boldly and gently.

To speake the truth be bold and mylde,
for that is very good ;

For fayned speech, and falshood vylde,

660 becommeth vyllaines blood.

Mock no man.

Mocke thou no man, of what estate
or calling that he be ;

For that is the custome of Churles

664 voyde of all curtisye.

Don't abuse your
enemy.

To ill thy foe, doth get to thee
hatred and double blame ;

It is a Christyan propertye,

668 to hyde thy brothers shame.

Quietness is a
good defence.

A still man is a Castle which
will him defend from woe :

A busy tongue makes of his friend

672 oft tymes his daynfull Foe.

An unstable
Gentleman is
folly's child.

A Gentleman vnstable found,
is deemde a chylde of folly :

A shamelesse lyfe in any man,

676 declares he is not holly.

- A Gentleman should mercy vse
to set forth his natiuitye :
He should be meeke and curteous,
680 and full of humanitye.
Pore men must be faythfull,
and obedient in lyuing,
Auoyding all rebellyon
684 and rygorous bloodshedding.
Keepe grace and godly gouernaunce
alwayes within thy mynde :
If thou be wanton in youth,
688 vyce will raygn in age by kynde.
Boast thou not of thy blood ne byrth,
or great soueraignty :
For thy good deedes, assure thy selfe,
692 shall get thee fame and glory.
To one vnknowne to thee, my friende,
at no tyme shew thy mynde ;
For some men be tickle of tongue,
696 and play the blabs by kynde.
To men not acquaynted, giue
no credence nor no trust ;
Some sortes will customably lye,
700 but from such flye thou must.
To vtter greefe, doth ease the mynde,
as wyse men seeme to say ;
But faythfull friendes at no tyme will
704 their friendes great greefe bewraye.
If other men record thy saying,
it may seeme somewhat true :
Vtteraunce of counsayle maketh,
708 some states to wayle and rew ;
Keepe counsayle if to Prynce ne Land
they bring no greefe nor payne ;
To catche¹ ech trustlesse traytor, see
712 thou faythfull doe remayne.

A Gentleman is
bound, by his
birth, to be
courteous.

Poor men must
be obedient.

Use self-restraint.

Don't boast of
your high birth.

Don't tell secrets
to strangers,

or trust those
you don't know.

Telling one's
troubles eases the
mind, but

faithful friends
will conceal their
friends' grief.

Keep your own
counsel.

[¹ Orig. Co tache]

- Fly from flattery.
 I have hardly
 found one man
 true.
- Prove your
 friends,
- and don't change
 a true one for a
 new one.
- Refuse not a
 friend's rebuke,
- Greet your friend
 gladly.
- Estimate gifts by
 the donors'
 wealth,
- and give some-
 what back again :
- Empty fists retain
 no Hawks.
- Be courteous to
 strangers,
- and entertain
 them liberally.
- Be friendly with the faythfull man,
 but yet flye from flatterye :
 In all my lyfe I could scant fynde
 one wight true and trusty.
- Fyrst seke a friend, then proue thou him
 that thou wilt trust vnto ;
 So shalt thou know in tyme of neede
 what he for thee will do.
- If case thou haue a trusty friend,
 chaunge him not for a new :
 They that trust vnto themselues,
 be no friendes faythfull true.
- Heare thou thy enemyes tale, I wishe,
 euen to the latter end ;
 And refuse not the sweete rebuke,
 of him that is your friend.
- If thy friend come vnto thy house
 for loue or pure amitie,
 Exyle sadnesse, and show to him,
 friendly familiaritye.
- If giftts thou receyue of any wyght,
 well ponder their degree :
 A kynde pore mans harty rewarde
 is worth the other three.
- Of whomsoeuer thou receyuest,
 giue somewhat, friend, agayne,
 For empty fystes, men vse to say,
 cannot the Hawke retayne.
- If that a straunger syt thee neare,
 see thou make him good cheare,
 For so he may reporte thy name,
 be sure, both farre and neare.
- Retayne a straunger after his
 estate and degree ;
 Another tyme may happen he
 may doe as much for thee.

- Of secrete and close matters speake
 not, if thou wilt be sage :
 Talke discretelye, let not thy tongue
 752 go clack in an outrage.
 Honest men be euer content
 with such as they doe fynde ;
 Take all thinges therfore in good part,
 756 vse thou a quyet mynde.
 Commaund not in another house,
 nor practyse to contende,
 So shalt thou be esteemed wyse,
 760 and men will thee commende.
 A man that is a niggard churle
 no tyme is lyberall :
 He commeth not of gentle blood
 764 that to his coyne is thrall.
 Sit thou not in the highest place,
 where the good man is present,
 But gyue him place : his maners marke
 768 thou with graue aduysement.
 Regard honest condicions, friende,
 where ere thy steppes be bent,
 Or else some men with thee wyll not,
 772 assured, be content.
 In sport and play with man and wyfe,
 with yongman, mayde and chylde,
 Be thou still meeke, and honest to,
 776 gentle and also mylde.
 Suspect no counsayle if it be
 agaynst thee neuer moued :
 By foolish thoughts the wysest heads —
 780 are often tymes deceyued.
 If thou come to a strange mans house,
 knock ere that thou go in ;
 Ne yet presume thou not to farre,
 784 though he bee of thy kin.

Keep secrets.

Be content,

and take all
things quietly.A niggard is
always stingy.The slave to his
coin is not well
born.Always behave
nicely,and be gentle in
play.Don't be too
suspicious.Knock at a house
before going in.

When sent with a
message, know it
well, and speak it
boldly.

If case ye be of message sent,
know you the same throughout :
Then mayst thou speake boldly, be sure,
788 and neuer stand in doubt.

Read godly books,

Delight to reade good Godly bookes,
and marke the meaning well,
Thereof comes vertue, knowledge,

792 pure wysedome, and sweete counsell.

Here of this matter thus, my friend,

He who seeks
Wisdom, is his
country's friend.

I seeme to make an ende :

He that doth haunt to wysdoms bowre
796 remaynes his countreys friend.

¶ The Rule of Honest Living.

If thou desyre temperance, cut away all superfluitie, and brydle in thy desyres within thy mynde; consyder to thy selfe what nature req[u]yreth, and not what sensuall concupiscence appeteth.

Put a brydle & a measure to thy concupiscence, & cast away the things that draw thy mynde with secrete pleasure.

Eate without surfet.

Drinke without dronkennesse.

Let thy luying be of light repaste; come not for wanton pleasure, but for desyre of meate; let hunger moue thy appetyte and not sauery sauces.

Thinke that all thing may be suffred but vilany and dishonesty; abstayn euer from wordes of rybaudry, for a tongue euer lyberall nourisheth folly.

Loue rather wordes profytable then eloquent and plesaunte, right wordes then flattering.

Thou shalt sometyme myxe with sadnesse thy merry iestes, but temperately, and without hurt of thy dignitye and honesty; for laughing is reproveable if it be out of measure; if lyke a chylde, it is effuse and wanton; if lyke a woman, foolish.

If thou be a continent man, aucyde flattery, & let it be as paynefull to thee to be praysed of lewd and dishonest persons, as if thou be praysed for lewd and dishonest deedes.

Be more ioyous and glad when thou displeasest euill persons; and take the euill iudgements of them touching thee, as a true prayse of thee.

It is a very hard work of continence to repell the paynting glose of flatterings whose words resolute the hart with plesure.

Alure not the loue of any man by flattery, nor set not open the waye by that meane to get thee loue and friendship; thou shalte not be mad hardye, nor presumptuous; submit thy selfe and stoope not to low, but keepe a meane grauity.

Be aduertised with good wil, and take rebuke patiently.

If any man chyde thee with cause, be thou assured that he doeth profyte thee. If so be without thanke, that hee wylleth thy profyte.

Thou shalte not feare sharp words, but dread fayre wordes.

If thou be a continent man, regard the moouinges and afflictions of thy soule and body, that they be not out of order; nor therefore doe not set lighte by them, because they be vnknown, for it forceth not if no man see them, whan thou thy selfe seest them.

Be actiue and styrring, but not of light fashyon, constant, but not obstynate: let it not be vnknown nor greuous to thee thou hast not knowledge of any thing.

Cherish al that be thy Peeres; disdayne not thy inferiours by pryde; cast not away thy superiours that liues vpright.

In requyting a good tourne, shew not thy selfe negligent, nor contrarie: bee not an exactour of another man.

Be lyberall to euery man.

To no man flattering.

Familier but to few.

Equall to all men.

Be not light of credens to new raysted tales, nor crymes, nor suspicious to maligne no man.

Slack and slow to yre.

Prone, inclyned to mercy.

Stable in aduersytye.

And hider of vertue, as other be of vice.

Be a dispyser of vayne glorye, and no busy bragger
of the vertues with the which thou art indued.

Despyse no mans follye and ignoraunce: be thou of
fewe wordes, but suffer other to speake.

Be sharpe, but not cruell, nor desgyse him that is
merry.

Be desyrous of wysedome, and apte to learne it.

Men learne when they teache.

Be content to departe to a man wylling to learne
suche thinges as thou knowest, without arrogance and
pride.

Desyre to haue knowledge of suche thinges which
thou knowest not, wythout concealement of thy igno-
raunce.

HE that spendeth much
and getteth nought,
He that oweth much
and hath nought,
He that looketh in his purse
and fyndeth nought,
He may be sorry
and say nought.

¶ He that may and will not,
He then that would shall not,
He that would and cannot,
May repent and sighe not.

¶ He that sweareth
tyll no man trust him,
He that lyeth
tyll no man beleue him,
He that boroweth
till no man will lende him,

Let him go where no
man knoweth him.

¶ He that hath a good Mayster
and cannot keepe him,
He that hath a good seruaunt
and not content with hym,
He that hath such condicions
that no man loueth hym,
May well know other,
but few men wyll knowe hym.

¶ Thus endeth the Booke of Nurture or gouer-
nance of Youth, with Stans Puer
ad mensam. Compyled by
Hugh Rhodes of the
Kinges Chap-
pell.

[NOTE.—? Should not l. 169, p. 86, be 'He lykeneth a good man to Christ.' In l. 172, 'to obey to man truely,' should *man* be *God*, or does the line refer to the good woman, as I have made it? L. 560. A Cockscombe. 'Natural idiots and fooles haue, and still do accustome themselves to weare in their cappes, *cockes* feathers, or a hat with a neck and head of a *cock* on the top, and a bell thereon, &c., and thinke themselves finely fitted and proudly attired therewith.' Minshew.]

THE PRINCIPAL VARIOUS READINGS

OF DOUCE'S IMPERFECT COPY OF

Jewe Rodes's Boke of Nurture,

Printed by Thomas Petyt (before 1554.)

[*Title page wanting.*]

- p. 63. *Heading adds*, 'with Stans puer ad mensam, newly corrected, very vtile and necessary vnto all youth.'
1. 3-4. it encreaseth fauor, *for* it getteth fauour in the syghte of men.
 5. it encreaseth prayer / & by prayer grace, & to vse chyldren in vertue and good lernynge, *for* it also learning.
 9. 'is for lacke of vertue in youth,' *for* 'is, is . . youth.'
 14. conuersacyon *for* behauioure
 20. & dothe dayly *for* euerlasting paynes.
 21. 'for a gouernour to vse them to fayre speche, & to sette well theyr wordes with a good aduisement without stamerynge. And yf ye put them to scole awaye frome you, se ye put them to a dyscrete mayster that can,' *for* 'for Fathers . . . such as can.'
- p. 64.
 1. 7. the worde of god *for* hys worde
 12. renyeth *for* denieth
 14. 'Also to appose your seruauntes yf they can theyr byleue: also yf they brynge anye thyng home that is mysse taken, or tell tales, or newes of detraccyon, ye shall then' *for* 'if they be tale tellers or newes caryers'
 18. fassyon *for* behauiour
 19. that are of lefull dyscrecyon *inserted after* seruauntes.
 25. to moche carnall loue *for* muche familiaritye
 28. and somtyme vse them *for* Take them often with you
 30. 'herde preached, & vse them not to rede fayned fables, or vayne fantasies, or of folysshe loue: it is tyme loste' *for* 'heard . . youth'
 1. 34. & l. 1, p. 65. thou *for* they.
- From the a of 'among,' p. 65, l. 2, to p. 71, l. 10, is lost in Douce's copy, which begins again with l. 11, p. 71,*
Borne and bred in Deuensshyre / my termes wyl wel showe

- p. 71. l. 20. . . . my selfe *for* this booke
 21-4. I wolde refourme both youth & age / yf any thyng be amys
 To you wyl I shewe my mynde / refourme ye where nede is
- p. 72. l. 56. Stande not to fast in thy conceyt. *l. 57-8 omitted.*
- p. 73. l. 63-6. Loke thou forget not to blysse the / ones or twyse
 In the mornynge vse some deuocyon / & let for no nede
 92. . . . y^e contrary wyl be to thy dispraysyng
 107-8. Gentyl is to vse fayre spech / it requyreth nothyng but good
 111-12. Knele / sytte / stande / or walke / deuoutly loke thou do pray
 To helpe a preest to say masse / it is greatly to be commended
 Thou takest on hande an aungels office / the preest to attend
 117. . . . 'chyrche' *for* 'Temple see'
 119-22. Communicacyon vse thou not / to women preestes nor clarkes
 When your deuocyon is done / and tyme is towardes dyner
 131. Gyue him reuerence
- p. 75. l. 145-6. Leane not on the one syde / when thou speakest for nothyng
 161. . . . 'with a pause' *for* 'distinctly'
 168. . . . that is good I thynke
- p. 77. l. 228. . . . that is gentelly do
- p. 78. l. 271-2. *with* moch flesshe & lytel bread / fyl not thy mouth lyke a
 barge
after l. 276 *insert* A pynte at a draught to powre in fast / as one in haste
 Foure at a mease is .iii. to many / in suche I thynke waste
- p. 79. l. 288. . . . when thou haste forgette
- p. 80. l. 323-4. For then wyl your souerayne / thynke in you checke mate
 331-2. Moche wagynge with thy heed / semeth thou arte not wyse
 345-6. Take your napkyn & stryke forth the crommes before the
- p. 81. l. 351. With tonge & hande be not ragyous
 361. Then perceyue ye a tyme to ryse
 368. . . . as best is for you honestly
 372. . . . that is sure and clere
 373. Speke not moch in thy felowes ere
- p. 83. l. 37-40. yf fortune the auaunce / and put the in some hye degre
 Be thou lyberall & gentyll / yf thou wylte be ruled by me
 48. . . . for it is euyll deuisyon
 49. . . . spende gladly . . .
 61. . . . reformable / nor of reason wyl take no hede
 81-2. *omitted.*
 95-6. . . substaunce / lowlynesse wyl do the honesty
 99-100. Do thy dilygence, suffre a tyme / an yll seruaunt is ful of
 vyce
- p. 85. l. 129. A tendable seruaunt
- p. 86. l. 139-40. *omitted.*
 147-52. And tell them storyes of loue, & so to you they wyl repayre
 Suche pastymes somtyme, doth many men auaunce
 In way of maryage, and your good name it wyl enhaunce

- p. 87. l. 201. The best lyeng *with* a woman when she is yonge clene &
lyght
And when thou wylte feble the body and hed / & wast the
syght
What people are yl to please / whose hert & eye is insaciable
- p. 88. 233. Make thy myrrour
235. Do thou lyke to them
262. . . . & knowlege *without* gouernauns
- p. 90. l. 307-8. Wyse or folysshe, to rule or be ruled / or to be set at nought
309-11. If thou wyll take no payne in youth / & wyll be called wyse
Thou muste take payne in age / and be full of vyce
- p. 91. l. 329. Take hede to day before to morowe
331. Blame no goodnes, prayse no euyll
335-6. Couetyse auoydeth gentylnes / and lechery good fame
340. . . . in a busy tonge none ther is
- p. 92. l. 355. In lytell valowe lyeth moche shame
357. Be not busy with
359-60. For suche of tymes byddeth them / vnto an euyll feeste
l. 363-6. An yreful body is neuer quyete, nor *in* rest where he doth dwell
l. 367. One amonge .x.
l. 377. To chide and braule seldom
383-4. Malys had in a frendly wyse / maketh a frende of thy fo
385-6. And thou be good thou mayst do good / that is very playne
- p. 93. l. 399-404. To do you a pleasure at nede / ye shall fynde them nere
And thou wylte do for no man / in thy prosperyte
Who then shall do for the / when thou arte in thy aduersyte
411-12. Beware of comon grudgers / for they wyll fayle the at nede
415-16. When such men thynke *them* self most sure / sodaynly they
fal
421-4. In auctoryte, & vnder thy gouernaunce / do no man blame
Fynd few fautes, vse gentyl speche / to get the a good name
- p. 94. l. 427-30. Without hye wordes / *perceyuyng* hym selfe he hath yll done
Tempt no man that is moued / multiplyeng from .ii. to ten
431-2. In malis be not sclaunderus / to thy felow haue no dysdayne
445. For it is sayde of olde / better it is
447. Be gentyll & beware of dysdayne
451-3. Be not couetyse, spende in mesure / accordyng as thou hast
Beware of moche speakyng
455-6. It is wysdome to speake lytell / for moche is taken for vyce
- p. 95. l. 463-4. An honest man wyl vse his wordes / to put no man in dout
467-70. In myne owne turne sodaynly / may I take a fall
There is that can good skyl / and lacketh it shuld go therto
482-4. . . . to be mery or sad, to serue god or deuyll
Cunnyng not vsed grace without gouernaunce / is very euyll
491. They do forget honestye
493. Displesure of *them* that lacke maner,

- p. 96. l. 499-500. He may not be agaynsayd, he thynketh hym selfe none such
 503-4. They thynke theyr owne conceyte wyse, yet it is very thyn
 505-8. Trauers not in one tale / stedfastnes wyl enhau^{nce} thy name
 Lyght in speche and slowe in dedes / ywys it is great shame
 517-20. Bost the of no bawdynesse / for to haue it knownen
 Do well yet some wyl say yll / an euyl name is sone blowen
 523-4. Vse wordes lyke apparel / or let apparel be lyke your speche
 528. . . . then all your gardes and hoodes
 531-2. yf thou be as good as they / els shalt thou haue dysdayne
- p. 97. l. 539-40. The lesse thou medlest / the better shalte thou please
 543-4. To be beloued / is the propertye of a wyse man
 547-50. For thy speche is sone perceyued / thy tale shall iudge the
 best
 Prayse not thy selfe / bycause thou woldest haue souereyn^{te}
 556. . . . vse them not for shame
 558. . . . for ynough is a treasure
 559-60. Moche laughyng is reputed / in suche as lacketh nurture
 562. . . . to be mery amonge is anauntage
 567-8. For with a good forethought, ye may make a frend at nede
- p. 98. l. 575-6. And so content with a lytell payne, then after with sorowe
 599-600. Be as glad to brynge it / then thou mayst borowe agayne
 603-4. yf thou fayle then foloweth payne / then is it derely bought
- p. 99. l. 621-2. A prodygal man / wyl aboue his degre couet to mayntayne
 So may not he prosper / spendynge his goodes in vayne
 628. . . . then apereth thy wysdome to late
 629-36. He that worketh by good counsell / doth many a man please
 It is to his frende great pleasure / & to hym selfe greate ease
 He thou hast displeased haue in suspect / yf he speke playne
 Such malys is ofte in mynd / tyll he be payed home agayne
- p. 100. l. 641-4. When y^u hast loue, seke for profyte / loue endureth not euer
 It ebbeth & floweth / it lasteth no lenger then pleseth y^e
 gyuer
 646. . . . gentelly go and se
 It it (*sic*) agaynst maner / he shulde ryse and come to the
 651. Alway crauyng / carynge for them selues / and not for thyne
 654. . . . y^e pore asketh nought els of thy good
 659. Fayre speche with a subtyl tonge,
 663-4. An honest man to mocke or rebuke / it is agaynst al curtesye
 667-8. Of good sayeng cometh no yll / wherfore say well for shame
 673-6. A pore man wyse is worshyp / in a gentylman vnstable is foly
 Worshypful byrth & shamfull yfe / in a gentylman is vngoodly
- p. 101. l. 677-85. A gentylman mercyful / a chorle spyteful is great diuersyte
 One lyberal, another couetous, sheweth theyr natyuyte
 Poore men faythfull, and gentylmen deceytful in lyuynge
 The gredy myndes of rulers / hath caused blode shedyng
 Grace foloweth good gouernauns

- p. 101, l. 695-6. Some be lyberal of theyr tonges, counsel they can not bynde
 700. . . . gyue no *sentens* tyl truth by tryed out
 703-4. In my mynde I holde it best, thy counsell neuer bewray
 707-14. When counsel is closed in thy brest, vttraunce wyl the rue
 It is good to kepe close counsel, except sufficyent probacyon
- p. 102. A knot vnknyt is easy to slack, y^e people are ful of decepcion
 l. 713. Take hede to whom y^a brekest thy mynde, onely for flattery
 727-8. Better is a trewe rebuke of thy fo, then a fals prayse of thy frende
 731-2. Put apart al sad fantases, & shew them gentyl familyaryte
 739-40. A smal reward pleseth a frend, empty fystes can not hawkes reclayme
- p. 103. l. 755-6. yf they be gentyll and pleased, men wyll report them kynde
 758. . . . but gently be contented
 761-4. A man controllyng & yl to please, & in payment nothyng lyberal
 It commeth nothyng of gentylnesse, to be prodygall
 769-72. Regard thy honesty in euery company, where tyme is spent
 Conuay nothyng therof to thy self / so men wyll not be content
 775-6. Vse gentyll pastyme / then wyll men commende thy myrth
- p. 104. *after* } Go no further then behoueth the / lest thou haue blame
 l. 784 *insert* } In truste is treason, be ruled by reason / euer fle from shame
 787-8. A tale well knowen may be well tolde the (trueth tryed out)
 791-6. I holde it of this matter / beste for to make an ende
 He that wyll not for wysdome seke / is not his owne frende
- p. 105-7. *The Prose Part of the Rule of Honest Liuing is omitted.*
- p. 108. l. 14. Hewe Rodes one of the kynges chapell. Imprynted
 at London in paules chyrchyarde by Thomas Petyt.

A few notes to fill up a page and a quarter.

Words of villany, p. 64. Loose talk and swearing. From Roberde of Brunne downwards, and before him long, no doubt, the English habit of swearing has been cause of sharp reproof. R. Brunne rebukes the gentlemen of his time for it :

pys gentyl men, pys gettours,	3oure vnkynde vpbreydyng,
Pey ben but Goddys turmentours ;	3e shul go a deueyl weye
Pey turmente hym alle þat þey may,	But 3e amende 3ou ar 3e deye ;
Wyþ fals oþys nyȝt and day.	For euery gadlyng nat wurþ a pere
But 3e leue 3oure fals sweryng,	Takyth ensample at 3ow to swere.

Handlyng Synne, p. 26, l. 761-70.

Andrew Borde says "in all the worlde, there is not suche odyble swear-

ynge as is vsed in Englande, speecyally amonges youth and chyldren, whiche is a detestable thyng to here it, and no man doth go aboute to punysse it."

Regyment, fol. D .ij. back.

In Edward the Fourth's Court the fine for swearing was that the offender should have "no wyne at the meles." *H. Ord.*, p. 68.

Page 66, l. 11. *House of office*. Compare 'And of all thynges let the butterye, the celler, the kytchyn, the larder house, with all other *houses of offyces* be kepte cleane. Andrew Borde. *Regyment*. fol. B. iv.

Tooth pick, p. 78, l. 245-8. When were *tooth-picks* introduced into England?

The Anglo-Saxons had them, seemingly. Mr Cockayne translates *do medmicel on þa eagan mid toþ gare* (Leechdoms, ii. 36) by "Introduce a small quantity [of the eye-salve] into the eyes with a *tooth-pick*." But the *gar* may have been a surgical tooth-instrument, a scraper, and not a substitute at dinner for Rhodes's stick. Withals, 1556, gives 'a tothe picker, *dentiscalpium*.' Thierry, in 1564—(Estienne 1539 and -49 re-edited: Way) has '*Vn curedent, Dentiscalpium*.' Levins in 1570 gives "a Pike for the eares, teeth &c., *scalprum*." *Manipulum*, Pref. p. vi. ed. 1866; and then come all the authorities collected by Nares, who says:

Tooth-picks appear to have been first brought into use in Italy; whence the traveller who had visited that country, particularly wished to exhibit that symbol of gentility.

"Now your traueller,

Hee and his *tooth-picke* at my worship's messe." *King John*, i. 1.

The equipment of a fine gentleman is thus described by Massinger:

"I have all that's requisite

To the making up of a signior: my spruce ruff,
My hooded cloak, long stocking, and paned hose,
My case of *toothpicks*, and my silver fork
To convey an olive neatly to my mouth."

The Great Duke of Florence, Act iii. (p. 179, col. 2. ed. 1839).

They were even worn at one time as an ornament in the hat.

"Answer the time of request, Virginitie like an olde Courtier, weares her cap out of fashion, richly suted, but vnsuteable; iust like the brooch & the *tooth-pick*, which were not now." *All's Well that Ends Well*, i. 1.

See also Nares's quotations under *picktooth*, and his Editors' extract from the *Nomenclator* (? ed. 1585, not that of 1548 noticed in the Promptorium), 'Dentiscalpium. . . Curedent. A tooth-scraper or *tooth-rake*.' Cotgrave in 1611 has '*Cure-dent, A tooth-picke*', and Harrington, 1624, says 'cleanse the teeth either with Iuory or a Harts horne, or some *picker* of pure siluer or gold.'

The
Boke of Nurture

Folowynge Englands gise,

BY ME

John Russell,

SUM TYME SERUANDE WITH DUKE VMFREY OF GLOWCETUR,
A PRYNCE FULLE ROYALLE, WITH WHOM VSCHERE IN
CHAMBUR WAS Y, AND MERSHALLE ALSO
IN HALLE.

Edited from the Harleian MS. 4011 in the British Museum

BY

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Journal of the

Exploring Expedition

1842-1843

Under the command of

John C. Fremont

Major, U.S. Army

Vol. I

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John Russells

Boke of Nurture.

[Harl. MS. 4011, Fol. 171.]

In nomine patris, god kepe me / et filij for charite,
Et spiritus sancti, where that y goo by lond
or els by see!

In the name of
the Father, Son,
and Holy Ghost,
God keep me!

an vsshre y Am / ye may beholde / to a
prynce of highe degre,

I am an Usher
to a Prince, and

4 þat enioyethe to enforme & teche / alle þo thatt
wille thrive & thee¹,

delight in
teaching

Of suche thynges as here-aftur shalle be shewed by
my diligence

To them þat nought Can / with-owt gret exsperience;
Therefore yf any mañ þat y mete withe, þat² for fawt
of necligence,

the inex-
perienced.

8 y wylle hym enforme & teche, for hurtynge of my
Conscience.

To teche vertew and connynge, me thynkethe hit
charitable,

It is charitable to
teach

for moche youthe in connynge / is bareñ & fulle
vnable;

ignorant youths.

þerfore he þat no good cañ / ne to noon wille be
agreable.

If any such won't
learn,

12 he shalle neuer y-thryve / þerfore take to hym a
babulle.

give them a toy.

¹ do, get on.

² ? þat = nought can.

One May I went
to a forest,

and by the
Forester's leave
walked in the
woodland,

where I saw three
herds of deer

in the sunshine.

A young man
with a bow was
going to stalk
them,

but I asked him
to walk with me,

and inquired
whom he served.

'No one but
myself,

and I wish I was
out of this world.'

As y rose owt of my bed, in a mery sesoun of may,
to sporte me in a forest / where sightes were
fresche & gay,
y met with þe forster / y prayed hym to say me not
nay,
16 þat y mygh[t] walke in to his lawnde¹ where þe
deere lay.
as y wandered weldsomly² / in-to þe lawnd þat was
so grene,
þer lay iij. herdis of deere / a semely syght for to
sene ;
y behild oñ my right hand / þe soñ þat shoñ so
shene ;
20 y saw where walked / a semely yonge mañ, þat
sklendur was & leene ;
his bowe he toke in hand toward þe deere to stalke ;
y prayed hym his shote to leue / & softly with me
to walke.
þis yonge mañ was glad / & louyd with me to talke,
24 he prayed þat he myȝt withe me goo / in to som
herne³ or halke⁴ ;
þis yonge mañ y frayned⁵ / with hoom þat he
wonned þañ,
"So god me socoure," he said / "Sir, y serue my-
self / & els noon oþer mañ."
"is þy gouernaunce good?" y said, / "soñ? say me
ȝiff þow cañ."
28 "y wold y were owt of þis world" / seid he / "y
ne rouȝt how sone whañ."

¹ The Lawnd in woodes. *Saltus nemorum*. Baret, 1580.
Saltus, a launde. Glossary in *Rel. Ant.*, v. 1, p. 7, col. 1; *saltus*, a
forest-pasture, woodland-pasture, woodland; a forest.

² at will. A.S. *wilsum*, free willed.

³ A.S. *hirne*, corner. Dan. *hjørne*.

⁴ Halke or hyrne. *Angulus, latibulum*; A.S. *hylca, sinus*.
Promptorium Parvulorum and note.

⁵ AS. *fregnan*, to ask; Goth., *fraihnan*; Germ., *fragen*.

- “ Sey nought so, good soñ, beware / me thynkethe ‘dood son,
 þow menyst amysse ;
 for god forbedithe wanhope, for þata horrible synne despair is sin ;
 ys, tell me what the
 þerfore Soñ, open thyñ hert / for peraveñture y matter is.
 cowl the lis¹ ; When the pain is
 32 “ when bale is hext / þañ bote is next” / good sone, greatest the cure
 lerne welle þis.” is nearest !
 “ In certeyñ, sir / y haue y-sought / Ferre & nere ‘ Sir, I’ve tried
 many a wilsom way everywhere for a
 to gete mete² a mastir ; & for y cowl nouzt / euery master ; but be-
 mañ seid me nay, cause I know
 y cowl no good, ne noon y shewde / where euer y nothing, no one
 ede day by day will take me.’
 36 but wantoun & nyce, recheles & lewde / as Iange-
 lynge as a Iay.”
- “ **N**ow, son, ziff y the teche, wiltow any thyng [Fol. 171 b.]
 lere ? ‘ Will you learn if
 I’ll teach you ?
 wiltow be a seruaunde, plowzmañ, or a laborere, What do you
 want to be ?
 Courtyour or a clark / Marchaund / or masoun, or
 an artificere,
 40 Chamburlayn, or buttillere / pantere or karvere ? ”
- “ **T**he office of buttiler, sir, trewly / pantere or ‘ A Butler, Sir,
 chamburlayne, Panter, Chamber-
 lain, and Carver.
 The connyng of a kervere, specially / of þat y wold Teach me the
 lerne fayne duties of these.’
 alle þese connynges to haue / y say yow in certayñ,
 44 y shuld pray for youre sowle nevyr to come in
 payne.”
- “ **S**on, y shalle teche þe withe ryght a good wille, ‘ I will, if you’ll
 love God and be
 So þat þow loue god & drede / for þat is ryght and
 skylle,

¹ AS. *lis* remissio, lenitas ; Dan. *lise*, Sw. *lisa*, relief. ² for me to

true to your
master.

and to þy mastir be trew / his goodes þat þow not
spille,

48 but hym loue & drede / and hys commaundement;
dew / fulfyll.

A Panter or
Butler must have

The furst yere, my soñ, þow shalle be pantere or
buttilare,

three knives :

þow must haue iij. knyffes kene / in pantry, y sey
the, euermare :

1 to chop loaves,
1 to pare them,

Oñ knyfe þe loves to choppe, another them for to
pare,

1 to smooth the
trenchers.

52 the iij. sharpe & kene to smothe þe trenchurs and
square.¹

Give your Sove-
reign new bread,

alwey thy soueraynes bred thow choppe, & þat it be
newe & able ;

others one-day-
old bread ;
for the house,
three-day bread ;
for trenchers
four-day bread ;

se alle oper bred a day old or þou choppe to þe table ;
alle howsold bred iij. dayes old / so it is profitable ;
56 and trencher bred iiij. dayes is conveyent & agre-
able.

Have your salt
white,
and your salt-
planer of ivory,

loke þy salte be sutille, whyte, fayre and drye,
and þy planere for thy salte / shalle be made of
yverye /

two inches
broad, three long.

þe brede þerof ynches two / þen þe length, ynche
told thrye ;

60 and þy salt sellere lydde / towche not thy salt bye.

Have your table
linen sweet and
clean,

Good soñ, loke þat þy napery be soote / & also
feyre & clene,

your knives
bright,

bordclothe, towelle & napkyñ, foldyñ alle bydene.
bryght y-pullished youre table knyve, semely in
syȝt to sene ;

spoons well
washed,

64 and þy spones fayre y-wasche / ye wote welle what
y meene.

¹ In Sir John Fastolfe's *Bottre*, 1455, are "ij. kerving knyves ; iij. knyves in a schethe, the haftys of every (ivory) withe naylys gilt . . . j. trencher-knyfe." *Domestic Arch.*, v. 3, p. 157-8. *Hec mensacula*, a dressyng-knyfe, p. 256 ; trencher-knyves, *mensaculos*. Jn. de Garlande, Wright's Vocab. p. 123.

- looke þow haue tarrers¹ two / a more & lasse for two wine-augers,
 wyne ;
 wyne canels² accordynge to þe tarrers, of box fetice some box taps,
 & fyne ;
 also a gymlet sharpe / to broche & perce / sone to a broaching
gimlet,
 turne & twyne,
 68 with fawcet³ & tampyne⁴ redy / to stoppe when ye a pipe and bung.
 se tyme.
 So when þow settyst a pipe abroche / good [sone,] To broach a pipe,
 do aftur my lore :
 iiij fyngur ouer / þe nere chyne⁵ þow may percer or pierce it with an
auger or gimlet,
four fingers-
 bore ;
 with tarrere or gymlet perce ye vpward þe pipe ashore, breadth over the
lower rim,
 72 and so shalle ye not cawse þe lies vp to ryse, y so that the dregs
may not rise.
 warne yow euer more.
 Good sone, alle maner frute / þat longethe for seson
 of þe yere, Serve Fruit ac-
cording to the
season,
 Fygges / reysons / almandes, dates / buttur, chese⁶ / figs, dates,
 nottus, apples, & pere,
 Compostes⁷ & confites, chare de quynces / white & quince-mar-
malade, ginger,
&c.
 grene gyngere ;

¹ An Augre, or wimble, wherewith holes are bored. Terebra & terebrum. *Vng tarriere*. Baret's Alvearie, 1580.

² A Cannell or gutter. *Canalis*. Baret. *Tuyau*, a pipe, quill, cane, reed, canell. Cotgrave. *Canelle*, the faucet [l. 68] or quill of a wine vessel ; also, the cocke, or spout of a conduit. Cot.

³ A Faucet, or tappe, a flute, a whistle, a pipe as well to conueigh water, as an instrument of Musicke. *Fistula* . . *Tubulus*. Baret.

⁴ *Tampon*, a bung or stopple. Cot. *Tampyon* for a gon—*tampon*. Palsg.

⁵ The projecting rim of a cask. Queen Elizabeth's 'yeoman drawer hath for his fees, all the lees of wine within fowre fingers of the *chine*, &c.' *H. Ord.* p. 295, (referred to by Halliwell).

⁶ This may be *butter-cheese*, milk- or cream-cheese, as contrasted with the 'hard chese' l. 84-5 ; but butter is treated of separately, l. 89.

⁷ Fruit preserves of some kind ; not the stew of chickens, herbs, honey, ginger, &c., for which a recipe is given on p. 18 of *Liber Cure Cocorum*. Cotgrave has *Composte* : f. A condiment or compo-

76 and ffor aftur questyons, or þy lord sytte / of hym
þow know & enquere.

[Fol. 172.]
Before dinner,
plums and grapes;

after, pears, nuts,
and hard cheese.

Serve fastynge / plommys / damsons / cherries /
and grapis to plese ;

aftur mete / peeris, nottys / strawberries, wýneberies,¹
and hardchese,

also blawnderelles,² pepyns / careaway in comfyte /
Compostes³ ar like to þese.

After supper,
roast apples, &c.

80 aftur sopper, roasted apples, peris, blanche powder,⁴
your stomak for to ese.

sition; a wet sucket (wherein sweet wine was vsed in stead of sugar), also, a pickled or winter Sallet of hearbes, fruits, or flowers, condited in vinegar, salt, sugar, or sweet wine, and so keeping all the yeare long; any hearbes, fruit, or flowers in pickle; also pickle it selfe. Fr. *compote*, stewed fruit. The Recipe for *Compost* in the *Forme of Cury*, Recipe 100 (C), p. 49-50, is "Take rote of persel. pasternak of raseñs. scrape hem and waische hem clene. take rapis & cabochis ypared and icorne. take an erthen panne with clene water, & set it on the fire. cast all þise þerinne. whan þey both boiled, cast þerto peeris, & parboile hem wel. take þise thyngis up, & lat it kele on a fair cloth, do þerto salt whan it is colde in a vessel; take vinegur, & powdour, & safroun, & do þerto, & lat alle þise þingis lye þerin al nyȝt oþer al day, take wyne greke and hony clarified togidur, lumbarde mustard, & raisouns corance al hool. & grynde powdour of canel, powdour douce, & aneys hole. & fenell seed. take alle þise þingis, & cast togydur in a pot of erthe. and take þerof whan þou wilt, & serue forth."

¹ ? not A.S. *winberie*, a wine-berry, a grape, but our *Whinberry*. But 'Wineberries, currants', Craven Gloss.; Sw. *vin-bär*, a currant.

² *Blandureau*, m. The white apple, called (in some part of England) a Blaundrell. Cotgrave.

³ See note to l. 75.

⁴ *Pouldre blanche*. A powder compounded of Ginger, Cinnamon, and Nutmegs; much in use among Cookes. Cotgrave. Is there any authority for the statement in *Domestic Architecture*, v. 1, p. 132; that sugar 'was sometimes called *blanch powdre*'? P.S.—Probably the recollection of what Pegge says in the Preface to the *Forme of Cury*, "There is mention of *blanch-powder* or *white sugar*," 132 [p. 63]. They, however, were not the same, for see No. 193, p. xxvi-xxvii. On turning to the Recipe 132, of "Peeris in confyt," p. 62-3, we find "whan þei [the pears] both ysode, take hem up, make a syrup of wyne greke. oþer vernage with blanche powdur, oþer white sugur, and powdour gyngur, & do the peris þerin." It is needless to say that if a modern recipe said take

Bewar at eve * / of crayme of cowe & also of the
goote, þau3 it be late,
of Strawberies & hurtilberyes / with the cold
Ioncate,¹

In the evening
don't take cream,
[* 'at eve' has a
red mark through
as if to cut it out]
strawberries, or
junket,

For þese may marre many a mañ changynge his
astate,

84 but 3iff he haue aftur, hard chese / wafurs, with
wyne ypocrate.²

unless you eat
hard cheese with
them.

hard chese³ hathe þis condicioun in his operacioun:
Furst he wille a stomak kepe in the botom open,
the helthe of euery creature ys in his condicioun ;

Hard cheese
keeps your bowels
open.

88 yf he diete hym thus dayly / he is a good conclusioun.

buttir is an holsom mete / furst and eke last,⁴

Butter is whole-
some in youth and
old age, anti-
poisonous,

For he wille a stomak kepe / & helpe poyson a-wey
to cast,

also he norishethe a mañ to be laske / and evy
humerus to wast,

and aperient.

92 and with white bred / he wille kepe þy mouthe in tast.

"sugar or honey," sugar could not be said "to be sometimes called" honey. See Dawson Turner in Howard Household Books.

¹ *Ioncade*: f. A certaine spoone-meat made of creame, Rose-water and Sugar. Cotgrave.

² See the recipe to make it, lines 121-76 ; and in *Forme of Cury*, p. 161.

³ Muffett held a very different opinion. 'Old and dry cheese hurteth dangerously : for it stayeth siege [stools], stoppeth the Liver, engendereth choler, melancholy, and the stone, lieth long in the stomack undigested, procureth thirst, maketh a stinking breath and a scurvy skin : Whereupon Galen and Isaac have well noted, That as we may feed liberally of ruin cheese, and more liberally of fresh Cheese, so we are not to taste any further of old and hard Cheese, then to close up the mouth of our stomacks after meat, p. 131.

⁴ In youth and old age. Muffett says, p. 129-30, "according to the old Proverb, *Butter is Gold in the morning, Silver at noon, and Lead at night*. It is also best for children whilst they are growing, and for old men when they are declining ; but very unwholesom betwixt those two ages, because through the heat of young stomacks, it is forthwith converted into choler [bile]. The Dutchmen have a by-Verse amongst them to this effect

*Eat Butter first, and eat it last,
And live till a hundred years be past.'*

Milk, Junket,
Posset, &c.,
are binding.
Eat hard cheese
after them.

Milke, crayme, and cruddes, and eke the Ioncate,¹
þey close a mannes stomak / and so dothe þe possate ;
þerfore ete hard chese aftir, yef ye sowpe late,
96 and drynk romney modoun,² for feere of chekmate.³

Beware of green
meat; it weakens
your belly.

beware of saladis, grene metis, & of frutes rawe
for þey make many a mañ haue a feble mawe.
þerfore, of suche fresch lustes set not an hawe,
100 For suche wantoun appetites ar not worth a strawe.

For food that sets
your teeth on
edge, eat almonds
and cheese,

alle maner metis þat þy tethe oñ egge doth sette,
take almondes þerfore ; & hard chese loke þou not
for-gette.

hit wille voide hit away / but looke to moche þerof
not þou ete ;

but not more than
half an ounce.

104 for þe wight of half an vnce with-owt rompney is
gret.

If drinks have
given you indi-
gestion, eat a raw
apple.

3iff dyuerse drynkes of theirre fumosite haue þe dis-
sesid,

Ete an appulle rawe, & his fumosite wille becesed ;
measure is a mery meene / whañ god is not dis-
plesed ;

Moderation is
best sometimes,
at others
abstinence.

108 abstynens is to prayse what body & sowle ar plesed.

Look every night
that your wines

Take good hede to þe wynes / Red, white / &
swete,

don't ferment or
leak [the *t* of the
MS. has a *k* over
it] ;
and wash the
heads of the pipes
with cold water.

looke euery nyȝt with a Candelle þat þey not
reboyle / nor lete ;

euery nyȝt with cold watur washe þe pipes hede,
& hit not forgete,

Always carry a
gimlet, adze,
and linen cloths.

112 & alle-vey haue a gymlet, & a dise,⁴ with lynneñ
clowtes smalle or grete.

¹ See note to l. 82.

² See 'Rompney of Modoñ,' among the sweet wines, l. 119.

³ *Eschee & mat.* Checke-mate at Chests ; and (metaphorically)
a remedillesse disaster, miserie, or misfortune. Cot.

⁴ ? *ascia*, a dyse, Vocab. in *Reliq. Ant.* v. 1, p. 8, col. 1 ; *ascia*,
1. an axe ; (2. a mattock, a hoe ; 3. an instrument for mixing
mortar). *Diessel*, ofte *Diechsel*, A Carpenter-axe, or a Chip-axe.
Hexham.

- 3iff þe wyne reboyle / þow shalle know by hys syngynge ;
 þerfore a pipe of coloure de rose¹ / þou kepe þat was spend in drynkyng
 the reboyle to Rakke to þe lies of þe rose / þat shalle be his amendynge.
 116 3iff swete wyne be seeke or pallid / put in a Rompney for lesynge.²
- If the wine boil over,
 put to it the lees of red wine,
 [Fol. 172 b.]
 and that will cure it.
 Romney will bring round sick sweet wine.

Swete Wynes.³

- T**he namys of swete wynes y wold þat ye them knewe :
 Vernage, vernagelle, wyne Cute, pyment, Raspise,
 Muscadelle of grew,
 Rompney of modoñ, Bastard, Tyre, Ozey, Torrentyne of Ebrew.
 120 Greke, Malevesyñ, Caprik, & Clarey whañ it is newe.
- The names of Sweet Wines.

Ypocras.

- G**ood soñ, to make ypocras, hit were gret lernynge,
 and for to take þe spice þerto aftur þe proportionynge,
 Gynger, Synamome / Graynis, Sugur / Turnesole, þat is good colourynge ;
 124 For commyñ peple / Gynger, Canelle / longe pepur / hony aftur claryfyng.
- Recipe for making Ypocras.
 Take spices thus,
 Cinnamon, &c., for lordes⁴
 [MS.]
 long Pepper
 fo[r]commynthe

¹ ? The name of the lees of some red wine. Phillips has *Rosa Solis*, a kind of Herb ; also a pleasant Liquor made of Brandy, Sugar, Cinnamon, and other Ingredients agreeable to the Taste, and comfortable to the Heart. (So called, as being at first prepared wholly of the juice of the plant *ros-solis* (sun-dew) or *drosera*. Dict. of Arts and Sciences, 1767.)

² See note, l. 31. ³ See note on these wines at the end of the poem.

⁴ In the Recipe for Jussel of Flessh (Household Ord., p. 462), one way of preparing the dish is 'for a Lorde,' another way 'for Commons.' Other like passages also occur.

- Have three basins look ye haue of pewtur basons oon, two, & thre,
For to kepe in youre powdurs / also þe licour
þerin to renne when þat nede be ;
- and three strain-
ing-bags to them ; to iij. basouns ye must haue iij bagges renners / so
clepe ham we,
- hang 'em on a perch. 128 & hange þem on a perche, & looke þat Sure they be.
Se þat youre gynger be welle y-pared / or hit to
powder ye bete,
- Let your ginger
be well pared, and þat hit be hard / with-owt worme / bytynge,
& good hete ;
- hard, not worm-
eaten, For good gynger colombyne / is best to drynke
and ete ;
- (Colombyne is
better 132 Gynger valadyne & maydelyñ ar not so holsom
in mete.
- than Valadyne or
Maydelyne);
- your sticks of
Cinnamon thin, looke þat your stikkes of synamome be thyñ,
bretille, & fayre in colewre,
- hot and sweet; and in youre mowthe, Fresche, hoot, & swete / þat
is best & sure,
- Canel is not so
good. For canelle is not so good in þis crafte & cure.
- Cinnamon is hot
and dry, 136 Synamome is hoot & dry in his worchyng while
he wille dure.
- Cardamons are
hot and moist.
Take sugar or Graynes of paradise,¹ hoot & moyst þey be :
Sugre of .iij. cute² / white / hoot & moyst in his
propurte ;
- sugar candy, Sugre Candy is best of alle, as y telle the,
- red wine, 140 and red wyne is whote & drye to tast, fele, & see,
Graynes¹ / gynger, longe pepur, & sugre / hoot &
moyst in worchyng;³
- graines,
ginger,pepper,

¹ Graines. *Cardamomum*, *Graine de paradis*. Baret. 'Graines of Paradise; or, the spice which we call, Graines.' Cotgrave.

² *Cuite*, a seething, baking. Cot.

³ *Spices*. Of those for the Percy Household, 1512, the yearly cost was £25 19s. 7d. for *Piper*, Rasyns of Corens, Prones, *Gynger*, Mace, Clovvez, Sugour, *Cinamom*, Allmonds, Daytts, Nuttmuggs, *Granes*, *Tornesole*, Saunders, *Powder of Annes*, Rice, Coumfetts, *Galyngga*, *Longe Piper*, *Blaynshe Powder*, and Safferon, p. 19, 20. Household Book, ed. Bp. Percy.

Synamome / Canelle¹ / red wyne / hoot & drye in cinnamon, spice,
peire doynge ;

Turnesole² is good & holsom for red wyne colow- and turnesole, and
rynge :

144 alle þese ingredyentes, þey ar for ypocras makynge.

Good soñ, youre powdurs so made, vche by þam put each powder
self in bleddur laid, in a bladder by
itself.

hange sure youre perche & bagges þat þey from Hang your strain-
yow not brayd, ing-bags so that

& þat no bagge touche oþer / do as y haue yow saide ; they mayn't

148 þe furst bag a galoun / alle oþer of a potelle, vchoñ touch,—first bag
by oþer teied. a gallon, others
a pottle.

Furst put in a basoun a galoun ij. or iij. wyne so red ; Put the powders
þeñ put in youre powdurs, yf ye wille be sped, in two or three
and aftyr in-to þe rennere so lett hym be fed, gallons of red
wine; then into
[Fol. 173.]

152 þañ in-to þe second bagge so wold it be ledde. the runner,
the second bag

loke þou take a pece in þyne hand euer more amonge,
and assay it in þy mouthe if hit be any thyng stronge, (tasting and
trying it now and
then),
and if þow fele it welle boþe with mouthe & tonge, and the third
vessel.

156 þañ put it in þe iij. vesselle / & tary not to longe.

And þañ ziff þou feele it be not made parfete, If it's not right,

þat it cast to moche gynger, with synamome alay
þat hete ;

and if hit haue synamome to moche, with gynger add cinnamon,
ginger, or sugar,
as wanted.

of iij. cute ;

160 þañ if to moche sigure þer be / by discressioun ye
may wete.

Thus, son, shaltow make parfite ypocras, as y the say ;

¹ Canel, spyce. *Cinamomum, amomum*. Prompt. Parv. *Canelle*, our moderne Cannell or Cinnamom. Cot. (Named from its tube stalk ?)

² *Tourne-soleil*. Tornesole, Heliotropium. Cotgrave. Take bleue *turnesole*, and dip hit in wyne, that the wyne may catch the colour thereof, and colour the potage therewith. *H. Ord.*, p. 465, and take red *turnesole* steped wel in wyne, and colour the potage with that wyne, *ibid.* 'And then with a little *Turnsole* make it of a high murrey [mulberry] colour.' Markham's Houswife, p. 70.

Mind you keep
tasting it.

Strain it through
bags of fine cloth.

hooped at the
mouth,

the first holding
a gallon, the
others a pottle,

and each with a
basin under it.

The Ypocras is
made.

Use the dregs in
the kitchen.

Put the Ypocras
in a tight clean
vessel,

and serve it with
wafers.

The Buttery.

Keep all cups,
&c., clean.
Don't serve ale
till it's five days
old.

but *with* þy mowthe to prove hit, / be þow tastyng
alle-way ;

let hit renne in iiij. or vj bagges ;¹ gete þem, if þow
may,
164 of bultelle clothe², if þy bagges be þe fynere *with*-
owteñ nay.

Good soñ loke þy bagges be hoopid at þe mothe
a-bove,

þe surere mayst þow put in þy wyne vn-to þy behoue,
þe furst bag of a galoun / alle oþer of a potelle to
prove ;

168 hange þy bagges sure by þe hoopis ; do so for my loue ;

And vndur euery bagge, good soñ, a basoun clere
& bryght ;

and now is þe ypocras made / for to plesse many a
wight.

þe draff of þe spicery / is good for Sewes in kychyn
diȝt ;

172 and ȝiff þow cast hit away, þow dost þy mastir no riȝt.

Now, good son, þyne ypocras is made parfite &
welle ;

y wold þan ye put it in staunche & a clene vesselle,
and þe mouthe þer-off y-stopped euer more wisely
& felle,

176 and serue hit forth *with* wafurs boþe in chambur
& Celle.

The botery.

Thy cuppes / þy pottes, þou se be clene boþe
with-in & owt ;

[T]hyne ale .v. dayes old er þow serue it abowt,

¹ Manche: f. A sleeue ; also a long narrow bag (such as Hypo-
cras is made in). Cotgrave.

² boulding or straining cloth. 'ij bulteclothes.' Status Domus de
Fynchall, A.D. 1360. *Dom. Arch.* v. 1, p. 136, note f.

for ale þat is newe is wastable *with*-owteñ dowl:
 180 And looke þat alle þynge be pure & clene þat ye go
 abowt.

Be fayre of answer / redy to *serue* / and also gentle
 telle of chere,

Be civil and
 obliging,

and þañ meñ wille sey 'þere gothe a gentille officere.'

be ware þat ye geue no persone palled¹ drynke, for
 feere

and give no one
 stale drink.

184 hit myȝt brynge many a man in dissese / durynge
 many a ȝere.

Son, hit is tyme of þe day / þe table wold be layde.

[Fol. 173 b.]

Furst wipe þe table *with* a clothe or þat hit

To lay the Cloth,
 &c.

be splayd,

Wipe the table.

þañ lay a clothe oñ þe table / a cowche² it is
 called & said :

Put a cloth on it
 (a cowche) ;

188 take þy felow oon ende þerof / & þou þat othere
 that brayde,

you take one end,
 your mate the
 other ;

Thañ draw streight þy clothe, & ley þe bouȝt³ cñ þe
 vttur egge of þe table,

lay the fold of the
 second cloth (?) on
 the outer edge of
 the table,

take þe vpper part / & let hyt hange evyñ able :

þañ take þe .iiij. clothe, & ley the bouȝt oñ þe
 Inner side plesable,

that of the third
 cloth (?) on the
 inner.

192 and ley estate *with* the vpper part, þe brede of half
 fote is greable.

Cover þy cuppeborde of thy ewery *with* the towelle
 of diapery ;

Cover your cup-
 board with a
 diaper towel,

take a towelle abowt thy nekke / for þat is curtesy,

put one round
 your neck, one
 side on your left
 arm

lay þat oon side of þe towaile oñ þy lift arme
 manerly,

¹ Stale, dead. Pallyd, as drynke (palled, as ale). *Emortuus*.
 P. Parv. See extract from A. Borde in notes at end.

² See *Dict. de L'Academie*, p. 422, col. 2, ed. 1835. '*Couche*
 se dit aussi de Toute substance qui est étendue, appliquée sur une
 autre, de manière à la couvrir. *Revêtir un mur d'une couche de*
plâtre, de mortier, &c.'

³ Fr. *repli* : m. A fould, plait, or *bought*. Cotgrave. cf. *Bow*, bend.

- with your sove-
reign's napkin ; 196 an oñ þe same arme ley þy soueraignes napkyñ
honestly ;
- on that, eight
loaves to eat, and
three or four
trencher loaves :
in your left hand þañ lay oñ þat arme viij. louys bred / with iij. or
iiij. trenchere lovis ;
- the salt-cellar. Take þat oo ende of þy towaile / in þy lift hand,
as þe maner is,
and þe salt Sellere in þe same hand, looke þat ye do
this ;
- In your right
hand, spoons and
knives. 200 þat oþer ende of þe towaile / in riȝt hand with
spones & knyffes y-wis ;
- Put the Salt on
the right of your
lord ; Set youre salt oñ þe right side / where sittes youre
soverayne,
on its left, a
trencher or two ; oñ þe lyfft Side of youre salt / sett youre trencher
oon & twayne,
on their left, a
knife, oñ þe lifft side of your trenchoure lay youre knyffe
synguler & playñ ;
- then white rolls,
[* a space in the
MS.] 204 and oñ þe * side of youre knyffes / oon by oñ
þe white payne ;
- and beside them
a spoon folded in
a napkin. youre spone vppoñ a napkyñ fayre / ȝet folden
wold he be,
besides þe bred it wold be laid, soñ, y telle the :
- Cover all up. Cover your spone / napkyñ, trencher, & knyff, þat
no mañ hem se.
- At the other end
set a Salt and two
trenchers. 208 at þe oþer ende of þe table / a salt with ij. trench-
ers sett ye.
- [† ? MS.]
*How to wrap up
your lord's bread
in a stately way.* **S**ir,† ȝeff þow wilt wrappe þy soueraynes bred
stately,
Thow must square & proporcoun þy bred clene &
evenly,
and þat no loof ne bunne be more þañ oþer pro-
porcionly,
- Cut your loaves
all equal. 212 and so shaltow make þy wrappe for þy master
manerly ;
- Take a towel two
and a half yards þañ take a towaile of Raynes,¹ of ij. yardes and
half wold it be,

¹ Fine cloth, originally made at Rennes, in Bretagne.

- take þy towaile by the endes dowble / and faire oñ long by the ends,
 a table lay ye,
 þaṇ take þe end of þat bought / an handfulle in fold up a handful
 hande, now here ye me : from each end,
- 216 wrap ye hard þat handfulle or more it is þe styffer,
 y telle þe,
 þaṇ ley betwene þe endes so wrapped, in myddes of and in the middle
 þat towelle, of the folds lay
 viij loves or bonnes, botom to botoṁ, forsothe it eight loaves or
 wille do welle, buns, bottom to
 and when þe looffes ar betweñ, þaṇ wrappe hit put a wrapper
 wisely & felle ;
- 220 and for youre enformacioun more playnly y wille
 yow telle,
 ley it oñ þe vpper part of þe bred, y telle yow [Fol. 174.]
 honestly ; on the top,
 take boþe endis of þe towelle, & draw þem straytly, twist the ends of
 and wrythe an handfulle of þe towelle next þe bred the towel to-
 myghtily, gether,
- 224 and se þat thy wrappere be made strayt & evyñ smooth your
 styffely. wrapper,
- when he is so y-graithed,¹ as riȝt before y haue
 saide,
 þeñ shalle ye open hym thus / & do hit at a
 brayd,
 open þe last end of þy wrappere before þi souerayne and open the end
 laid, of it before your
 lord.
- 228 and youre bred sett in maner & forme: þeñ it is
 honestly arayd.

Soñ, when þy souereignes table is drest in þus After your lord's
 array,
 kouer alle oper bordes with Saltes; trenchers & lay the other
 cuppes þeroñ ye lay ; tables.
 þan emperialle þy Cuppeborde / with Siluer & gild Deck your cup-
 fulle gay, board with plate,

¹ A.S. *gerædian*, to make ready, arrange, prepare.

your washing-
table with basins,
&c.

Have plenty of
napkins, &c.,

and your pots
clean.

Make the *Surnape*
with a cloth under
a double napkin.

Fold the two ends
of your towel, and
one of the cloth,

a foot over,

and lay it smooth
for your lord to
wash with.

The marshal
must slip it along
the table,

and pull it
smooth.

Then raise the
upper part of the
towel,
and lay it even,

232 þy Ewry borde *with* basons & lauour, watur hoot
& cold, eche oper to alay.

loke þat ye haue napkyns, spones, & cuppis euer
y-nowe

to your soueraynes table, youre honeste for to
allowe,

also þat pottes for wyne & ale be as clene as þey
mowe ;

236 be euermore ware of flies & motes, y telle þe, for
þy prowē.

The surnape¹ ye shulle make *with* lowly curtesye
with a clothe vndir a dowble of riȝt feire napry ;
take thy towailes endes next yow *with-out* vilanye,

240 and þe ende of þe clothe oñ þe vttur side of þe
towelle bye ;

Thus alle iij. endes hold ye at onis, as ye welle
may ;

now fold ye alle there at oonys þat a plizt passe
not a fote brede alle way,

þañ lay hyt fayre & evyñ þere as ye cañ hit lay ;

244 þus aftur mete, ȝiff yowre mastir wille wasche, þat
he may.

at þe riȝt ende of þe table ye must it owt gyde,

þe marchalle must hit convey alonge þe table to
glide ;

So of alle iij clothes vppeward þe riȝt half þat tide,

248 and þat it be draw strayt & evyñ boþe in lengthe
& side.

Then must ye draw & reyse / þe vpper parte of þe
towelle,

Ley it *with-out* ruffelynge streiȝt to þat oper side, y
þe telle ;

þañ at euery end þerof convay half a yarde or an elle,

¹ See the mode of laying the Surnape in Henry VII.'s time
described in *H. Ord.*, p. 119, at the end of this Poem.

- 252 þat þe sewere may make¹ a state / & plese his mastir so that the Sewer
welle. (arranger of
dishes) may make
a state.
- whan þe state hath wasche, þe surnap drawne When your lord
playne, has washed,
- þeñ must ye bere forþe þe surnape before youre take up the Sur-
soueraigne, nape with your
- and so must ye take it vppe withe youre armes two arms,
twayne,
- 256 and to þe Ewery bere hit youre silf agayne. and carry it back
to the Ewery.
- a-bowt youre nekke a towelle ye bere, so to serue Carry a towel
your lorde, round your neck.
- þa to hym make eurtessie, for so it wille accorde.
- vnkeuer youre brede, & by þe salt sette hit euyñ Uncover your
oñ þe borde; bread;
- 260 looke þere be knyfe & spone / & napkyñ with- see that all diners
outy[n] any worde. have knife, spoon,
and napkin.
- Euer whañ ye departe from youre soueraigne, looke [Fol. 174 b.]
ye bowe your knees; Bow when you
leave your lord.
- to þe port-payne² forthe ye passe, & þere viij. Take eight loaves
loues ye leese: from the bread-
cloth,
- Set at eijur end of þe table .iiij. loofes at a mese, and put four at
each end.
- 264 þa looke þat ye haue napkyñ & spone euery
persone to plese.
- wayte welle to þe Sewere how many potages Lay for as many
keuered he; persons as the
- keuer ye so many personis for youre honeste. Sewer has set
potages for,
- þa serve forthe youre table / vche persone to his
degre,
- 268 and þat þer lak no bred / trenchoure, ale, & wyne / and have plenty
euermore ye se. of bread and
drink.

¹ *make* is repeated in the MS.

² "A *Portpayne* for the said Pantre, an elne longe and a yerd brode." The *Percy*, or Northumberland Household Book, 1512, (ed. 1827), p. 16, under *Lynnon Clothe*. 'A *porte paine*, to beare breade fro the Pantree to the table with, *lintheum panarium*.' Withals.

Be lively and
soft-spoken, clean
and well dressed.

be glad of chere / Curteise of kne / & soft of speche,
Fayre handes, clene nayles / honest arrayed, y the
teche ;

Don't spit or put
your fingers into
cups.

Coughe * not, ner spitte, nor to lowd ye reche,
272 ne put youre fyngurs in the cuppe / mootes for to
seche.

Stop all blaming

yet to alle þe lordes haue ye a sight / for grog-
gyng & atwytyng¹

and backbiting,

of fellows þat be at þe mete, for þeire bakbytyng ;

and prevent
complaints.

Se þey be serued of bred, ale, & wyne, for com-
playnyng,

276 and so shalle ye haue of alle meñ / good loue &
praysyng.

*General Directions
for Behaviour.*

Symple condicions.

Symple Condicyons of a persone þat is not taught,
y wille ye eschew, for euermore þey be nowght.
youre hed ne bak ye claw / a fleigh as þaughe ye
sought,

Don't claw your
back, as if after
a flea;
or your head, as if
after a louse.

280 ne youre heere ye stryke, ne pyke / to pralle² for a
flesche mought.³

See that your eyes
are not blinking

Glowtyng⁴ ne twynkelyng with youre yze / ne to
heuy of chere,

and watery.

watery / wynkyng / ne droppynge / but of sight clere.

Don't pick your
nose, or let it
drop,

pike not youre nose / ne þat hit be droppynge
with no peerlis clere,

or blow it too
loud,

284 Snyff nor snityng⁵ hyt to lowd / lest youre
souerayne hit here.

* Mark over *h*. ¹ A.S. *ætwtan*, *twit*; *oðwtan*, blame.

² 'prowl, proll, to seek for prey, from Fr. *proie* by the addition of a formative *l*, as kneel from knee.' Wedgwood.

³ Louse is in English in 1530 'Louse, a beest—*pov*. Palsgrave. And see the note, p. 19, *Book of Quinte Essence*.

⁴ To look sullen (?). *Glowting* round her rock, to fish she falls. Chapman, in Todd's Johnson. Horreur and *glouting* admiration. Milton. *Glouting* with sullen spight. Garth.

⁵ Snytn a nese or a candyl. *Emungo*, *mungo*. Prompt. Parv. *Emunctio*, to make cleane the nose. *Emunctio*, snuffyng or wypyng

- wrye not youre nek a doyle¹ as hit were a dawwe ; or twist your neck.
 put not youre handes in youre hosen youre codware² Don't claw your
 for to clawe, cods,
 nor pikynge, nor trifelynge / ne shrukkynge as
 pau3 ye wold sawe ;
 288 your hondes frote ne rub / brydelynge with brest rub your hands,
 vppoñ your cawe ;
 with youre eris pike not / ner be ye slow of herynge ; pick your ears,
 areche / ne spitt to ferre / ne haue lowd laughynge ; retch, or spit too
 Speke not lowd / be war of mowynge³ & far.
 scornynge ;
 292 be no lier with youre mouthe / ne lykorous, ne Don't tell lies,
 dryvelynge.
 with youre mouthe ye vse nowper to squyrt, nor or squirt with
 spowt ; your mouth,
 be not gapynge nor ganynge, ne with py mouth gape, pout, or
 to powt ;
 lik not with py tonge in a disch, a mote to haue owt. put your tongue
 296 Be not rasche ne recheles, it is not worth a clowt. in a dish to pick
 [Fol. 175.]
 with youre brest / sighe, nor cowghe / nor brethe, Don't cough,
 youre souerayne before ;
 be yoxinge,⁴ ne bolkynge / ne gronynge, neuer pe hiccup, or belch,
 more ;

of the nose. Cooper. *Snuyt uw neus*, Blow your nose. Sewel, 1740 ; but *snuyven, ofte snuffen*, To Snuffe out the Snot or Filth out of ones Nose. Hexham, 1660. A learned friend, who in his bachelor days investigated some of the curiosities of London Life, informs me that the modern Cockney term is *sling*. In the dress-circle of the Bower Saloon, Stangate, admission 3d., he saw stuck up, four years ago, the notice, "*Gentlemen* are requested not to *sling*," and being philologically disposed, he asked the attendant the meaning of the word.

¹ askew. *Doyle*, squint. Gloucestershire. Halliwell.

² Codde, of mannys pryuyte (preuy membris). *Piga, mentula*. Promptorium Parvulorum.

³ Mowe or skorne, *Vangia vel valgia*. Catholicon, in P. P.

⁴ 3yxyñ *Singulcio*. 3yxynge *singultus*. P. P. To yexe, sobbe, or haue the hicket. *Singultio*. Baret. To yexe or sobbe, *Hicken*, To Hick, or to have the Hick-hock. Hexham.

straddle your legs,		with youre feet trampelynge, ne settinge youre leggis a shore ¹ ;
or scrub your body.	300	with youre body be not shrubbynge ² ; Iettyng ³ is no loore.
Don't pick your teeth,		Good soñ, þy tethe be not pikyng ⁴ , grisynge, ⁴ ne gnastyng ⁵ ;
cast stinking breath on your lord,		ne stynkyng ⁶ of brethe oñ youre souerayne castyng ⁶ ; with puffyng ⁶ ne blowyng ⁶ , nowþer fulle ne fastyng ⁶ ;
fire your stern guns, or expose	304	and alle wey be ware of þy hyndur part from gunnes blastyng ⁶ .
your codware		These Cuttid ⁶ galauntes with their codware ; þat is añ vngoodly gise ;— Other tacches ⁷ as towchyng ⁶ / y spare not to myspraue aftur myne avise,—

¹ þ shorewise, as shores. 'Schore, undur settinge of a þyng þat wolde falle.' P. Parv. Du. *Schooren*, To Under-prop. *Aller eschays*, To shale, stradle, goe crooked, or wide betweene the feet, or legs. Cotgrave.

² Dutch *Schrobden*, To Rubb, to Scrape, to Scratch. Hexham.

³ Iettyn *verno*. P. Parv. Mr Way quotes from Palsgrave, "I iette, I make a countenaunce with my legges, *ie me iamboye*," &c.; and from Cotgrave, "*Iamboyer*, to *iet*, or wantonly to go in and out with the legs," &c.

⁴ grinding.

⁵ gnastyn (gnachyn) *Fremo*, *strideo*. Catholicon. Gnastyng of the tethe—*stridevr*, *grincement*. Palsg. Du. *gnisteren*, To Gnash, or Creak with the teeth. Hexham.

⁶ Short coats and tight trousers were a great offence to old writers accustomed to long nightgown clothes. Compare Chaucer's complaint in the Canterbury Tales, The Parsones Tale, *De Superbiâ*, p. 193, col. 2, ed. Wright. "Upon that other syde, to speke of the horrible disordinat scantnes of clothing, as ben these cuttid sloppis or anslets, that thurgh her schortnes ne covereth not the schamful membre of man, to wickid entent. Alas ! som men of hem schewen the schap and the boce of the horrible swollen membres, that semeth like to the maladies of hirnia, in the wrapping of here hose, and eek the buttokes of hem, that faren as it were the hinder part of a sche ape in the fulle of the moone." The continuation of the passage is very curious. "Your schort gownys thriftlesse" are also noted in the song in Harl. MS. 372. See Weste, *Booke of Demeanour*, l. 141, below.

⁷ Fr. *tache*, spot, staine, blemish, reproach. C.

when he shalle serue his mastir, before hym on
 þe table hit lyes ;

before your
 master.

308 Euery souereyne of sadnes ¹ alle suche sort shalle
 dispise.

Many moo condicions a mañ myght fynde / þa
 now ar named here,

Many other
 improprieties

þerfore Euery honest seruand / avoyd alle thoo, &
 worshippe lat hym leere.

a good servant
 will avoid.

Panter, yomañ of þe Cellere, butlere, & Ewere,
 312 y wille þat ye obeye to þe marshalle, Sewere, &
 kervere.²

“**G**ood syr, y yow pray þe connyng³ of kervynge
 ye wille me teche,

‘Sir, pray teach
 me how to carve,

and þe fayre handlyng of a knyfe, y yow beseche,
 and alle wey where y shalle alle maner fowles /
 breke, vnlace, or seche,⁴

handle a knife,
 and cut up birds,

316 and with Fysche or flesche, how shalle y demene
 me with eche.”

fish, and flesh.’

“**S**oñ, thy knyfe must be bryght, fayre, & clene,
 and þyne handes faire wasche, it wold þe welle besene.

hold alwey thy knyfe sure, þy self not to tene,

320 and passe not ij. fyngurs & a thombe on thy knyfe
 so kene ;

‘Hold your knife
 tight, with two
 fingers and a
 thumb,

In mydde wey of thyne hande set the ende of þe
 haft Sure,

in your midpalm.

Vnlasyng & mynsyng .ij. fyngurs with þe thombe /
 þat may ye endure.

Do your carving,

kervynge / of bred leiynge / voydynge / of cromes
 & trenchewre,

lay your bread,
 and take off
 trenchers, with
 two fingers and
 thumb.

324 with ij. fyngurs and a thombe / loke ye haue þe Cure.

¹ sobriety, gravity.

² Edward IV. had ‘Bannerettes IIII, or Bachelor Knights, to
 be kervers and cupberers in this courte.’ *H. Ord.*, p. 32.

³ MS. comynge.

⁴ See the *Termes of a Keruer* in Wynkyn de Worde’s *Boke of
 Keruyng* below.

- Sett neuer oñ fysche nor flesche / beast / nor fowle,
trewly,
Moore þaṇ ij. fyngurs and a thombe, for þat is
curtesie.
- Never touch
others' food with
your right hand,
but only with the
left. 328 Touche neuer with youre right hande no maner
mete surely,
but with your lyft hande / as y seid afore, for þat
is goodlye.
- [Fol. 175 b.] Alle-vey with youre lift hand hold your loof with
myght,
and hold youre knyfe Sure, as y haue geue yow sight.
enbrowe¹ not youre table / for þaṇ ye do not ryght,
332 ne þer-vppoṇ ye wipe youre knyffes, but oñ youre
napkyṇ plight.
- Don't dirty your
table
or wipe your
knives on it. Take a loaf of
trenchers, and
Furst take a loofe of trenchurs in þy lifft hande,
þaṇ take þy table knyfe,² as y haue seid afore
hande ;
with the egge of þe knyfe youre trenchere vp be
ye reysande
336 as nyghe þe poynt as ye may, to-fore youre lord hit
leyande ;
- with the edge of
your knife raise
a trencher, and
lay it before your
lord ; lay four trenchers
four-square,
right so .iiij. trenchers ooṇ by a-nothur .iiij. square
ye sett,
and vppoṇ þo trenchurs .iiij. a trenchur sengle
with-out lett ;
þaṇ take youre loof of light payne / as y haue said
3ett,
340 and with the egge of þe knyfe nyghe your hand ye
kett.
- Take a loaf of
light bread, pare the edges,
Furst pare þe quarters of the looff round alle
a-bowt,

¹ to embrow. *Ferrum tingere sanguine*. Baret.

² The table-knife, 'Mensal knyfe, or borde knyfe, *Mensalis*,' P. Parv., was, I suppose, a lighter knife than the trencher-knife used for cutting trenchers off very stale coarse loaves.

þaṅ kutt þe vpper crust / for youre souerayne, & cut the upper
crust for your
lord,
to hym alowt.

Suffere youre parelle¹ to stond stille to þe botom /
& so nyȝe y-spend owt,

344 so ley hym of þe cromes² a quarter of þe looff Sauncȝ
dowt ;

Touche neuer þe loof aftur he is so tamed, and don't touch
it after it's
trimmed.
put it, [on] a platerre or þe almes disch þer-fore
named.

Make clene youre bord euer, þaṅ shalle ye not be Keep your table
clean.
blamed,

348 þaṅ may þe sewere his lord serue / & neythur of
yow be gramed³.

Fumositees.

Indigestibilities.

Of alle maner metes ye must thus know & fele You must know
what meat is
indigestible,
þe fumositees of fysch, flesche, & fowles dyuers
& feele,

And alle maner of Sawces for fische & flesche to and what sauces
are wholesome.
preserue your lord in heele ;

352 to yow it behouyth to know alle þese euery deelee."

"**S**yr, hertyly y pray yow for to telle me Certenle
of how many metes þat ar fumose in þeire
degre."

"**I**n certeyn, my soṅ, þat sone shalle y shew the These things are
indigestible :
356 by letturs dyuers tolde by thries thre,

F, R, and **S** / in dyuerse tyme and tyde

F is þe furst / þat is, **Fatt**, **Farsed**, & **Fried** ; Fat and Fried,

R, raw / resty, and rechy, ar comberous vndefied ; Raw and Resty,

360 **S** / salt / sowre / and sowse⁴ / alle suche þow set Salt and Sour,
a-side,

¹ ? Fr. *pareil*, A match or fellow. C. ² MS. *may be coomes*.

³ A.S. *gramian*, to anger. ⁴ Sowce mete, *Succidium*. P. Parv.

also sinews, skin,
hair, feathers,
crops,

with other of the same sort, and lo thus ar thay,
Senowis, skynnes / heere / Cropyns¹ / yonge fedurs
for certē y say,

heads,
pinions, &c.,

364 heedis / pynnyns, boonis / alle þese pyke away,
Suffir neuer þy souerayne / to fele þem, y the pray /

legs,
outsides of thighs,

Alle maner leggis also, bothe of fowle and beestis,
the vttur side of the thyghe or legge of alle fowlis
in feestis,

skins:

the fumosite of alle maner skynnes y promytt þee
by heestis,

these destroy
your lord's rest.'

368 alle þese may benym² þy souerayne / from many
nyghtis restis."

'Thanks, father,

"**N**ow fayre befalle yow fadur / &welle must ye
cheve,³

I'll put your
teaching into
practice,

For these poyntes by practik y hope fulle welle to
preve,

and pray for you.

and yet shalle y pray for yow / dayly while þat y
leue /

372 bothe for body and sowle / þat god yow gyde from
greve;

But please

Praynge yow to take it, fadur / for no displesure,
yf y durst desire more / and þat y myghte be sure
to know þe kervynge of fische & flesche / aftur
cockes cure:

tell me how to
carve fish and
flesh.'

376 y hed leuer þe sight of that / than A Scarlet hure."⁴

Carving of Meat.

Keruyng of Flesh:

Cut *brawn* on the
dish, and lift

"**S**on, take þy knyfe as y taught þe whileere,
kut bravne in þe dische riȝt as hit liethe there,

¹ ? Crop or crawe, or cropon of a beste (croupe or cropon),
Clunis. P. Parv. Crops are emptied before birds are cooked.

² A.S. *beniman*, take away, deprive.

³ Fr. *achever*, To atchieue; to end, finish. Cot.

⁴ Hwyr, cappe (hure H.), *Tena. A.S. huse*, a tiara, ornament.
Promptorium Parv.

- and to þy souereynes trenchoure / with þe knyfe / slices off with
ye hit bere : your knife ;
- 380 pare þe fatt þer-from / be ware of hide & heere.
- Thañ whan ye haue it so y-leid / oñ þy lordes tren-
choure,
- looke ye haue good mustarde þer-to and good serve it with
licoure ; mustard.
- Fatt venesoun with frumenty / hit is a gay Venison with
plesewre furmity.
- 384 youre souerayne to serue with in sesoun to his
honowre :
- Towche not þe venisoun with no bare hand Touch *Venison*
but withe þy knyfe ; þis wise shalle ye be doande, only with your
knife,
- withe þe fore part of þe knyfe looke ye be hit parand, pare it,
- 388 xij. draughtes with þe egge of þe knyfe þe venison cross it with 12
crossande, scores,
- Thañ whañ ye þat venesoun so haue chekkid hit, [Fol. 176 b.]
with þe fore parte of youre knyfe / þat ye hit owt cut a piece out,
kytt, and put it in the
furmity soup.
- In þe frumenty potage honestly ye convey hit,
- 392 in þe same forme with pesyñ & bakeñ whañ sesoun
þer-to dothe sitt.
- Withe youre lift hand touche beeff / Chyne¹ / Touch *beef* with
your left hand,
motoun, as is a-fore said,
- & pare hit clene or þat ye kerve / or hit to your pare it clean,
lord be layd ;
- and as it is showed afore / beware of vpbrayde ;
- 396 alle fumosite, salt / senow / Raw / a-side be hit put away the
sinews, &c.
convayde.
- In sirippe / partriche / stokdove / & chekyns, in Partridges, &c. :
seruynge, take up
- with your lift hand take þem by þe pynoñ of þe by the pinion,
whynges,

¹ Chyne, of bestys bakke. *Spina*. P. Parv.

- & þat same *with* þe fore parte of þe knyfe be ye vp
rerynge,
- and mince them
small in the
sirrup. 400 Mynse hem smalle in þe siruppe : of fumosite algate
be ye feerynge.
- Larger roast
birds,
as the *Osprey*, &c., Good soñ, of alle fowles rosted y telle yow as y Cañ,
Every goos / teeles / Mallard / Ospray / & also
swanne,
- raise up [? cut off]
the legs, then the
wings, 404 afftur þat, þe whynges large & rownd / þañ dare
blame þe no man ;
- lay the body in
the middle, Lay the body in myddes of þe dische / or in a-nodur
chargere,
- with the wings
and legs round it, of vche of þese *with* whynges in myddes, þe legges
so aftir there.
- of alle þese in .vj. lees¹ / if þat ye² wille, ye may
vppe arere,
- in the same dish. 408 & ley þem betwene þe legges, & þe whynges in þe
same plater.
- Capons :* Capoñ, & hen of hawt grees³, þus wold þey be
dight :—
- take off the wings
and legs ;
pour on ale or
wine, Furst, vn-lace þe whynges, þe legges þan in sight,
Cast ale or wyne oñ þem, as þer-to belongeth of
ryght,
- mince them into
the flavoured
sauce. 412 & mynse þem þañ in to þe sawce *with* powdurs
kene of myght.
- Give your lord the
left wing, Take capoun or heñ so enlased, & deuide ;
take þe lift whynge ; in þe sawce mynce hit eueñ
beside,
- and if he want it, and yf youre souerayne ete sauerly / & haue þerto
appetide,
- the right one too. 416 þañ mynce þat opur whynge þer-to to satisfye hym
þat tyde.

¹ slices, strips.² MS. may be yo.³ 'De haute graisse, Full, plumpe, goodlie, fat, well-fed, in good liking.' Cotgrave.

Feysaunt, partriche, plouer, & lapewynk, y yow *Pheasants, &c. :*
say,

areyse¹ þe whynges furst / do as y yow pray ; *take off the wings,*
In þe dische forthe-withe, boþe þat ye ham lay, *put them in the*
dish,

420 þaṅ aftur þat / þe leggis / without lengur delay. *then the legs.*

wodcok / Betowre² / Egret³ / Snyte⁴ / and Curlew, *Woodcocks,*

heyrounsew⁵ / resteratiff þey ar / & so is the brewe;⁶ *Heronshaws,*
Brew, &c. :

þese .vij. fowles / must be vnlaced, y telle yow
trew,

424 breke þe pynons / nek, & beek, þus ye must þem *break the pinions,*
shew. *neck, and beak.*

Thus ye must þem vnlace / & in thus manere : *[Fol. 177.]*

areyse þe leggis / suffire þeire feete stille to be oṅ *Cut off the legs,*
there,

þaṅ þe whynges in þe dische / ye may not þem *then the wings,*
forbere,

¹ Fr. *arracher*. To root vp . . pull away by violence. Cotgrave.

² The Bittern or Bittour, *Ardea Stellaris*.

³ *Egrette*, as *Aigrette*; A foule that resembles a Heron. *Aigrette* (A foule verie like a Heron, but white); a criell Heron, or dwarfe Heron. Cot. *Ardea alba*, A crielle or dwarfe heron. Cooper.

⁴ Snype, or snyte, byrde, *Ibex*. P.P. A snipe or snite: a bird lesse than a woodcocke. *Gallinago minor*, &c. Baret.

⁵ A small Heron or kind of Heron; Shakspeare's editors' *hand-saw*. The spelling *heronshaw* misled Cotgrave, &c.; he has *Haironniere*. A herons neast, or ayrie; a *herne*-shaw, or shaw of wood, wherein herons breed. 'An Hearne. *Ardea*. A hearnsew, *Ardeola*.' Baret, 1580. 'Fr. *heronceau*, a young heron, gives E. *heronshaw*,' Wedgwood. I cannot find *heronceau*, only *heronneau*. 'A yong *herensew* is lyghter of dygestyon than a crane. A. Borde. *Regyment*, fol. F i, ed. 1567. 'In actual application a *heronshaw*, *hernshaw* or *hernsew*, is simply a Common Heron (*Ardea Vulgaris*) with no distinction as to age, &c.' Atkinson.

⁶ The Brewe is mentioned three times, and each time in connection with the Curlew. I believe it to be the Whimbrel (*Numenius Phaeopus*) or Half Curlew. I have a recollection (or what seems like it) of having seen the name with a French form like Whimbreau. [Pennant's *British Zoology*, ii. 347, gives *Le petit Courly*, *ou le Courlieu*, as the French synonym of the Whimbrel.] Morris (Orpen) says the numbers of the Whimbrel are lessening from their being sought as food. Atkinson.

lay the body between them.

428 þe body þaṇ in þe middes laid / like as y yow
leere.

Crane: take off the wings, but not

the trompe in his breast.

The Crane is a fowle / þat stronge is *with* to fare ;
þe whynges ye areyse / fulle large evyṇ thare ;
of hyre trompe ¹ in þe brest / loke þat ye beware.
432 towche not hir trompe / euermore þat ye spare.

Peacocks, &c. :

carve like you do the Crane,

keeping their feet on.

Pecok / Stork / Bustarde / & Shovellewre,
ye must vnlace þem in þe plite ² / of þe crane prest
& pure,
so þat vche of þem haue þeyre feete aftur my cure,
436 and euer of a sharpe knyff wayte þat ye be sure.

Quails, larks, pigeons :

Of quayle / sparow / larke / & litelle / mertinet,
pygeoun / swallow / thrusche / osulle / ye not forgete,

give your lord the legs first.

þe legges to ley to your souereyne ye ne lett,
440 and afturward þe whyngus if his lust be to ete.

Fawn : serve the kidney first,

then a rib. Pick the fyxfax out of the neck.

Off Foweṇ / kid / lambe, / þe kydney furst it lay,
þaṇ lifft vp the shuldur, do as y yow say,
3iff he wille þerof ete / a rybbe to hyṁ convay ;
444 but in þe nek þe fyxfax ³ þat þow do away.

venesoun rost / in þe dische if youre souerayne hit
chese,

Pig : 1. shoulder,
2. rib.

þe shuldir of a pigge furst / þaṇ a rybbe, yf hit
wille hym plese ;

¹ "The singular structure of the windpipe and its convolutions lodged between the two plates of bone forming the sides of the keel of the sternum of this bird (the Crane) have long been known. The trachea or windpipe, quitting the neck of the bird, passes downwards and backwards between the branches of the merry-thought towards the inferior edge of the keel, which is hollowed out to receive it. Into this groove the trachea passes, . . . and after making three turns passes again forwards and upwards and ultimately backwards to be attached to the two lobes of the lungs." Yarrell, *Brit. Birds* ii. 441. Atkinson.

² Way, manner. Plyte or state (plight, P.). *Status*. P. Parv.

³ A sort of gristle, the tendon of the neck. Germ. *flachse*, Brockett. And see Wheatley's Dict. of Reduplicated Words.

- þe cony, ley hym oñ þe bak in þe disch, if he haue grece, *Rabbit: lay him on his back;*
- 448 while ye par away þe skyn̄ oñ vche side / & þañ breke hȳm or y[e] sece *pare off his skin;*
- betwene þe hyndur leggis breke þe canelle boon,¹ þañ with youre knyfe areyse þe sides alonge þe chyne Alone; *break his haunch-bone, cut him down each side of the back, lay him on his belly,*
- so lay your cony wombelonge vche side to þe chyne / by craft as y conne,
- 452 betwene þe bulke, chyne, þe sides to-gedure lat þem be doon̄;
- The .ij. sides departe from þe chyne, þus is my loore, *separate the sides from the chine,*
- þen ley bulke, chyne, & sides, to-gedire / as þey were yore. *put them together again,*
- Furst kit owte þe nape in þe nek / þe shuldurs before; *cutting out the nape of the neck;*
- 456 with þe sides serve youre souerayne / hit state to restore. *give your lord the sides.*
- Rabettes sowkers,² þe furþer parte from þe hyndur, ye deuide; *Sucking rabbits: cut in two, then*
- þañ þe hyndur part at tweyn̄ ye kut þat tyde, pare þe skyn̄ away / & let it not þere abide, *the hind part in two; pare the skin off,*
- 460 þañ serue youre souerayne of þe same / þe deynteist of þe side. *serve the daintiest bit from the side.*
- T**he maner & forme of kervynge of metes þat byñ groos, *[Fol. 177 b.] Such is the way of carving gross meats.*
- afftur my symplenes y haue shewed, as y suppose : yet, good soñ, amonge oþer estates euer as þow goose,

¹ The 'canelle boon' between the hind legs must be the pelvis, or pelvic arch, or else the *ilium* or haunch-bone : and in cutting up the rabbit many good carvers customarily disjoint the haunch-bones before helping any one to the rump. Atkinson.

² Rabet, yonge conye, *Cunicellus*. P. Parv. 'The Conie beareth her *Rabettes* xxx dayes, and then kindeleth, and then she must be bucked againe, for els she will eate vp hir *Rabets*. 1575. Geo. Turbervile, *The Booke of Venerie*, p. 178, ch. 63.—H. H. Gibbs.

464 as ye se / and by vse of youre self / ye may gete
yow loos.

But furþermore enforme yow y must in metis
kervynge ;

*Cut each piece
into four slices (?)
for your master to
dip in his sauce.

Mynse ye must iiij lees¹ / to ooñ morselle hangynge,
þat youre mastir may take with .ij. fyngurs in his
sawce dippynge,

468 and so no napkyñ / brest, ne borclothe², in any wise
enbrowynge.

Of large birds'
wings,

Of gret fowle / in to þe sawce mynse þe whynge
this wise ;

put only three
bits at once in the
sauce.

pas not .iiij. morcelles in þe sawce at onis, as
y yow avise ;

To youre souerayne þe gret fowles legge ley, as is þe
gise,

472 and þus mowe ye neuer mysse of alle connynge
seruise.

Of small birds'
wings,

Of alle maner smale bryddis, þe whyngis oñ þe
trencher leyinge,

scrape the flesh to
the end of the
bone,

with þe poynt of youre knyfe / þe flesche to þe
booñ end ye brynge,

and put it on
your lord's
trencher.

and so conveye hit oñ þe trenchere, þat wise your
souerayne plesynge,

476 and with faire salt & trenchoure / hym also oft
renewynge.

*How to carve
Baked Meats.*

Bake metes.³

Almanere bakemetes þat byñ good and hoot,

Open hot ones at
the top of the
crust,

Opeñ hem aboue þe brym of þe coffyn⁴ cote,

¹ slices, or rather strips.

² board-cloth, table-cloth.

³ Part IV. of *Liber Cure Cocorum*, p. 38—42, is 'of bakun mete.'
On Dishes and Courses generally, see *Randle Holme*, Bk. III. Chap.
III. p. 77—86.

⁴ rere a *cofyn* of flowre so fre. *L. C. C.*, p. 38, l. 8. The crust
of a raised pie.

- and alle þat byñ cold / & lusteth youre souereyn to cold ones
note,
480 alwey in þe mydway open hem ye mote. in the middle.
Of capon, chiken, or teeles, in coffyn bake, Take Teal, &c., out
Owt of þe pye furst þat ye hem take, of their pie,
In a dische besyde / þat ye þe whyngus slake, and mince their
484 thynk¹ y-mynsed in to þe same with your knyfe ye wings,
slake,
And stere welle þe stuff þer-in with þe poynt of stir the gravy in;
your knyfe;
Mynse ye thynne þe whyngis, be it in to veele or
byffe;
with a spone lightly to ete your souerayne may your lord may eat
be leeff, it with a spoon.
488 So with suche diet as is holsom he may lengthe
his life.
Venesoun bake, of boor or othur venure, [Fol. 178.]
Kut it in þe pastey, & ley hit on his trenchure. Cut Venison, &c.,
Pygeon bake, þe leggis leid to youre lord sure, in the pasty.
492 Custard,² chekkid buche,³ square with þe knyfe; Custard: cut in
þus is þe cure squares with a
knife.

¹ for thin; see line 486.

² ? A dish of batter somewhat like our Yorkshire Pudding; not the *Crustade* or pie of chickens, pigeons, and small birds of the *Household Ordinances*, p. 442, and *Crustate* of flosshe of *Liber Cure*, p. 40.

³ ? *buche de bois*. A logge, backe stocke, or great billet. Cot. I suppose the *buche* to refer to the manner of *checkering* the custard, buche-wise, and not to be a dish. Venison is 'chekkid,' l. 388-9. This rendering is confirmed by *The Boke of Keruynges* "Custarde, cheke them inch square" (in Keruynges of Flesshe). Another possible rendering of *buche* as a dish of batter or the like, seems probable from the 'Bouce Jane, a dish in Ancient Cookery' (Wright's *Provl. Dicty.*), but the recipe for it in *Household Ordinances*, p. 431, shows that it was a stew, which could not be checkered or squared. It consisted of milk boiled with chopped herbs, half-roasted chickens or capons cut into pieces, 'pynes and raysynges of corance,' all boiled together. In *Household Ordinances*, p. 162-4, *Bouche*, or *Bouche of court*, is used for allowance. The 'Knights and others of the King's Councell,' &c., had each

Dowcets: pare
away the sides;

serve in a
sawcer.

Payne-puff: pare
the bottom,
cut off the top.

(? parneys)

Fried things are
indigestible.

þaṅ þe souerayne, with his spone whaṅ he lustethe
to ete.

of dowcetes,¹ pare away the sides to þe botom, &
þat ye lete,

In a sawcere afore youre souerayne semely ye hit sett
496 whaṅ hyṁ likethe to atast: looke ye not forgete.

Payne puff,² pare þe botom nyȝe þe stuff, take hede,
Kut of þe toppe of a payne puff, do thus as y rede;
Also pety perueys³ be fayre and clene / so god be
yours spede.

500 off Fryed metes⁴ be ware, for þey ar Fumose in dede.

‘for their *Bouch* in the morning one chet loafe, one manchett, one
gallon of ale; for afternoone, one manchett, one gallon of ale;
for after supper, one manchett, &c.’

¹ See the recipe, p. 60 of this volume. In Sir John Howard’s
Household Books is an entry in 1467, ‘for viij boshelles of flour
for *dowsetes* vj s. viij d.’ p. 396, ed. 1841.

² The last recipe in *The Forme of Cury*, p. 89, is one for Payn
Puff, but as it refers to the preceding receipt, that is given first
here.

XX
IX.XV.[=195]

THE PETY PERUAUNT.*

Take male Marow. hole parade, and kerue it rawe; powdour of
Gyngur, yolks of Ayrene, datis mynced, raisoṁs of coraṁce, salt a
lytel, & loke þat þou make þy past with ȝolkes of Ayren, & þat no
water come þerto; and fourme þy coffyn, and make up þy past.

XX
IX.XVI.[=196]

PAYN PUFF

Eodem modo fait payn puff. but make it more tendre þe past, and
loke þe past be rounde of þe payn puf as a coffyn & a pye.

Randle Holme treats of Puffe, Puffs, and Pains, p. 84, col. 1, 2,
but does not mention *Payn Puff*. ‘Payn puffe, and pety-pettys,
and cuspis and doucettis,’ are mentioned among the last dishes
of a service on Flessh-Day (*H. Ord.*, p. 450), but no recipe for
either is given in the book.

³ In lines 707, 748, the *pety perueys* come between the fish
and pasties. I cannot identify them as fish. I suppose they were
pies, perhaps *The Pety Peruaunt* of note 2 above; or better still,
the fish-pies, *Petipetes* (or *pety-pettys* of the last note), which
Randle Holme says ‘are Pies made of Carps and Eels, first roasted,
and then minced, and with Spices made up in Pies.’

⁴ De cibi eleccione. (Sloane MS. 1986, fol. 59 b, and else-
where.) “Frixā nocent, elixa fouent, assata cohercent.”

* Glossed *Petypanel*, a *Marchpayne*. Leland, Coll. vi. p. 6. Pegge.

Fried metes.

O Fruture viant¹ / Frutur sawge,¹ byñ good / bettur is Frutur powche ;¹	Poached-egg (?) fritters are best.
Appulle fruture² / is good hoot / but þe cold ye not towche.	
Tansey³ is good hoot / els cast it not in youre clowche.	Tansey is good hot.
504 alle maner of leesseez⁴ / ye may forbere / herbere in yow none sowche.	Don't eat Leesseez.
Cookes with þeire newe conceytes, choppynge / stampynge, & gryndynge,	Cooks are always
Many new curies / alle day þey ar contryvyng & Fyndynge	inventing new dishes
þat provokethe þe peple to perelles of passage / þrouz peyne soore pyndynge,	that tempt people
508 & þrouz nice excesse of suche receytes / of þe life to make a endynge.	and endanger their lives :
Some with Sireppis⁵ / Sawces / Sewes,⁶ and soppes,⁷	Syrups,

¹ Meat, sage, & poached, fritters? ² Recipe in *L. Cure*, p. 39.

³ There is a recipe 'for a Tansy Cake' in *Lib. C.*, p. 50. Cogan says of *Tansie*,—"it auoideth fleume. . . Also it killeth worms, and purgeth the matter whereof they be engendred. Wherefore it is much vsed among vs in England, about Easter, with fried Eggs, not without good cause, to purge away the fleume engendred of fish in Lent season, whereof worms are soone bred in them that be thereto disposed." Tansey, says Bailey (*Dict. Domesticum*) is recommended for the dissipating of wind in the stomach and belly. He gives the recipe for 'A Tansy' made of spinage, milk, cream, eggs, grated bread and nutmeg, heated till it's as thick as a hasty pudding, and then baked.

⁴ Slices or strips of meat, &c., in sauce. See note to l. 516, p. 150.

⁵ Recipe 'For Sirup,' *Liber Cure*, p. 43, and 'Syrip for a Capon or Faysant,' *H. Ord.* p. 440.

⁶ potages, soups.

⁷ Soppes in Fenell, Slitte Soppes, *H. Ord.* p. 445.

Comedies,	Comedies / Cawdelles ¹ cast in Cawdrons /	} Len-voy
	ponnes, or pottes,	
Jellies, that stop	leesses / Ielies ² / Fruturs / fried mete þat stoppes	
the bowels.	512 and distemperethe alle þe body, bothe bak, bely, & roppes : ³	
Some dishes are	Some maner cury of Cookes crafft Sotelly y haue espied,	
prepared with un- clarified honey.	how þeire dischmetes ar dressid with hony not claryfied.	
Cow-heels and 'Calves' feet are sometimes mixed	Cow heelis / and Calves fete / ar dere y-bouȝt some tide	
with unsugared leches and Jellies.	516 To medille amonge leeches ⁴ & Ielies / whaȝ suger shalle syt a-side.	

Potages.⁵

[Fol. 178 b.]

Furmity with
venison,

Wortus with an henne / Cony / beef, or els aȝ
haare,
Frumenty⁶ with venesoun / pesyȝ with bakoȝ,
longe wortes not spare ;
Growelle of force⁷ / Gravelle of beeff⁸ / or motoun,
haue ye no care ;

¹ Recipe for a Cawdel, *L. C. C.* p. 51.² Recipes for Gele in Chekyns or of Hennes, and Gele of Flesshe, *H. Ord.* p. 437.³ A.S. *roppas*, the bowels.⁴ "leech" is a slice or strip, *H. Ord.* p. 472 (440), p. 456 (399)—'cut hit on *leches* as hit were pescoddes,' p. 439,—and also a stew or dish in which strips of pork, &c., are cooked. See Leche Lumbarde, *H. Ord.* p. 438-9. Fr. *lesche*, a long slice or shiue of bread, &c. Cot. *Hic lesca Ae*, scywe (shive or slice), Wright's Vocab. p. 198 : *hec lesca*, a schyfe, p. 241. See also Mr Way's long note 1, Prompt. Parv., p. 292, and the recipes for 64 different "Leche vyaundys" in MS. Harl. 279, that he refers to.⁵ For Potages see Part I. of *Liber Cure Cocorum*, p. 7—27.⁶ Recipe for Potage de Frumenty in *H. Ord.* p. 425, and for Furmente in *Liber Cure*, p. 7, *H. Ord.* 462.⁷ Recipe 'For gruel of fors,' *Lib. C.* p. 47, and *H. Ord.* p. 425.⁸ ? minced or powdered beef: Fr. *gravelle*, small grauell or sand. Cot. 'Powdred motoun,' l. 533, means sprinkled, salted.

- 520 Gely, mortrows¹ / creyme of almondes, þe mylke² mortrewes,
 þer-of is good fare.
- Iusselle³, tartlett⁴, cabages⁵, & nombles⁶ of jussell, &c., are
 vennure,⁷ good.
- alle þese potages ar good and sure.
- of oper sewes & potages þat ar not made by nature, Other out-of-the-
 way soups
- 524 alle Suche siropis sett a side youre heere to endure. set aside.
- N**ow, soñ, y haue yow shewid somewhat of myne Such is a
 avise,
- þe service of a flesche feest folowyng englondis flesh feast in the
 gise ; English way.
- Forgete ye not my loore / but looke ye bere good
- y3es
- 528 vppoñ opur connyng kervers : now haue y told
 yow twise.

Dinerce Sawces.⁸

Sauces.

Also to know youre sawces for flesche conveni- Sauces provoke
 ently,

hit provokithe a fyne apetide if sawce youre a fine appetite.
 mete be bie ;

to the lust of youre lord looke þat ye haue þer Have ready
 redy

¹ Recipes for 'Mortrewes de Chare,' *Lib. C.* p. 9; 'of fysshe,' p. 19; blanchéd, p. 13; and *H. Ord.* pp. 438, 454, 470.

² Butter of Almonde mylke, *Lib. C.* p. 15; *H. Ord.* p. 447.

³ See the recipe, p. 58 of this volume.

⁴ Recipe for *Tartlotes* in *Lib. C. C.* p. 41.

⁵ Recipe for *Cabaches* in *H. Ord.* p. 426, and *caboches*, p. 454, both the vegetable. There is a fish *caboché* in the 15th cent. *Nominale* in Wright's Vocab. *Hic caput, A^e.* *Caboche*, p. 189, col: 1, the bullhead, or miller's thumb, called in French *chabot*.

⁶ See two recipes for Nombuls in *Liber Cure*, p. 10, and for 'Nombuls of a Dere,' in *H. Ord.* p. 427.

⁷ The long *r* and curl for *e* in the MS. look like *f*, as if for *vennuf*.

⁸ For Sauces (*Salsamenta*) see Part II. of *Liber Cure*, p. 27—34.

	532 suche sawce as hym likethe / to make hym glad & mery.
Mustard for brawn, &c.,	Mustard ¹ is meete for brawne / beef, or powdred ² motoun ;
Verjuice for veal, &c.,	verdius ³ to boyled capoun / veel / chikeñ / or bakoñ ;
Chawdon for cygnet and swan,	And to signet / & swañ, convenyent is þe chawdoñ ⁴ ;
Garlic, &c., for beef and goose,	536 Roost beeff / & goos / with garlek, vinegre, or pepur, in conclusioun.
Ginger for fawn, &c.,	Gynger sawce ⁵ to lambe, to kyd / pigge, or fawñ / in fere ;
Mustard and sugar for pheasant, &c.,	to feysand, partriche, or cony / Mustard with þe sugure ;
Gamelyn for heronsew, &c.,	Sawce gamelyn ⁶ to heyroñ-sewe / egret / crane / & plover ;
Sugar and Salt for brew, &c.,	540 also / brewe ⁷ / Curlew / sugre & salt / with watere of þe ryvere ;

¹ Recipe 'for lumbardus Mustard' in *Liber Cure*, p. 30.

² Fleshe *poudred* or salted. *Caro salsa, vel salita*. Withals.

³ The juice of unripe grapes. See *Maison Rustique*, p. 620.

⁴ Chaudwyn, l. 688 below. See a recipe for "Chaudern for Swannes" in *Household Ordinances*, p. 441; and for "þandon (MS. chaudon *) for wylde digges, swannus and piggus," in *Liber Cure*, p. 9, and "Sawce for swannus," *Ibid.* p. 29. It was made of chopped liver and entrails boiled with blood, bread, wine, vinegar, pepper, cloves, and ginger.

⁵ See the recipe "To make Gynger Sause" in *H. Ord.* p. 441, and "For sawce gynger," *L. C. C.* p. 52.

⁶ No doubt the "sawce fyne þat men calles camelyne" of *Liber Cure*, p. 30, 'raysons of corouns,' nuts, bread crusts, cloves, ginger, cinnamon, powdered together and mixed with vinegar. "Camelin, sauce cameline, A certaine daintie Italian sauce." Cot.

⁷ A bird mentioned in *Archæologia*, xiii. 341. Hall. See note l. 422.

* Sloane 1986, p. 48, or fol. 27 b. It is not safe to differ from Mr Morris, but on comparing the C of 'Chaudon for swannis,' col. 1, with that of 'Caudelle of almonde,' at the top of the second col., I have no doubt that the letter is C. So on fol. 31 b. the C of Chaudon is more like the C of Charlet opposite than the T of Take under it. The C of Caudel dalmon on fol. 34 b., and that of *Cultellis*, fol. 24, l. 5, are of the same shape.

Also for bustard / betowre / & shovelere,¹ Gamelyn for
 gamelyn² is in sesoun ; bustard, &c.,

Wodcok / lapewynk / Mertenet / larke, & venysoun, Salt and Cinna-
 Sparows / thrusches / alle þese .vij. with salt & mon for wood-
 synamome : cock, thrushes,
 &c.,

544 Quayles, sparowes, & snytes, whaṇ þeire sesoun and quails, &c.
 com,³

Thus to provoke an appetite þe Sawce hathe is
 operacioun.

Kerbyng of Fische.⁴

*How to carve
 Fish.*

Now, good soṇ, of kervynge of fysche y wot y
 must þe leere :

To peson⁵ or frumeṇty take þe tayle of þe bevere,⁶ With pea soup or
 furmity serve a
 Beaver's

¹ Shovelars feed most commonly upon the Sea-coast upon cockles and Shell-fish : being taken home, and dieted with new garbage and good meat, they are nothing inferior to fatted Gulls. *Muffett*, p. 109. *Hic populus*, a schevelard (the *anas clypeata* of naturalists). *Wright's Voc.*, p. 253.

² See note 6 to line 539, above.

³ Is not this line superfluous? After 135 stanzas of 4 lines each, we here come to one of 5 lines. I suspect l. 544 is simply de trop. W. W. Skeat.

⁴ For the fish in the Poem mentioned by Yarrell, and for references to him, see the list at the end of this *Boke of Nurture*.

⁵ Recipes for "Grene Pesen" are in *H. Ord.* p. 426-7, p. 470 ; and *Porre of Pesen*, &c. p. 444.

⁶ Topsell in his *Fourfooted Beasts*, ed. Rowland, 1658, p. 36, says of Beavers, "There hath been taken of them whose tails have weighed four pound weight, and they are accounted a very delicate dish, for being dressed they eat like Barbles : they are used by the Lotharingians and Savoyans [says Bellonius] for meat allowed to be eaten on fish-dayes, although the body that beareth them be flesh and unclean for food. The manner of their dressing is, first roasting, and afterward seething in an open pot, that so the evill vapour may go away, and some in pottage made with Saffron ; other with Ginger, and many with Brine ; it is certain that the tail and forefeet taste very sweet, from whence came the Proverbe, *That sweet is that fish, which is not fish at all.*"

tail, salt
Porpoise, &c.

548 or 3iff ye haue salt purpose¹ / 3ele² / torrentille³,
deynteithus fulle dere,
ye must do afture þe forme of frumenty, as y
said while ere.

Split up Herrings,

Bakeñ herynge, dressid & dizt with white sugure;
þe white herynge by þe bak a brode ye splat hym
sure,

take out the roe
and bones,

552 bothe roughe & boonus / voyded / þeñ may youre
lorde endure

eat with mustard.

to ete merily with mustard þat tyme to his plesure.

Take the skin off
salt fish,

Of alle maner salt fische, looke ye pare away the
felle,

Salmon, Ling, &c.,

Salt samoun / Congur⁴, grone⁵ fische / boþe lynge⁶
& myllewelle⁷,

556 & oñ youre soueraynes trencheur ley hit, as y
yow telle.

and let the sauce
be mustard,

þe sawce þer-to, good mustard, alway accordethe
welle.

¹ See the recipe for "Furmente with Purpeys," *H. Ord.* p. 442.

² I suppose this to be Seal. If it is Eel, see recipes for "Eles in Surre, Browet, Gravê, Brasyle," in *H. Ord.* p. 467-8.

³ Wynkyn de Worde has 'a salte purpos or sele turrentyne.' If this is right, torrentille must apply to 3ele, and be a species of seal: if not, it must be allied to the Trout or Torrentyne, l. 835.

⁴ Congur in Pyole, *H. Ord.* p. 469. 'I must needs agree with Diocles, who being asked, *whether were the better fish, a Pike or a Conger*: That (said he) sodden, and this broild; shewing us thereby, that all flaggy, slimy and moist fish (as Eeles, Congers, Lampreys, Oisters, Cockles, Mustles, and Scallopes) are best broild, rosted or bakt; but all other fish of a firm substance and drier constitution is rather to be sodden.' *Muffett*, p. 145.

⁵ So MS., but *grone* may mean *green*, see l. 851 and note to it. If not? for Fr. *gronan*, a gurnard. The Scotch *crowner* is a species of gurnard.

⁶ Lynge, fysshe, *Colin*, Palsgrave; but *Colin*, a Sea-cob, or Gull. Cotgrave. See Promptorium, p. 296.

⁷ Fr. *Merlus ou Merluz*, A Mellwell, or Keeling, a kind of small Cod whereof Stockfish is made. Cotgrave. And see Prompt. Parv. p. 348, note 4. "Cod-fish is a great Sea-whiting, called also a Keeling or Melwel." Bennett's *Muffett on Food*, p. 148.

- Saltfysche, stokfische¹ / merlynge² / makerelle, but-
 tur ye may but for Mackarel,
 &c., butter
- with swete buttur of Claynos³ or els of hakenay, of Claynes or
 Hackney. (?)
- 560 þe boonus, skynnes / & fynnes, furst y-fette a-way,
 þeñ sett youre dische þere as youre souereyn may
 tast & assay.
- Pike⁴, to youre souereyn y wold þat it be layd, Of Pike, the belly
 þe wombe is best, as y haue herd it saide, is best,
- 564 Fysche & skyñ to-gedir be hit conuaied
 with pike sawce y-noughe þer-to / & hit shalle not with plenty of
 be denayd. sauce.
- The salt lamprey, gobeñ hit a slout⁵ .vij. pecis y Salt Lampreys,
 assigne ; cut in seven
 gobbets,
 pick out the back-
 bones,
- þañ pike owt þe boonus nyze þe bak spyne,

¹ Cogan says of stockfish, "Concerning which fish I will say no more than Erasmus hath written in his *Colloquio*. *There is a kind of fishe, which is called in English Stockfish : it nourisheth no more than a stock*. Yet I haue eaten of a pie made onely with Stockefishe, whiche hath been verie good, but the goodnesse was not so much in the fishe as in the cookerie, which may make that sauorie, which of it selfe is vnsavourie . . it is sayd a good Cooke can make you good meate of a whetstone. . . Therefore a good Cooke is a good iewell, and to be much made of." "Stockfish whilst it is unbeaten is called Buckhorne, because it is so tough; when it is beaten upon the stock, it is termed stockfish." *Muffett*. Lord Percy (A.D. 1512) was to have "cxl Stok fisch for the expensys of my house for an hole Yere, after ij.d. obol. the pece," p. 7, and "dececxlij Salt fisch . . after iiij the pece," besides 9 barrels of white and 10 cades of red herring, 5 cades of Sprats (*sprootis*), 400 score salt salmon, 3 firkins of salt sturgeon and 5 cags of salt eels.

² Fr. *Merlan*, a Whiting, a Merling. Cot. 'The best Whittings are taken in Tweede, called *Merlings*, of like shape and vertue with ours, but far bigger.' *Muffett*, p. 174.

³ MS. may be Cleynes. ? what place can it be; Clayness, Claynose? Claybury is near Woodford in Essex.

⁴ A recipe for Pykes in Brasey is in *H. Ord.* p. 451. The head of a Carp, the *tail* of a Pike, and the Belly of a Bream are most esteemed for their tenderness, shortness, and well rellishing. *Muffett*, p. 177.

⁵ Cut it in gobets or lumps a-slope. "Aslet or *a-slowte* (asloppe, a slope), *Oblique*." P. Parv. But *slout* may be *slot*, bolt of a door, and so *aslout* = in long strips.

	568 and ley hit oñ your lordes trenchere wheper he sowpe or dyne,
serve with onions and galentine.	& þat ye haue ssoddyñ ynons ¹ to meddille with galantyne. ²
Plaice: cut off the fins, cross it with a knife, sauce with wine, &c.	Off playce, ³ looke ye put a-way þe watur clene, afftur þat þe fynnes also, þat þey be not sene ; 572 Crosse hym þeñ with your knyffe þat is so kene ; wyne or ale / powder þer-to, youre souerayñ welle to queme.
Gurnard, Chub,	Gurnard / roche ⁴ / breme / chevyñ / base / melet / in her kervynge,
Roach, Dace, Cod, &c., split up and spread on the dish.	Perche / rooche ⁵ / darce ⁶ / Makerelle, & whitynge, 576 Codde / haddok / by þe bak / splat þeñ in þe dische liynge, pike owt þe boonus, clense þe refett ⁷ in þe bely bydynge ;
[Fol. 179 b.]	Soolus ⁸ / Carpe / Breme de mere, ⁹ & trowt,

¹ Onions make a man stink and wink. Berthelson, 1754. 'The Onion, though it be the Countrey mans meat, is better to vse than to tast: for he that eateth euerie day tender Onions with Honey to his breakfast, shall liue the more healthfull, so that they be not too new.' *Maison Rustique*, p. 178, ed. 1616.

² Recipes for this sauce are in *Liber C.* p. 30, and *H. Ord.* p. 441: powdered crusts, galingale, ginger, and salt, steeped in vinegar and strained. See note to l. 634 below.

³ See "Plays in Cene," that is, Ceue, chives, or eschalots. *H. Ord.* p. 452.

⁴ Of all sea-fish Rochets and Gurnards are to be preferred; for their flesh is firm, and their substance purest of all other. Next unto them Plaise and Soles are to be numbered, being eaten in time; for if either of them be once stale, there is no flesh more carrion-like, nor more troublesome to the belly of man. Mouffet, p. 164.

⁵ Roches or Loches in Egurdouce, *H. Ord.* p. 469.

⁶ Or dace.

⁷ *Rivet*, roe of a fish. Halliwell. Dan. *ravn*, *rogn* (rowne of Pr. Parv.) under which Molbech refers to AS. *hræfe* (raven, Bosworth) as meaning roe or spawn. G. P. Marsh.

⁸ See "Soles in Cyne," that is, Cyue, *H. Ord.* p. 452.

⁹ Black Sea Bream, or Old Wife. *Cantharus griseus*. Atkinson. "Abramides Marinæ. Breams of the Sea be a white and solid

þey must be takyn of as þey in þe dische lowt,
 580 bely & bak / by gobyñ¹ þe boon to pike owt,
 so serve ye lordes trenchere, looke ye welle abowt.

Soles, Carp, &c.,
 take off as served.

Whale / Swerdfysche / purpose / dorrays² / roasted
 wele,

Whale, porpoise,

Bret³ / samoñ / Congur⁴ / sturgeoun / turbut, &
 zele,

congur, turbot,

584 þornebak / thurle polle / hound fysch⁵ / halybut, to
 hym þat hathe heele,

Halybut, &c.,

alle þese / cut in þe dische as youre lord etethe at
 meelee.

cut in the dish,

Tenche⁶ in Iely or in Sawce⁷ / loke þere ye kut
 hit so,

and also Tench in
 jelly.

and oñ youre lordes trenchere se þat it be do.

588 Elis & lampurnes⁸ roasted / where þat euer ye go,
 substance, good juice, most easie digestion, and good nourishment."

On roast
 Lamprons

Muffett, p. 148.

¹ gobbets, pieces, see l. 638.

² Fr. *Dorée* : f. The Doree, or Saint Peters fish ; also (though not so properly) the Goldfish or Goldenie. Cotgrave.

³ *Brett*, § xxi. He beareth Azure a *Birt* (or *Burt* or *Berte*) proper by the name of *Brit*. . . It is by the Germans termed a *Brett-fish* or *Brett-cock*. Randle Holme.

⁴ Rec. for Congur in Sause, *H. Ord.* p. 401 ; in Pyole, p. 469.

⁵ This must be Randle Holme's "*Dog fish* or *Sea Dog Fish*. It is by the Dutch termed a *Flackhund*, and a *Hundfisch* : the Skin is hard and redish, beset with hard and sharp scales ; sharp and rough and black, the Belly is more white and softer. Bk II. Ch. XIV. No. lv, p. 343-4. For names of Fish the whole chapter should be consulted, p. 321—345.

⁶ 'His flesh is stopping, slimy, viscous, & very unwholesome ; and (as Alexander Benedictus writeth) of a most unclean and damnable nourishment . . . they engender palsies, stop the lungs, putrifie in the stomach, and bring a man that much eats them to infinite diseases . . . they are worst being fried, *best being kept in gelly*, made strong of wine and spices.' *Muffett*, p. 189.

⁷ Recipes for Tenches in grave, *L. C. C.* p. 25 ; in Cylk (wine, &c.), *H. Ord.* p. 470 ; in Bresyle (boiled with spices, &c.), p. 468.

⁸ Lamprons in Galentyn, *H. Ord.* p. 449. "Lampreys and Lamprons differ in bigness only and in goodness ; they are both a very sweet and nourishing meat. . . The little ones called Lamprons are best broild, but the great ones called Lampreys are best baked." *Muffett*, p. 181-3. See l. 630-40 of this poem.

cast vinegar, &c.,
and bone them.

Cast vinegre & powder þeroñ / furst fette þe bonus
þeīm fro.

Crabs are hard to
carve: break
every claw,

Crabbe is a slutt / to kerve / & a wrawd¹ wight;
breke euery Clawe / a sondur / for þat is his
ryght:

put all the meat
in the body-shell,

592 In þe brode shelle putt youre stuff / but furst
haue a sight

þat it be clene from skyñ / & senow / or ye
begyñ to dight.

And what² ye haue piked / þe stuff owt of euery
shelle

and then season it
with

with þe poynt of youre knyff, loke ye temper hit
welle,

vinegar or verjuice
and powder. (?)

596 put vinegre / þerto, verdjus, or ayselle,³
Cast þer-oñ powdur, the bettur it wille smelle.

Heat it, and give
it to your lord.

Send þe Crabbe to þe kychyñ / þere for to hete,
agayñ hit facche to þy souerayne sittynge at mete;

Put the claws,
broken, in a dish.

600 breke þe clawes of þe crabbe / þe smalle & þe grete,
In a disch þeīm ye lay / if hit like your souer-
ayne to ete.

The sea Crayfish:
cut it asunder,

Crevice⁴ / þus wise ye must them dight:
Depart the crevice a-sondire euyñ to youre sight,

slit the belly of
the back part,

604 Slytt þe bely of the hyndur part / & so do ye
right,

take out the fish,

and alle hoole take owt þe fische, like as y yow
behight.

¹ Wraw, froward, ongoodly. *Perversus . . . exasperans*. Pr. Parv.

² for *whan*, when.

³ A kind of vinegar; A.S. *eisile*, vinegar; given to Christ on the Cross.

⁴ *Escrevisse*: f. A Crevice, or Crayfish [see l. 618]; (By some Authors, but not so properly, the Crab-fish is also tearmed so.) *Escrevisse de mer*. A Lobster; or, (more properly) a Sea-Crevice. Cotgrave. A *Crevice*, or a *Crefish*, or as some write it, a *Crevis Fish*, are in all respects the same in form, and are a Species of the Lobster, but of a lesser size, and the head is set more into the body of the *Crevice* than in the *Lobster*. Some call this a Ganwell. R. Holme, p. 338, col. 1, § xxx.

- Pare away þe red skyñ for dyuers cawse & dowl,
 and make clene þe place also / þat ye calle his clean out the gowt
in
 gowt,¹
- 608 hit lies in þe myddes of þe bak / looke ye pike the middle of the
sea Crayfish's
back; pick it out,
 it owt;
 areise hit by þe þyknes of a grote / þe fische tear it off the fish,
 rownd abowt.
- put it in a dische leese by lees² / & þat ye not
 forgete
 to put vinegre to þe same / so it towche not þe and put vinegar
to it;
 mete;
- 612 breke þe gret clawes youre self / ye nede no break the claws
 cooke to trete,
 Set þem on þe table / ye may / with-owt any and set them on
the table.
 maner heete.
- The bak of þe Crevice, þus he must be sted: Treat the back
like the crab,
 array hym as ye dothe / þe crabbe, if þat any be
 had,
- 616 and boþe endes of þe shelle / Stoppe them fast stopping both
ends with bread.
 with bred,
 & serue / youre souereyn þer with / as he likethe
 to be fedd.
- Of Crevis dewe douz³ Cut his bely a-way, [Fol. 180.]
 þe fische in A dische clenly þat ye lay
 620 with vineger & powdur þer vppoñ, þus is vused ay, The fresh-water
Crayfish: serve
with vinegar and
powder.
 þañ youre souerayne / whañ hym semethe, sadly
 he may assay.

¹ No doubt the intestinal tract, running along the middle of the body and tail. Dr Günther. Of Crevisses and Shrimps, Muffett says, p. 177, they "give also a kind of exercise for such as be weak: for head and brest must first be divided from their bodies; then each of them must be dis scaled, and clean picked with much pidling; then the long gut lying along the back of the Crevisse is to be voided."

² slice by slice.

³ The fresh-water crayfish is beautiful eating, Dr Günther says.

Salt Sturgeon:
slit its joll, or
head, thin.

The Iolle¹ of þe salt sturgeoun / thyñ / take hede
ye slytt,

& rownd about þe dische dresse ye musteñ hit.

Whelk: cut off
its head and tail,

624 þe whelke² / looke þat þe hed / and tayle away
be kytt,

throw away its
operculum,
mantle, &c.,

his pyntill³ & gutt / almond & mantille,⁴ away
þer fro ye pitt;

cut it in two, and
put it on the
sturgeon,

Then kut ye þe whelk asondur, even pecis two,
and ley þe pecis þerof / vppoñ youre sturgeoun so,
628 rownd all about þe disch / while þat hit wille go;
put vinegre þer-vppoñ / þe bettur þañ wille hit do.

adding vinegar.

Carve Baked
Lampreys thus:
take off the pie-
crust, put thin
slices of bread on
a Dish,

Fresche lamprey bake⁵ / þus it must be dight:
Open þe pastey lid, þer-in to haue a sight,
632 Take þeñ white bred þyñ y-kut & lizt,
lay hit in a chargere / dische, or plater, ryght;

pour galentyne
over the bread,

with a spone þeñ take owt þe gentille galentyne,⁶
In þe dische, oñ þe bred / ley hit, lemmañ myne,

add cinnamon
and red wine.

636 þeñ take powdur of Synamome, & temper hit
with red wyne:

¹ Iolle of a fysshe, *teste*. Palsgrave. Ioll, as of salmon, &c., *caput*. Gouldm. in *Promptorium*, p. 264.

² For to make a potage of welkes, *Liber Cure*, p. 17. "Perwinkles or Whelks, are nothing but sea-snails, feeding upon the finest mud of the shore and the best weeds." *Muffett*, p. 164.

³ *Pintle* generally means the penis; but Dr Günther says the whelk has no visible organs of generation, though it has a projecting tube by which it takes in water, and the function of this might have been misunderstood. Dr G. could suggest nothing for *almond*, but on looking at the drawing of the male Whelk (*Buccinum nudatum*) creeping, in the Penny Cyclopædia, v. 9, p. 454, col. 2 (art. Entomostomata), it is quite clear that the *almond* must mean the animal's horny, oval *operculum* on its hinder part. 'Most spiral shells have an *operculum*, or lid, with which to close the aperture when they withdraw for shelter. It is developed on a particular lobe at the posterior part of the foot, and consists of horny layers, sometimes hardened with shelly matter.' *Woodward's Mollusca*, p. 47.

⁴ That part of the integument of mollusca which contains the viscera and secretes the shell, is termed the *mantle*. Woodward.

⁵ Recipe "For lamprays baken," in *Liber Cure*, p. 38.

⁶ A sauce made of crumbs, galingale, ginger, salt, and vinegar. See the Recipe in *Liber Cure*, p. 30.

þe same wold plese a pore mañ / y suppose, welle &
fyne.

Mynse ye þe gobyns as thyñ as a grote,
þañ lay þem vppoñ youre galantyne stondynge oñ a
chaffire hootte :

Mince the lam-
preys,
lay them on the
sauce, &c., on a
hot plate,

640 þus must ye diȝt a lamprey owt of his coffyn cote,
and so may youre souerayne ete merily be noote.

serve up to your
lord.

White herynge in a dische, if hit be seaward &
fresshe,

White herrings
fresh;

your souereyn to ete in seesoun of yere / þer-
aftur he wille Asche.

644 looke he be white by þe boon / þe roughe white
& nesche ;

the roe must be
white and tender :

with salt & wyne serue ye hym þe same / boldly,
& not to basshe.

serve with salt
and wine.

Shrympes welle pyked / þe scales away ye cast,
Round about a sawcer / ley ye þem in hast ;

Shrimps picked :
lay them round
a sawcer, and
serve with
vinegar."

648 þe vinegre in þe same sawcer, þat youre lord may
attast,

þañ with þe said fische / he may fede hym / &
of þem make no wast."

"**N**Ow, fadir, feire falle ye / & crist yow haue in
cure, "Thanks, father,

For of þe nurture of kervynge y suppose þat y be sure,
652 but yet a-nodur office þer is / saue y dar not endure
to frayne yow any further / for feere of displesure :

I know about
Carving now,
[Fol. 180 b.]

For to be a sewere y wold y hed þe connyng,
þañ durst y do my devoire / with any worship-
fulle to be wonnyng ;

but I hardly dare
ask you about
a Sewer's duties,

656 señ þat y know þe course / & þe craft of kervynge,
y wold se þe siȝt of a Sewere¹ / what wey he /
shewethe in seruyng."

how he is to
serve."

¹ See the duties and allowances of "A Sewar for the Kynge,"
Edw. IV., in *Household Ordinances*, pp. 36-7; Henry VII., p. 118.
King Edmund risked his life for his assewer, p. 36.

*The Duties of a
Sewer.*

Office of a sewer.¹

"Son, since you
wish to learn,

Now sen yt is so, my son / þat science ye wold
fayn lere,
drede yow no þynge daungeresnes; þus² y shalle
do my devere

I will gladly teach
you.

660 to enforme yow feithfully *with* ryght gladsom chere,
& yf ye wolle lysteñ my lore / somewhat ye shalle
here :

Let the Sewer,
as soon as the
Master

begins to say
grace,

Take hede whañ þe worshipfulle hed / þat is of
any place
hath wasche afore mete / and bigynneth to sey þe
grace,

hie to the kitchen.

664 Vn-to þe kechyñ þañ looke ye take youre trace,
Entendyng & at youre commaundyng þe ser-
uaundes of þe place ;

I. Ask the Panter

Furst speke *with* þe pantere / or officere of þe
spicery

for fruits (as
butter, grapes, &c.),

668 For frutes a-fore mete to ete þem fastyngely,
as buttur / plommes / damesyns, grapes, and chery,
Suche in sesons of þe yere / ar served / to make
meñ mery,

if they are to be
served.

Serche and enquere of þem / yf suche seruyse
shalle be þat day ;

II. Ask the Cook

þan commyñ *with* þe cooke / and looke what he
wille say ;

and Surveyor

672 þe surveyoure & he / þe certeynte telle yow wille
pay,

¹ The word Sewer in the MS. is written small, the flourishes of the big initial O having taken up so much room. The name of the office of *sewer* is derived from the Old French *esculier*, or the *scutellarius*, i. e. the person who had to arrange the dishes, in the same way as the *scutellery* (scullery) was by rights the place where the dishes were kept. *Domestic Architecture*, v. 3, p. 80 n.

² Inserted in a seemingly later hand.

- what metes // & how many disches / þey dyd
fore puruay. what dishes are prepared.
- And whaṅ þe surveoure¹ & þe Cooke / with yow
done accorde,
- þen shalle þe cook dresse alle þynge to þe sur- III. Let the Cook
serve up the
dishes,
veynge borde,
- 676 þe surveoure sadly / & soburly / with-owteṅ any the Surveyor
discorde
- Delyuer forthe his disches, ye to convey þem to deliver them,
þe lorde ;
- And 'whēn ye bithe at þe borde / of seruyce and [Fol. 181.]
and you, the
Sewer, have
surveynge,
- se þat ye haue officers boþe courtly and connynge, skilful officers to
prevent any dish
being stolen.
- 680 For drede of a dische of youre course stelynge¹,
whyche myght cawse a vileny lightly in youre
seruice sewynge.
- And se þat ye haue seruytours semely / þe disches IV. Have proper
servants,
for to bere,
- Marchalles, Squyers / & sergeauntes of armes², if Marshals, &c.,
þat þey be there,
- 684 þat youre lordes mete may be brought without to bring the dishes
from the kitchen.
dowt or dere ;
- to sett it surely oṅ þe borde / youre self nede not V. You set them
on the table
yourself.
feere.

¹ See the duties and allowances of "A Surveyour for the Kyng" (Edw. IV.) in *Household Ord.* p. 37. Among other things he is to see 'that no thing be purloyned,' (cf. line 680 below), and the fourty Squyers of Household who help serve the King's table from 'the surveying bourde' are to see that 'of every messe that cummyth from the dressing bourde . . . thereof be nothing withdrawe by the squires.' *ib.* p. 45.

² Squyers of Houshold xl . . . xx squires attendaunt uppon the Kings (Edw. IV.) person in ryding . . . and to help serve his table from the surveying bourde. *H. Ord.* p. 45. Sergeauntes of Armes IIII., whereof ii alway to be attending uppon the Kings person and chambre. . . In like wise at the conveyance of his meate at every course from the surveying bourde, p. 47.

*A Meat Dinner.**A dynere of flesche.¹**First Course.**The Furst Course.*1. Mustard and
brawn.**F**urst set forthe mustard / & brawne / of boore,²
þe wild swyne,

2. Potage.

Suche potage / as þe cooke hathe made / of yerbis /
spice / & wyne,3. Stewed Phea-
sant and Swan, &c.688 Beeff, motoñ³ / Stewed feysaund / Swañ⁴ with
the Chawdwyñ,⁵

4. Baked Venison.

Capoun, pigge / vensoun bake, leche lombard⁶ /
fruture viaunt⁷ fyne ;

5. A Device of

And pañ a Sotelte :

Gabriel greeting
Mary.

Maydoñ mary þat holy virgyne,

692 And Gabrielle gretynge hur / with
an Ave.} **A Sotelte**

¹ Compare the less gorgeous feeds specified on pp. 54-5 of *Liber Cure*, and pp. 449-50 of *Household Ordinances*. Also with this and the following 'Dinere of Fische' should be compared "the Diett for the King's Majesty and the Queen's Grace" on a Flesh Day and a Fish Day, A.D. 1526, contained in *Household Ordinances*, p. 174-6. Though Harry the Eighth was king, he was allowed only two courses on each day, as against the Duke of Gloucester's three given here. The daily cost for King and Queen was £4. 3s. 4d. ; yearly, £1520. 13s. 4d. See also in Markham's *Houswife*, pp. 98-101, the ordering of 'extraordinary great Feasts of Princes' as well as those 'for much more humble men.'

² See Recipes for Bor in Counfett, Boor in Brasey, Bore in Egurdouce, in *H. Ord.* p. 435.

³ *Chair de mouton manger de glouton* : Pro. Flesh of a Mutton is food for a glutton ; (or was held so in old times, when Beefe and Bacon were your onely dainties.) Cot.

⁴ The rule for the succession of dishes is stated in *Liber Cure*, p. 55, as whole-footed birds first, and of these the greatest, as swan, goose, and drake, to precede. Afterwards come baked meats and other dainties.

⁵ See note to l. 535 above.

⁶ See the Recipe for Leche Lumbard in *Household Ordinances*, p. 438. Pork, eggs, pepper, cloves, currants, dates, sugar, powdered together, boiled in a bladder, cut into strips, and served with hot rich sauce.

⁷ Meat fritter ?, mentioned in l. 501.

The Second Course.

Second Course.

- Two potages, blanger mangere,¹ & Also Iely² :
 For a standard / vensoun rost / kyd, favne, or
 cony,
 bustard, stork / crane / pecok in hakille ryally,³
 696 heiron-sew or / betowre, with-serue with bred,
 yf þat drynk be by ;
- Partriche, wodcok / plovere / egret / Rabettes
 sowkere⁴ ;
- Gret briddes / larkes / gentille breme de mere,
 dowcettes,⁵ payne puff, with leche / Ioly⁶ Ambere,
 700 Fretoure powche / a sotelte folowyng in fere,
 þe course for to fullfyllen,
 An angelle goodly kañ appere,
 and syngynge with a mery chere,
 704 Vn-to .iiij. sheperdes vppoñ añ hille.

1. Blanc Mange (of Meat).
 2. Roast Venison, &c.

3. Peacocks,
 heronsew,

egrets, sucking rabbits,

larks, bream, &c.

4. Dowcets, amber Leche, poached fritters.

5. A Device of an Angel appearing

to three Shepherds on a hill.

The iiij^a Course.

Third Course.

- “Creme of almondes, & mameny, þe iiij. course
 in coost,
 Curlew / brew / snytes / quayles / sparrows /
 mertenettes rost,

1. Almond cream.

2. Curlews, Snipes, &c.

¹ See “Blawmanger to Potage” p. 430 of *Household Ordinances*; Blawmangere, p. 455; Blone Manger, *L. C. C.* p. 9, and Blanc Maungere of fysshe, p. 19.

² “Gele in Chekyns or of Hennes,” and “Gelle of Flesshe,” *H. Ord.* p. 437.

³ See the recipe “At a Feeste Roiall, Pecoockes shall be dight on this Manere,” *H. Ord.* p. 439; but there he is to be served “forthe with the last cours.” The *hackle* refers, I suppose, to his being sown in his skin when cold after roasting.

⁴ The fat of *Rabet-suckers*, and little Birds, and small Chickens, is not discommendable, because it is soon and lightly overcome of an indifferent stomack. *Muffett*, p. 110.

⁵ Recipe at p. 60 of this volume. Dowcet mete, or swete cake mete (bake mete, P.) *Dulceum, ductileus*. P. Parv. Dousette, a lytell flawne, *dariolle*. Palsgrave. Fr. *flannet*; m. A doucet or little custard. Cot.

⁶ May be *Iely*, amber jelly, instead of a beautiful amber leche.

3. Fresh-water
crayfish, &c.

Perche in gely / Crevise dewe douȝ / pety perueis ¹
with þe moost,

4. Baked Quinces,
Sage fritters, &c.

708 Quynces bake / leche dugard / Fruture sage / y
speke of cost,

5. Devices:

and soteltees fulle soleyñ :

The Mother of
Christ, presented :

þat lady þat conseuyd by the holygost
hyñ þat distroyed þe fendes boost,

by the Kings of
Cologne.

712 presentid plesauntly by þe kynges of coleyñ.

Afftur þis, delicatis mo.

Dessert.
White apples,
caraways,
wafers and
Ypocras.
Clear the Table.

Blaunderelle, or pepyns, with caraway in confite,
Waffurs to ete / ypocras to drynk with delite.

716 now þis fest is fynysched / voyd þe table quyte ;
Go we to þe fysche fest while we haue respite,
& þañ with goddes grace þe fest wille be do.

A Fish Dinner.

A Dinere of Fische.²

First Course.

The Furst Course.

1. Minnows, &c.

“Musclade or ³ menows // with þe Samoun bel-
lows ⁴ // eles, lampurns in fere ;

2. Porpolse and
peas.

720 Pesoñ with þe purpose // ar good potage, as y
suppose //

as fallethe for tyme of þe yere :

[Fol. 182.]

Bakeñ herynge // Sugre þeroñ strewynge //
grene myllewelle, deyntethe & not dere ;

3. Fresh Millwell.

4. Roast Pike.

724 pike ⁵ / lamprey / or Soolis // purpose rosted oñ
coles ⁶ //

¹ See the note to line 499.

² Compare “For a servise on fysshe day,” *Liber Cure*, p. 54, and
Household Ordinances, p. 449.

³ For of. See ‘Sewes on Fische Dayes,’ l. 821.

⁴ ? for bellies : see ‘the baly of þe fresch samoun,’ l. 823 in Sewes
on Fische Dayes; or it may be for the *sounds* or breathing apparatus.

⁵ Pykes in Brasey, *H. Ord.* p. 451.

⁶ Purpesses, Tursons, or sea-hogs, are of the nature of swine,
never good till they be fat . . it is an unsavoury meat . . yet many
Ladies and Gentlemen love it exceedingly, bak’d like venison.
Mouffet, p. 165.

gurnard / lampurnes bake / a leche, & a friture;
a semely sotelte folowyng evyñ þere.

- 728 *A galaunt yonge mañ, a wanton wight,*
 pypyng & syngyng / lovyng & lyght,
 Standyng on a clowd, Sanguineus he hight,
 þe begynnyng of þe seson þat cleped is ver."

5. A Divice:

A young man

pipng

on a cloud, and
 called *Sanguineus*, or Spring.

The second course.

Second Course.

- 732 *"Dates in confyte // Iely red and white //*
 þis is good dewyng¹;
 Congur, somon, dorrar // In sirippe if þey lay //
 with oper disches in sewyng.
 Brett / turbut² / or halybut // Carpe, base / mylet,
 or trowt //
 Cheven³, breme / renewyng;
 3ole / Eles, lampurnes / rost // a leche, a fryture, y
 make now bost //
 þe second / sotelte sewyng.
 A mañ of warre semyng he was,
 A roughe, a red, angry syre,
 An hasty mañ standyng in fyre,
 As hoot as somer by his attyre;
 his name was þeron, & cleped Estas.

1. Dates and
 Jelly.

2. Doree in Syrup,

3. Turbot, &c.,

4. Eels, Fritters,

5. A Device:

A Man of War,
 red and angry.

called *Estas*, or
 Summer.

¹ ? due-ing, that is, service; not moistening.

² *Rhombi*. Turbuts . . some call the Sea-Pheasant . . whilst they be young . . they are called Butts. They are best being sodden. *Muffett*, p. 173. "Pegeons, *buttes*, and elis," are paid for as *hakys* (hawks) *mete*, on x Sept. 6 R. H(enry VII) in the Howard Household Books, 1481-90, p. 508.

³ Gulls, Guffs, Pulches, *Chevins*, and Millers-thombs are a kind of jolt-headed Gudgins, very sweet, tender, and wholesome. *Muffett*, p. 180. Randle Holme says, 'A *Chevyn* or a *Pollarde*; it is in Latin called *Capitus*, from its great head; the Germans *Schwall*, or *Alet*; and *Myn* or *Mouen*; a *Schupfish*, from whence we title it a *Chub fish*.' ch. xiv. § xxvii.

Third Course.

The thrid course.

1. Almond
Cream, &c.,744 Creme of almond¹ Iardyne // & mameny² // good
& fyne //Potage for þe .iiij^d seruyse.

2. Sturgeon,

Fresch sturgen / breme de mere // Perche in
Iely / oryent & clere //

Whelks, Minnows,

whelkes, menuse; þus we devise:

3. Shrimps, &c.,

748 Shrympis / Fresch herynge bryled // pety perueis
may not be exiled,

4. Fritters.

leche fryture,³ a tansey gyse //5. A Device:
A Man with a
Sickle,The sotelte / a mañ with sikelle in his hande, In a
ryvere of watur stande /

wrapped in wedes in a werysom wyse,

tired,

752 haunyge no deynteithe to daunce:

þe thrid age of mañ by liklynes;

called Harvest.

hervist we clepe hym, fulle of werynes:

3et þer folowythe mo þat we must dres,

756 regardes riche þat ar fulle of plesaunce.

Fourth Course.

The .iiij. course of frute.

[Fol. 182 b.]
Hot apples,

Ginger, Wafers,

Ypocras.

Whot appuls & peres with sugre Candy,

Withe Gyngre columbyne, mynsed manerly,

Wafurs with ypocras.

760 Now þis fest is fynysched / for to make glad chere:
and þaughe so be þat þe vse & manere
not afore tyme be seyn has,

The last Device,

Neuerthelese aftur my symple affeccioñ

764 y must conclude with þe fourth compleccioñ,

Yemps or

'yemps' þe cold terme of þe yere,

Winter, with grey
locks,
sitting on a stone.

Wyntur / with his lokkys grey / febille & old,

Syttynge vppoñ þe stone / bothe hard & cold,

768 Nigard in hert & hevy of chere.

¹ "Creme of Almond Mylk." *H. Ord.* p. 447.² See the recipe, p. 53 of this volume.³ Compare "leche fryes made of frit and friture," *H. Ord.* p. 449; Servise on Fisshe Day, last line.

The furst Sotelte, as y said, 'Sanguineus' hight
 [T]he furst age of man / Iocond & light,
 þe springynge tyme clepe 'ver.'
 772 ¶ The second course / 'colericus' by callynge,
 Fulle of Fyghtynge / blasfemyng, & brallynge,
 Fallynge at veryaunce with fellow & fere.

These Devices
 represent the Ages
 of Man:
Sanguineus, the
 1st age, of
 pleasure.
Colericus, the 2nd,
 of quarrelling.

¶ The thrid sotelte, y declare as y kan,
 776 'Autumpnus,' þat is þe .iiij^d age of man,
 With a flewische¹ countenaunce.

Autumpnus,
 the 3rd,

¶ The iiijth countenaunce², as y seid before,
 is wyntur with his lokkes hoore,
 780 þe last age of man fulle of grevaunce.

of melancholy.

Winter, the 4th,
 of aches and
 troubles.

These iiij. soteltees devised in towse,³
 wher þey byn shewed in an howse,
 hithe dothe gret plesaunce
 784 with oper sightes of gret Nowelte
 þan han be shewed in Rialle feestes of solempnyte,
 A notable cost þe ordynaunce.

These Devices
 give great
 pleasure, when
 shown in a house.

The superscripcioun of þe sutiltees aboue
 specified, here folowethe Versus

*Inscriptions for
 the Devices.*

Ver

Spring.

	Largus, amans, hillaris, ridens, rubei que	Loving,
	coloris,	laughing,
Sanguineus.		
788	Cantans, carnosus, satis audax, atque	singing,
	benignus.	benign.

¹ Melancholy, full of phlegm: see the superscription l. 792 below.
 'Flew, complecyon, (fleume of compleccyon, K. flewe, P.) *Flegma*,
 Catholicon in P. Parv.

² Mistake for *Sotelte*.

³ The first letter of this word is neither a clear *t* nor *c*, though
 more like *t* than *c*. It was first written *Couse* (as if for *cou[r]se*,
 succession, which makes good sense) or *touse*, and then a *w* was put
 over the *u*. If the word is *towse*, the only others I can find like
 it are tow, 'towe of hempe or flax,' Promptorium; '*heruper*, to
 discheuell, *towse*, or disorder the haire.' Cot.

Summer.

[Fol. 183.]

Prickly, angry,

Colericus.

crafty, lean.

*Autumn.*Sleepy, dull,
sluggish, fat,

white-faced.

Winter.

Envious, sad,

timid, yellow-
coloured.*A Franklin's
Feast.*Brawn, bacon and
pease,beef and boiled
chickens,roast goose,
capon, and
custade.*Second Course.*
Mortrewes,

veal, rabbit,

chicken,
dowcettes,fritters,
or leche,¶ **Estas****Hirsutus, Fallax / irascens / prodigus,**
*satis audax,***Astutus, gracilis / Siccus / crocei que coloris.**¶ **Autumpnus****Hic sompnolentus / piger, in sputamine**
*multus,***Fleumaticus.**

792

Ebes hinc sensus / pinguis, facie color
albus.¶ **yemps****Invidus et tristis / Cupidus / dextre**
*que tenacis,***Malencolicus.****Non expers fraudis, timidus, lutei que**
*coloris.***A fest for a franklen.**“**A** Frankleñ may make a feste *Improberabille*,796 *brawne with mustard is concordable,*
*bakoñ serued with pesoñ,**beef or motoñ stewed seruysable,*
*Boyled Chykoñ or capoñ agreable,*800 *convenyent for þe sesoñ ;**Rosted goose & pygge fulle profitable,*
Capoñ / Bakemete, or Custade Costable,
*when eggis & crayme be gesoñ.*804 *þerfore stuffe of household is behoveable,*
Mortrowes or Iusselle¹ ar delectable
*for þe second course by resoñ.**Thañ veel, lambe, kyd, or cony,*808 *Chykoñ or pigeoñ roasted tendurly,*
*bakemetes or dowcettes² with alle.**þeñ followynge, frytowrs & a leche lovely ;*
*Suche seruyse in sesoun is fulle semely*812 *To serue with bothe chambur & halle.*¹ See p. 53 above.² See p. 60 above.

- Then appuls & peris *with* spices delicately
 Aftur þe terme of þe yere fulle deynteithly,
with bred and chese to calle.
- 816 Spised cakes and wafurs worthily
 withe bragot¹ & methe,² þus meñ may nieryly
 plese welle bothe gret & smalle."

spiced pears,

bread and cheese,

spiced cakes,

bragot and mead.

Sewes on fishe dayes.

[Fol. 183 b.]
Dinners on Fish-
days.

- "**F**lowndurs / gogeons, muskels,³ menuce in
 sewe,
- 820 Eles, lampurnes, venprides / quyk & newe,
 Musclade in wortes / musclade⁴ of almondes for
 states fulle dewe,
 Oysturs in Ceuy⁵ / oysturs in grauey,⁶ your helthe
 to renewe,
 The baly of þe fresche samon / els purpose, or
 seele⁷,

Gudgeons,
minnows,

venprides (?)

musclade (?) of
almonds,

oysters dressed,

porpoise or seal,

¹ See a recipe for making it of ale, honey, and spices, in [Cog-an's] Haven of Health, chap. 239, p. 268, in Nares. Phillips leaves out the ale.

² Mead, a pleasant Drink made of Honey and Water. Phillips.

³ A recipe for Musculs in Sewe and Cadel of Musculs to Potage, at p. 445 *H. Ord.* Others 'For mustul (? muscul or *Mustela*, the eel-powt, Fr. *Mustelle*, the Powte or Eeele-powte) pie,' and 'For porray of mustuls,' in *Liber Cure*, p. 46-7.

⁴ ? a preparation of Muscles, as *Applade* Ryal (Harl. MS. 279, Recipe Cxxxv.) of Apples, *Quinade*, Rec. Cxv of Quinces, *Pynade* (fol. 27 b.) of Pynotis (a kind of nut); or is it *Meselade* or *Meslade*, fol. 33, an omelette—'to euery good meslade take a þowsand eyroun or mo.' *Herbelade* (fol. 42 b.) is a liquor of boiled lard and herbs, mixed with dates, currants, and 'Pynez,' strained, sugared, coloured, whipped, & put into 'fayre round cofyns.'

⁵ *Eschalotte*: f. A Cive or Chiue. *Escurs*, The little sallade hearb called, Ciues, or Chiues. Cotgrave.

⁶ For to make potage of oysturs, *Liber Cure*, p. 17. Oysturs in brewette, p. 53.

⁷ Seales flesh is counted as hard of digestion, as it is gross of substance, especially being old; wherefore I leave it to Mariners and Sailers, for whose stomacks it is fittest, and who know the best way how to prepare it. *Muffett*, p. 167.

pike cullis,	824	Colice ¹ of pike, shrympus ² / or perche, ye know fulle wele ;
jelly, dates,		Partye gely / Creme of almondes ³ / dates in confite / to rekeuer heele,
quinces, pears,		Quinces & peris / Cirypppe with parcely rotes / riȝt so bygyñ your mele.
houndfish, rice,		Mortrowis of houndfische ⁴ / & Rice standynge ⁵ white,
mameny.	828	Mameny, ⁶ mylke of almondes, Rice rennynge liquyte,—
If you don't like these potages, taste them only.		þese potages ar holsom for þem þat hañ delite þerof to ete / & if not so / þeñ taste he but a lite.”

Fish Sauces, †

Sawce for Fische.⁷

“**Y**owre sawces to make y shalle geue yow
lerynge :

¹ Cullis (in Cookery) a strained Liquor made of any sort of dress'd Meat, or other things pounded in a Mortar, and pass'd thro' a Hair-sieve : These Cullises are usually pour'd upon Messes, and into hot Pies, a little before they are serv'd up to Table. Phillips. See also the recipe for making a coleise of a cocke or capon, from the *Haven of Health*, in Nares. Fr. *Coulis* : m. A cullis, or broth of boiled meat strained ; fit for a sicke, or weake bodie. Cotgrave.

² Shrimps are of two sorts, the one crookbacked, the other straitbacked : the first sort is called of Frenchmen *Caramots de la santé*, healthful shrimps ; because they recover sick and consumed persons ; of all other they are most nimble, witty, and skipping, and of best juice. *Muffett*, p. 167. In cooking them, he directs them to be “unscaled, to vent the windiness which is in them, being sodden with their scales ; whereof lust and disposition to venery might arise,” p. 168.

³ See the recipe for “Creme of Almonde Mylk,” *Household Ordinances*, p. 447.

⁴ “Mortrewes of Fysshe,” *H. Ord.* p. 469 ; “Mortrews of fysshe,” *L. C. C.* p. 19.

⁵ See “Rys Lumbarde,” *H. Ord.* p. 438, l. 3, ‘and if thow wilt have hit stondynge, take rawe ȝolkes of egges,’ &c.

⁶ See p. 53 above.

⁷ ‘Let no fish be sodden or eaten without salt, pepper, wine, onions or hot spices ; for all fish (compared with flesh) is cold and

- 832 Mustard is¹ / is metest with alle maner salt Mustard for salt
 herynge, herring,
 Salt fysche, salt Congur, samoun, with sparlynge,² conger,
 Salt ele, salt makerelle, & also withe merlynge.³ mackerel, &c.
 Vynegur is good to salt purpose & torrentyne,⁴ Vinegar for salt
 836 Salt sturgeoñ, salt swyrd-fysche savery & fyne. swordfish. &c.
 Salt Thurlepolle, salt whale,⁵ is good with egre Sour wine for
 wyne, whale,
 withe powdur put per-oñ shalle cawse ooñ welle with powder.
 to dyne.
 Playce with wyne ; & pike withe his reffett ; Wine for plaice.

moist, of little nourishment, engendring watrish and thin blood.' *Muffett*, p. 146, with a curious continuation. *Hoc Sinapium, Ance. mustarde.*

Salgia, sirpillum, piper, alia, sal, petrocillum,

Ex hiis sit salsa, non est sententia falsa.

15th cent. Pict. Vocab. in Wright's Voc. p. 267, col. 1.

¹ ? is repeated by mistake.

² Spurlings are but broad Sprats, taken chiefly upon our Northern coast; which being drest and pickled as Anchovaes be in Provence, rather surpass them than come behind them in taste and goodness. . . . As for Red Sprats and Spurlings, I vouchsafe them not the name of any wholesome nourishment, or rather of no nourishment at all; commending them for nothing, but that they are bawdes to enforce appetite, and serve well the poor mans turn to quench hunger. *Muffett*, p. 169.

³ A Whiting, a Merling, Fr. *Merlan*. 'Merling: A Stock-fish, or Marling, else Merling; in Latine *Marlanus* and *Marlangus*.' R. Holme, p. 333, col. 1.

⁴ After searching all the Dictionaries and Glossaries I could get hold of in the Museum for this *Torrentyne*, which was the plague of my life for six weeks, I had recourse to Dr Günther. He searched Rondelet and Belon in vain for the word, and then suggested ALDROVANDI as the last resource. In the *De Piscibus*, Lib. V., I accordingly found (where he treats of *Trout*), "Scoppa, grammaticus Italus, *Torrentinam* nominat, rectius *Torrentinam* vocaturus, à torrentibus nimirum: in his n[ominatim] & riuis montanis abundat." (ed. 1644, cum indice copiosissimo.)

⁵ *Whales* flesh is the hardest of all other, and unusuall to be eaten of our Countrymen, no not when they are very young and tenderest; yet the livers of Whales, Sturgeons, and Dolphins smell like violets, taste most pleasantly being salted, and give competent nourishment, as Cardan writeth. *Muffett*, p. 173, ed. Bennet, 1655.

Galantine for
lamprey.

840 þe galantyne¹ for þe lamprey / where þey may
be gete ;

Verjuice for
mullet.
Cinnamon for
base, carp, and
chub.

verdius² to roche / darce / breme / soles / & molett;
Baase, flow[n]durs / Carpe / Cheven / Synamome
ye þer-to sett.

Garlic, verjuice,
and pepper,

Garlek / or mustard, vergeus þerto, pepur þe
powderynge—

for houndfish,

844 For þornebak / houndfysche / & also fresche
herynge,

stockfish, &c.

hake³, stokfyshe⁴, haddok⁵ / cod⁶ / & whytynge—
ar moost metist for thes metes, as techithe vs þe
wrytynge.

[Fol. 184.]
Vinegar, cinna-
mon, and ginger,
for fresh-water
crayfish,

848 Vinegre / powdur withe synamome / and gyngere,
to rost Eles / lampurnes / Creve³ dew dou³, and
breme de mere,

fresh porpoise,

For Gurnard / for roche / & fresche purpose, if
hit appere,

sturgeon, &c.

Fresche sturgeon / shrympes / perche / molett /
y wold it were here.

Green Sauce for
green fish (fresh
ling):

Grene sawce⁷ is good with grene fisch⁸, y here say ;

¹ See the recipe in *Liber Cure Cocorum*, p. 30 ; and Felettes in *Galentyne*, *H. Ord.* p. 433.

² Veriuse, or sause made of grapes not full ripe, *Ompharium*. Withals.

³ Hakes be of the same nature [as Haddocks], resembling a Cod in taste, but a Ling in likeness. *Muffett*, p. 153.

⁴ 'Stocke fysshe, they [the French] have none,' says Palsgrave.

⁵ Haddocks are little Cods, of light substance, crumbling flesh, and good nourishment in the Sommer time, especially whilst Venison is in season. *Muffett*, p. 153.

⁶ Keling. R. Holme, xxiv, p. 334, col. 1, has "He beareth Cules a *Cod Fish* argent. by the name of *Codling*. Of others termed a *Stockfish*, or an *Haberdine* : In the North part of this Kingdome it is called a *Keling*, In the Southerne parts a *Cod*, and in the Westernne parts a *Welwell*."

⁷ See the Recipes for 'Pur verde sawce,' *Liber Cure*, p. 27, and 'Vert Sause' (herbs, bread-crumbs, vinegar, pepper, ginger, &c.), *H. Ord.* p. 441. Grene Sause, condimentum harbaceum. Withals.

⁸ Ling perhaps looks for great extolling, being counted the beefe of the Sea, and standing every fish day (as a cold supporter) at my

852 botte lynge / brett¹ & fresche turbut / gete it who
so may.

yet make moche of mustard, & put it not away, Mustard is best
For with euery dische he is dewest / who so lust for every dish.
to assay.

Other sawces to sovereyns ar serued in som Other sauces are
solempne festis, served at grand
feasts, but the

856 but these will plese them fulle welle / þat ar but above will please
hoomly gestis. familiar guests."

Now have y shewyd yow, my soñ, somewhat of
dyuerse Iestis

þat ar remembred in lordes courte / þere as all
rialte restis."

"**N**Ow fayre falle yow fadir / in faythe y am "Fair fall you,
full fayñ, father !

860 For louesomly ye han lered me þe nurtur þat ye You have taught
han sayñ; me lovesomely ;
but

plesethe it you to certifye me with ooñ worde or please tell me,
twayñ

þe Curtesy to conceue conveniently for euery too, the duties of
chamburlyayñ." a Chamberlain."

The office off a chamburlyayne.²

*The Chamberlain's
Duties.*

"**T**he Curtesy of a chamburlyayñ is in office to He must be
be diligent, diligent,

Lord Maiors table; yet it is nothing but a long Cod: whereof the
greater sised is called Organe Ling, and the other Codling, because
it is no longer then a Cod, and yet hath the taste of Ling: *whilst
it is new it is called GREEN-FISH*; when it is salted it is called Ling,
perhaps of lying, because the longer it lyeth . . the better it is,
waxing in the end as yellow as the gold noble, at which time they
are worth a noble a piece. *Muffett*, p. 154-5.

¹ A brit or turbret, *rhombus*. Withals, 1556. Bret, Brut, or
Burt, a Fish of the Turbot-kind. Phillips.

² These duties of the Chamberlain, and those of him in the Ward-
robe which follow, should be compared with the chapter *De Officio
Garcionum* of "The Boke of Curtasye" ll. 435—520 below. See
also the duties and allowances of 'A Chamberlayn for the King'

- neatly dressed,
clean-washed,
- careful of fire and
candle,
- attentive to his
master,
- light of ear,
- looking out for
things that will
please.
- The Chamberlain
must prepare for
his lord
- a clean shirt,
- under and upper
coat and doublet,
- breeches, socks,
and slippers as
brown as a water-
leech.
- In the morning,
- must have clean
linen ready,
warmed by
- a clear fire.
- 864 Clenli clad, his clopis not all to-rent ;
handis & face waschen fayre, his hed well kempt ;
& war euer of fyre and candille þat he be not
neccligent.
- To youre mastir looke ye geue diligent attend-
aunce ;
- 868 be curteyse, glad of chere, & light of ere in euery
semblaunce,
euer waytynge to þat thyng þat may do hym
plesaunce :
- to these propurtees if ye will apply, it may yow
welle avaunce.
- Se that youre souerayne haue clene shurt &
breche,
- 872 a petycote,¹ a dublett, a longe coote, if he were
suche,
his hosyn well brussed, his sokkes not to seche,
his shoñ or slyppers as browne as is þe watur-
leche.
- In þe morow tyde, agaynst youre souerayne doth
ryse,
- 876 wayte hys lynnyñ þat hit be clene ; þeñ warme
hit in þis wise,
by a clere fyre withowt smoke / if it be cold or
frese,
and so may ye youre souerayñ plese at þe best
asise.

H. Ord. p. 31-2. He has only to see that the men under him do the work mentioned in these pages. See office of Wardrobe of Bedds, *H. O.* p. 40 ; Gromes of Chambyr, x, Pages of Chambre, IIII, *H. O.*, p. 41, &c. The arraying and unarraying of Henry VII. were done by the Esquires of the Body, *H. Ord.* p. 118, two of whom lay outside his room.

¹ A short or small coat worn under the long over-coat. *Petycote*, *tunicula*, P. P., and ‘.j. petticote of lynen clothe without slyves,’ there cited from Sir J. Fastolfe’s Wardrobe, 1459. *Archæol.* xxi. 253. *subucula*, *le, est etiam genus intimæ vestis*, a peticote. Withals.

- Agayne he riseth vp, make redy youre fote shete
 880 in þis maner made greithe / & þat ye not forgete
 furst a chayere a-fore þe fyre / or som oþer honest
 sete
 Withe a cosshyn þer vppon / & a noþur for the
 feete /
- aboue þe coschyn & chayere þe said shete ouer
 sprad
- 884 So þat it keuer þe fote coschyn and chayere, riȝt
 as y bad ;
- Also combe & kercheff / looke þere bothe be had
 youre souereyn hed to kymbe or he be graytly
 clad :
- T**han pray youre souereyn with wordus man-
 suetely
- 888 to com to a good fyre and aray hym ther by,
 and there to sytt or stand / to his persone ples-
 auntly,
 and ye euer redy to awayte with maners metely.
- Furst hold to hym a petycote aboue youre brest
 and barme,
- 892 his dublet þaȝ aftur to put in boþe hys arme,
 his stomachere welle y-chaffed to kepe hym fro
 harme,
 his vampeys¹ and sokkes, þaȝ all day he may go
 warme ;
- When his lord rises, he gets ready the foot-sheet ;
 puts a cushioned chair before the fire,
 [Fol. 184 b]
 a cushion for the feet,
 and over all spreads the foot-sheet ;
 has a comb and kerchief ready, and then
 asks his lord
 to come to the fire and dress while he waits by.
 1. Give your master his under coat,
 2. His doublet,
 3. Stomacher well warmed,
 4. Vampeys and socks,

¹ Vamps or *Vampays*, an odd kind of short Hose or Stockings that cover'd the Feet, and came up only to the Ankle, just above the Shooe ; the Breeches reaching down to the Calf of the Leg. Whence to graft a new Footing on old Stockings is still call'd *Vamping*. Phillips. Fairholt does not give the word. The Vampeys went outside the sock, I presume, as no mention is made of them with the socks and slippers after the bath, l. 987 ; but Strutt, and Fairholt after him, have engraved a drawing which shows that the Saxons wore the sock over the stocking, both being within the shoe. 'Vampey of a hose—*auant pied*. Vauntpe of a hose—*uantpie*.' Palsgrave. A.D. 1467, 'fore *vaunpyng*e of a payre for the said Lew vj.d.' p. 396, *Howard Household Book*.

5. Draw on his socks, breeches, and shoes, 896 Theñ drawe oñ his sokkis / & hosyñ by the fure, his shoñ laced or bokelid, draw them oñ sure ;
6. Pull up his breeches, Strike his hosyñ vppewarde his legge ye endure, 7. Tie 'em up, þeñ trusse ye them vp strayte / to his plesure,
8. Lace his doublet, Then lace his dublett euery hoole so by & bye ; 9. Put a kerchief round his neck, 900 oñ his shuldur about his nek a kercheff þere must lye,
10. Comb his head with an ivory comb, and curteisly þañ ye kymbe his hed with combe of yvery,
11. Give him warm water to wash with, and watur warme his handes to wasche, & face also clenly.
12. Kneel down **T**han knele a down oñ youre kne / & þus to youre souerayñ ye say
- and ask him what gown he'll wear: 904 "Syr, what Robe or govñ pleseth it yow to were to day ?"
13. Get the gown, Suche as he axeth fore / loke ye plese hym to pay, 14. Hold it out to him; þañ hold it to hym a brode, his body þer-in to array ;
15. Get his girdle, his gurdelle, if he were, be it strayt or lewse ;
16. His Robe (see l. 957), 908 Set his garment goodly / aftur as ye know þe vse ;
17. His hood or hat. take hym hode or hatt / for his hed cloke or cappe de huse ;
- So shalle ye plese hym prestly, no nede to make excuse
- Wheþur hit be feyre or foule, or mysty alle withe reyñ.
18. Before he goes 912 Or youre mastir depart his place, afore þat þis be seyñ,
- brush him carefully. to brusche besily about hym ; loke all be pur and playñ
- wheþur he were sateñ / sendell, vellewet, scarlet, or greyñ.
- Before your lord goes to church, Prynce or prelate if hit be, or any oþer potestate, 916 or he entur in to þe church, be it erly or late,

- perceue all þynge for his pewe þat it be made
 preparete, see that his pew
 is made ready,
- boþe cosshyn / carpet / & curteyn / bedes & boke, cushion, curtain,
 &c.
 forgete not that.
- T**hañ to youre souereynes chambur walke ye in Return to his
 hast ; bedroom,
- 920 all þe cloþes of þe bed, them aside ye cast ; throw off the
 clothes,
 þe Fethurbed ye bete / without hurt, so no beat the feather-
 bed,
 feddurs ye wast,
- Fustiañ¹ and shetis clene by sight and sans ye see that the fustian
 and sheets are
 tast. clean.
- Kover with a keuerlyte clenly / þat bed so Cover the bed
 with a coverlet,
 manerly made ;
- 924 þe bankers & quosshyns, in þe chambur se þem spread out the
 bench-covers and
 feire y-sprad, cushions,
 boþe hedshete & pillow also, þat þe[y] be saaff set up the head-
 sheet and pillow,
 vp stad,
- the vrnelle & basoñ also that they away be had. remove the urinal
 and basin,
 [Fol. 185.]
 Se the carpettis about þe bed be forth spred & lay carpets round
 the bed, and with
 laid,
- 928 wyndowes & cuppeborde with carpettis & others dress the
 windows and
 cosshyns splayd ; cupboard,
 Se þer be a good fyre in þe chambur conveyed, have a fire laid.
 with wood & fuelle redy þe fuyre to bete & aide.
- S**e þe privehouse for esement² be fayre, soote, & Keep the Privy
 sweet and clean,
 clene,
- 932 & þat þe bordes þer vppoñ / be keuered withe cover the boards
 with green cloth,
 clothe feyre & grene,

¹ Henry VII. had a fustian and sheet under his feather bed, over the bed a sheet, then 'the over fustian above,' and then 'a pane of ermines' like an eider-down quilt. 'A head sheete of raynes' and another of ermines were over the pillows. After the ceremony of making the bed, all the esquires, ushers, and others present, had bread, ale, and wine, outside the chamber, 'and soe to drinke altogether.' *H. Ord.* p. 122.

² A siege house, *sedes excrementorum*. A draught or priuie, *latrina*.

so that no wood
shows at the hole;
put a cushion
there,

and have some
blanket, cotton, or
linen to wipe on;

have a basin,
jug, and towel,
ready for your

lord to wash when
he leaves the
privy.

& þe hoole / hym self, looke þer no borde he sene,
þeroñ a feire quoschyñ / þe ordoure no mañ to
tene

looke þer be blanket / cotyñ / or lynyñ to wipe
þe neþur ende¹;

936 and euer when he clepithe, wayte redy & entende,
basoun and ewere, & oñ your shuldur a towelle,
my frende²;

In þis wise worship shalle ye wyñ / where þat
euer ye wende

The Wardrobe.³

In the Wardrobe
take care to keep
the clothes well,
and brush 'em

with a soft brush

at least once a
week,

for fear of moths.

Look after your
Drapery and
Skinnery.

940 **I**N þe wardrobe ye must muche entende
besily
the robes to kepe well / & also to brusche
þem clenly;

with the ende of a soft brusche ye brusche þem
clenly,
and yet ouer moche bruschyng we the cloth
lyghtly.

944 lett neuer wollyn cloth ne furre passe a seuenyght
to be vnbrossheñ & shakyn / tend þerto aright,
for moughtes be redy euer in þem to gendur & a-
lyzt;

þerfore to drapery / & skynnery euer haue ye a
sight.

¹ An arse wispe, *penicillum*, -li, vel *anitergium*. Withals. From a passage in William of Malmesbury's autograph *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum* it would seem that water was the earlier cleanser.

² In the MS. this line was omitted by the copier, and inserted in red under the next line by the corrector, who has underscored all the chief words of the text in red, besides touching up the capital and other letters.

³ See the 'Wardrober,' p. 37, and the 'office of Wardrobe of Robes,' in *H. Ord.* p. 39.

- youre souerayn aftir mete / his stomak to digest
 948 yef he wille take a slepe / hym self þere for to
 rest,
 looke bothe kercheff & combe / þat ye haue þere
 prest,
 bothe pillow & hedshete / for hym þe[y] must be
 drest ;
- yet be ye nott ferre hym fro, take tent what y say,
 952 For moche slepe is not medcynable in myddis of
 þe day.
 wayte þat ye haue watur to wasche / & towelle
 alle way
 aftur slepe and sege / honeste will not hit denay.
- W**hañ youre souerayne hathe supped / & to
 chambur takithe his gate,
 956 þañ sprede forthe youre fote shete / like as y lered
 yow late ;
 thañ his gowne ye gadir of, or garment of his
 estate,
 by his licence / & ley hit vpp in suche place as
 ye best wate.
 vppoñ his bak a mantell ye ley / his body to
 kepe from cold,
 960 Set hym oñ his fote shete ¹ / made redy as y yow
 told ;
 his shoñ, sokkis, & hosyñ / to draw of be ye bolde ;
 þe hosyñ oñ youre shuldyr cast / oñ vppoñ your
 arme ye hold ;
 youre souereynes hed ye kembe / but furst ye
 knele to ground ;
 964 þe kercheff and cappe oñ his hed / hit wolde be
 warmely wounde ;

If your lord will
take a nap after
his meal,

have ready
kerchief, comb,

pillow and head-
sheet

(don't let him
sleep too long),

water and towel.

When he goes to
bed,

1. Spread out the
footsheet,

2. Take off your
lord's Robe

and put it away

3. Put a cloak on
his back,

4. Set him on his
footsheet,

5. Pull off his
shoes, socks, and
breeches,

[Fol. 185 b.]

6. Throw the
breeches over
your arm,

7. Comb his head,

8. Put on his
kerchief and
nightcap,

¹ þo lorde schalle shyft hys gowne at nyȝt,
Sytand on fotes hete tyl he be dyȝt.

The Boke of Curtasye, l. 487-8, below.

9. Have the bed,
and headsheet,
&c., ready,

his bed / y-spred / þe shete for þe hed / þe
pelow prest þat stounde,
þat when̄ youre souereyn to bed shall go / to
slepe þere saaf & sounde,

10. Draw the
curtains,
11. Set the night-
light,

968

The curteyns let draw þeīm þe bed round about ;
se his mortar¹ with wax or perchere² þat it go not
owt ;

12. Drive out
dogs and cats,

dryve out dogge and catte, or els geue þeīm a
clovt ;

13. Bow to your
lord,

Of youre souerayne take no leue³ ; / but low to
hyīm alowt.

14. Keep the
night-stool and
urinal ready for
whenever he calls,

972

looke þat ye haue þe basoñ for chambur & also
þe vrnalle

and take it back
when done with.

redy at alle howres when̄ he wille clepe or calle :
his nede performed, þe same receue agayn̄ ye
shalle,

& þus may ye haue a thank / & reward when̄ þat
euer hit falle.

*How to prepare
a Bath.*

A bathe or stewe so called.

3eff youre souerayne wille to þe bathe, his
body to wasche clene,

Hang round the
roof, sheets

976

hang shetis round about þe rooff ; do thus as y
meene ;

full of sweet
herbs,
have five or six
sponges to sit or
lean on,

euery shete full of flowres & herbis soote & grene,
and looke ye haue sponges .v. or vj. þeroñ to
sytte or lene :

¹ Morter . . a kind of Lamp or Wax-taper. *Mortarium* (in old Latin records) a Mortar, Taper, or Light set in Churches, to burn over the Graves or Shrines of the Dead. Phillips.

² Perchers, the Paris-Candles formerly us'd in England ; also the bigger sort of Candles, especially of Wax, which were commonly set upon the Altars. Phil.

³ The Boke of Curtasye (see l. 519-20 below) lets the (chief) usher who puts the lord to bed, go his way, and says

3omon vssher be-fore þe dore
In vtter chambur lies on þe flore.

- looke þer be a gret sponge, þer-oñ youre souer- and one great
ayne to sytt ; sponge to sit on
- 980 þeroñ a shete, & so he may bathe hym þere a with a sheet over
fytte ;
- vndir his feete also a sponge, 3iff þer be any to and a sponge
putt ; under his feet.
- and alwey be sure of þe dur, & se þat he be shutt. Mind the door's
shut.
- A basyn full in youre hand of herbis hote & With a basinful of
hot herbs,
fresche,
- 984 & with a soft sponge in hand, his body þat ye wash him with a
soft sponge,
wasche ;
- Rynse hym with rose watur warme & feire throw rose-water
on him ;
vppoñ hym flasche,
- þeñ lett hym go to bed / but looke it be soote & let him go to bed.
nesche ;
- but furst sett oñ his sokkis, his slyppers oñ his Put his socks
and slippers on,
feete,
- 988 þat he may go feyre to þe fyre, þere to take his stand him on his
footsheet,
fote shete,
- þañ withe a clene clothe / to wype away all wete ; wipe him dry,
take him to bed
thañ brynge hym to his bed, his bales there to to cure his
troubles.
bete."

The makynge of a bathe medicinable.¹

To make a
Medicinal Bath.

"**H**oly hokke / & yardehok² / peritory³ / and
þe brown fenelle,⁴

[Fol. 186.]
Boil together
hollyhock

¹ See note at end. Mr Gillett, of the Vicarage, Runham, Filby, Norwich, sends me these notes on the herbs for this Bathe Medicinable:—" ² YARDEHOK = Mallow, some species. They are all more or less mucilaginous and emollient. If Yarde = *Virga*; then it is Marshmallow, or *Malva Sylvestris*; if yarde = erde, earth; then the *rotundifolia*.—³ PARITORY is Pellitory of the wall, *parietaria*. Wall pellitory abounds in nitrate of potass. There are two other pellitories: 'P. of Spain'—this is *Pyrethrum*, which the Spanish corrupted into *pelitre*, and we corrupted *pelitre* into pellitory. The other, bastard-pellitory, is *Achillea Ptarmica*.—⁴ BROWN FENNELLE = probably *Peucedanum officinale*, or Hoss fennel, a dangerous plant;

centaury,

992 walle wort⁵ / herbe Iohn⁶ / Sentory⁷ / rybbe-
wort⁸ / & camamelle,

herb-benet,

hey hove⁹ / heyriff¹⁰ / herbe benet¹¹ / brese-
wort¹² / & smallache,¹³

certainly not *Anethum Graveolens*, which is always dill, dyle, dile, &c.—⁸RYBBEWORT, *Plantago lanceolata*, mucilaginous.—⁹HEYHOVE = *Glechoma hederacea*, bitter and aromatic, abounding in a principle like camphor.—¹⁰HEYRIFF = harif = *Galium Aparine*, and allied species. They were formerly considered good for scorbutic diseases, when applied externally. Lately, in France, they have been administered internally against epilepsy.—¹²BRESEWORT; if = brisewort or bruisewort, it would be *Sambucus Ebulus*, but this seems most unlikely.—BROKE LEMPK = brooklime. *Veronica Beccabunga*, formerly considered as an anti-scorbutic applied externally. It is very inert. If a person fed on it, it might do some good, i.e. about a quarter of the good that the same quantity of water-cress would do.—BILGRES, probably = henbane, *hyoscymus niger*. Compare Dutch [Du. *Bilsen*, Hexham, and German *Bilse*]. *Bil* = byle = boil, modern. It was formerly applied externally, with marsh-mallow and other mucilaginous and emollient plants, to ulcers, boils, &c. It might do great good if the tumours were unbroken, but is awfully dangerous. So is *Peucedanum officinale*. My Latin names are those of Smith: *English Flora*. Babington has re-named them, and Bentham again altered them. I like my mumpsimus better than their sumpsimus.”

² ‘The common Mallowe, or the tawle wilde Mallow, and the common Hockes’ of Lyte’s Dodoens, 1578, p. 581, *Malua sylvestris*, as distinguished from the *Malua sativa*, or “*Rosa vlttramarina*, that is to say, the Beyondesea Rose, in Frenche, *Maulue de iardin* or *cultiuée* . . in English, Holyhockes, and great tame Mallow, or great Mallowes of the Garden.” The “Dwarffe Mallowe . . is called *Malua sylvestris pumila*.”

³ Peritory, *parietaria*, *vrseolaris*, vel *astericum*. Withals.

⁴? The sweet Fennel, *Anethum Graveolens*, formerly much used in medicine (Thomson). The gigantic fennel is (*Ferula*) *Assafetida*.

⁵ *Sambucus ebulus*, Danewort. See Mr Gillett’s note for Book of Quintessence in Hampole’s Treatises. Fr. *hieble*, Wallwort, dwarfe Elderne, Danewort. Cotgr.

⁶ Erbe Iōn’, or Seynt Ionys worte. *Perforata*, *fuga demonum*, *ypericon*. P. Parv. ⁷ Centaury.

⁸ Ribwort, *arnoglossa*. Ribwoort or ribgrasse, *plantago*. Withals. *Plantain petit*. Ribwort, Ribwort Plantaine, Dogs-rib, Lambes-tongue. Cotgrave. *Plantago lanceolata*, AS. *ribbe*.

¹⁰ Haylife, an herbe. Palsgr. *Galium aparine*, *hegerifan corn*, grains of hedgerife (hayreve, or hayreff), are among the herbs prescribed in *Leechdoms*, v. 2, p. 345, for “a salve against the elfin race & nocturnal [goblin] visitors, & for the woman with whom

broke lempk¹ / Scabiose² / Bilgres / wildflax / scabious,
is good for ache ;

wethy leves / grene otes / boyled in fere fulle soft, withy leaves,
9 96 Cast þeṁ hote in to a vesselle / & sett youre throw them hot
soverayn̄ alloft, into a vessel, set

and suffire þat hete a while as hoot as he may a-bide; your lord on it;
se þat place be couered welle ouer / & close on let him bear it as
euery side ; hot as he can,

and what dissesse ye be vexed with, grevaunce and whatever
ouper peyn̄, disease he has
1000 þis medicyne shalle make yow hoole surely, as will certainly be
meñ seyn̄." cured,
as men say.

The office of vssher & marshalle.³
⁴ my lorde, my master, of lilleshulle abbot⁴

*The Duties of an
Usher and
Marshal.*

"The office of a connyng vschere or mar-
shalle with-owt fable

the devil hath carnal commerce." ¹¹ *Herba Benedicta*. Avens.

¹² *Herbe a foulon*. Fullers hearbe, Sopewort, Mocke-gillouers,
Bruisewort. Cotgrave. "AS. 1. *brysewyr*t, pimpernel, *anagallis*.
Anagallis, brisewort." Gl. Rawlinson, c. 506, Gl. Harl. 3388.
Leechdoms, vol. 1, p. 374. 2. *Bellis perennis*, MS. Laud. 553, fol.
9. Plainly for Hembriswyr, daisy, AS. *dæges eage*. "Consolida
minor. Daysie is an herbe þat sum men callet hembrisworte oþer
bonewort." Gl. Douce, 290. Cockayne. *Leechdoms*, v. 2, Glossary.

¹³ *Persil de marais*. Smallage; or, wild water Parseley. Cot.

¹ Brokelyme *fabaria*. Withals. *Veronica Becabung*a, Water-
Speedwell. 'Hleomoce, Hleomoc, brooklime (where lime is the Saxon
name (*Hleomoc*) in decay), *Veronica beccabung*a, with *V. anagallis* . .
"It waxeth in brooks" . . Both sorts *Lemmike*, Dansk. They were
the greater and the less "brokelemke," Gl. Bodley, 536. "Fabaria
domestica *lemeke*." Gl. Rawl. c. 607. . . Islandic *Lemiki*. Cockayne.
Gloss. to *Leechdoms*, v. 2. It is prescribed, with the two cent-
auries, for suppressed menses, and with *pulegium*, to bring a dead
child away, &c. *Ib.* p. 331.

² Scabiosa, the Herb *Scabious*, so call'd from its Virtue in
curing the Itch; it is also good for Impostumes, Coughs, Pleurisy,
Quinsey, &c. Phillips.

³ See the duties and allowances of 'The Gentylnen Usshers of
Chaumbre .IIII. of Edw. IV., in *H. Ord.* p. 37; and the duties of
Henry VIII's Knight Marshal, *ib.* p. 150.

⁴⁻⁴ This line is in a later hand.

He must know
the rank and pre-
cedence of all
people.

must know alle estates of the church goodly &
greable,

1004 and þe excellent estate of a kynge with his blode
honorable :

hit is a notable nurture / connyng, curyouse,
and commendable.

I. 1. The Pope.

The pope hath no peere ;

2. Emperor.

Emperowre is nex hym euery where ;

3. King.

Kynge corespondent ; þus nurture shalle yow
lere.

4. Cardinal.

1008

highe Cardynelle, þe dignyte dothe requere ;

5. Prince.

Kyngis soñe, pryñce ye hym Calle ;

6. Archbishop.

Archebischope is to hym peregalle.

7. Royal Duke.

Duke of þe blode royalle,

II. Bishop, &c.

1012

bishoppe / Marques / & erle / coequalle.

III. 1. Viscount.

2. Mitred abbot.

Vycount / legate / baroune / suffrigañ / abbot
with mytur feyre,

3. Three Chief
Justices.

4. Mayor of
London.

IV. (The Knight's
rank.)

1. Cathedral
Prior, Knight
Bachelor.

2. Dean, Arch-
deacon.

The estate
off a

1016

barovñ of þeschekere / iij. þe cheff Iustice; / of
london þe meyre ;

Pryoure Cathedrale, mytur abbot without /
a knyght bachillere

Prioure / deane / archedekoñ / a knyght / þe
body Esquyere,

3. Master of the
Rolls.

Mastir of the rolles / riȝt þus rykeñ y,

4. Puisné Judge.

Vndir Iustice may sitte hym by :

5. Clerk of the
Crown.

Clerke of the crowne / & theschekere Con-
venyently

6. Mayor of
Calais.

1020

Meyre of Calice ye may preferre plesauntly.

[Fol. 186 b.]

7. Doctor of
Divinity.

8. Prothonotary.

9. Pope's Legate.

Provyncialle, & doctur diuine,

Prothonotur, apertli to-gedur þey may dyne.

Pe popes legate or collectoure, to-gedur ye
assigne,

The state
of a

1028

Doctur of bothe lawes, beyng in science digne.

Hym þat hath byñ meyre / & a londynere,
Sargeaunt of lawe / he may with hym com-
pere ;

The mastirs of the Chauncery with comford &
chere,

þe worshipfulle prechoure of pardoun in þat
place to appere.

V. (The Squire's
rank.)

1. Doctor of
Laws.
2. Ex-Mayor of
London.
3. Serjeant of
Law.

4. Masters of
Chancery.

5. Preacher.

The clerkes of connyng that hañ taken degre,
And alle othur ordurs of chastite chosyn, & also
of pouerte,

6. Masters of
Arts.7. Other
Religious.

1032

alle parsons & vicaries þat ar of dignyte,
parische prestes kepyng cure, vn-to þem loke ye
se.

8. Parsons and
Vicars.

9. Parish Priests.

For þe baliffes of a Cite purvey ye must a space,
A yemañ of þe crowne / Sargeaunt of armes with
mace,

10. City Bailiffs.

11. Serjeant at
Arms.

1036

A herrowd of Armes as gret a dygnyte has,
Specially kynge harrawd / must haue þe princi-
palle place ;

12. Herald
(the King's
Herald has first
place),

Worshipfulle merchaundes and riche artyficeris,
Gentilmen welle nurtured & of good maneris,
With gentilwommen / and namely lordes nur-
rieris,

13. Merchants,

14. Gentlemen,

15. Gentlewomen

1040

alle these may sit at a table of good squyeris.

may all eat with
squires.

Lo, soñ, y haue shewid the aftur my symple
wytte

I have now told

euery state aftir þeire degre, to þy knowleche y
shalle commytte,

you the rank of
every class,

and how þey shalle be serued, y shalle shew the
zett,

and now I'll tell
you

1044

in what place aftur þeire dignyte how þey owght
to sytte :

how they may be
grouped at table.

I. Pope, King, Prince, Archbishop and Duke.	The estate of a	{ Pope, Emperowre / kynge or cardynalle, Prynce with goldyn rodde Royalle, Archebischope / vsyng to were þe palle, Duke / alle þese of dygnyte owzt not kepe þe halle.
II. Bishop, Mar- quis, Viscount, Earl.		
III. The Mayor of London, Baron, Mitred Abbot, three Chief Justices, Speaker,	1052	Bisshoppes, Merques, vicount, Erle goodly, May sytte at .ij. messeȝ yf þey be lovyngely. þe meyre of london, & a baron, an abbot myterly, the iij. chef Iusticeȝ, þe spekere of þe parlement, propurly
may sit together, two or three at a mess.	1056	alle these Estates ar gret and honorable, þey may sitte in Chambur or halle at a table, .ij. or els iij. at a messe / ȝeff þey be greable : þus may ye in youre office to euery mañ be plesable.
IV. The other ranks (three or four to a mess)	1060	Of alle oþer estates to a messe / iij. or iiij. þus may ye sure, And of alle estatys þat ar egalle with a knyght / digne & demure, Off abbot & prioure sauncȝ mytur, of convent þey hañ cure ; Deane / Archedecon, mastur of þe rolles, aftur youre plesure,
equal to a Knight, namely, unmitred Abbot,		Alle the vndirIusticeȝ and barounes of þe kynges Eschekiere, a provincialle / a doctoure devine / or boþe lawes, þus yow lere, A prothonotur apertli, or þe popis collectoure, if he be there,
Dean, Master of the Rolls,		
[Fol. 187.] under Judges,		
Doctor of Divinity,		
Prothonotary,		
Mayor of Calais.	1064	Also þe meyre of þe stapulle / In like purpose þer may appere.
V. Other ranks equal to a Squire, four to a mess.		Of alle oþur estates to a messe ye may sette foure / & foure, as suche persones as ar peregalle to a squyere of honoure :

- Sargeaundes of lawe / & hyȝ pat hath byȝ meyre
of london aforne, Serjeants of Law,
ex-Mayor of London,
- 1068 and þe mastyr of þe chauncery, þey may not be Masters of
forborne. Chancery,
- Alle prechers / residencers / and persones pat Preachers and
ar greable, Parsons,
- Apprentise of lawe In courtis pletable, Apprentices of
Law,
Marchaundes & Franklonȝ, worshipfulle & Merchants and
Franklins.
honorable,
- 1072 þey may be set semely at a squyers table.
- These worthy¹ Estates a-foreseid / high of re-
nowne,
- Vche Estate syngulerly in halle shalle sit a- Each estate or
rank shall sit at
downe,
- that none of hem se othure / at mete tyme in meat by itself,
not seeing
another.
feld nor in towne,
- 1076 but vche of þeȝ self in Chambur or in pavil-
owne.
- Y**eff þe bischoppe of þe provynce of Caunturbury The Bishop of
be in þe presence of the archebischope of yorke be served apart
from the Arch-
bishop of York,
reuerently,
- þeire seruice shalle be kouered / vche bisshoppe
syngulerly,
- 1080 and in þe presence of þe metropolytane none and the Metro-
politan alone.
oper sicurly.
- yeff bischopps of yorke provynce be fortune be The Bishop of
York
syttynge
- In þe presence of þe primate of Englonȝ þaȝ must not eat
before the
Primate of
England.
beynge,
- þey must be couered in alle þeyre seruynge,
- 1084 and not in presence of þe bischoppe of yorke
þere apperynge.

Now, soȝ, y perceue þat for dyuerse cawses / Sometimes
as welle as for ignoraunce,

a merchalle is put oft tymes in gret comberaunce a Marshal is

¹ royalle is written over worthy.

puzzled by Lords
of royal blood
being poor, and
others not royal
being rich;

1088 For som lordes þat ar of blod royalle / & litelle
of lyvelode *per* chaunce,
and some of gret lyvelode / & no blode royalle
to avaunce;

also by a Lady of
royal blood marry-
ing a knight,
and *vice versa*.

And som knyght is weddid / to a lady of royalle
blode,
and a poore lady to blod ryalle, manfulle &
myghty of mode:

The Lady of
royal blood shall
keep her rank;
the Lady of low
blood shall take
her husband's
rank.

1092 þe lady of blod royalle shalle kepe þe state / þat
she afore in stode,
the lady of low blode & degre / kepe her lordis
estate, y make hit good.

Property is not so
worthy as royal
blood,

so the latter
prevails over the
former,

for royal blood
may become King.

The substaunce of lyvelode is not so digne / as
is blode royalle,
þerfore blode royalle opteyneth þe souereynthe in
chambur & in halle,
For blode royalle somtyme tizt to be kynge in
palle;
1096 of þe whiche matere y meve no more: let god
gouverne alle!

The parents of a
Pope or Cardinal

must not presume

to equality with
their son,

and must not
want to sit by
him,

but in a separate
room.

There as pope or cardynalle in þeire estate
beynge,
þat hañ fadur & modur by theire dayes lyvyng,
þeire fadur or modir ne may in any wise be pre-
sumynge
1100 to be egalle with theire soñ standynge ne sit-
tyng:

Therefore fadir ne moder / þey owe not to desire
to sytte or stond by þeyre son / his state wille
hit not require,

but by þem self / a chambur assigned for them
sure,

[Fol. 187 b.]

1104 Vn-to whom vche office ought gladly to do
plesure.

A Marshal must
look to the rank
of every estate,

To the birthe of vche estate a mershalle must se,
and þeñ next of his lyne / for þeyre dignyte;

þen folowyng, to officers afftere þeire degre,
 1108 As chauncelere, Steward / Chamburleyñ /
 tresorere if he be :

More ouer take hede he must / to aliene / com- and do honour
 mers straungeres, to foreign visitors

and to straungers of þis land, resi[d]ent dwell- and residents.
 eres,

and exalte þem to honoure / if þe be of honest
 maneres ;

1112 þeñ alle oþer aftur þeire degre / like as cace
 requeres.

In a manerable mershalle þe connyng is moost A well-trained
 commendable Marshal

to haue a fore sight to straungers, to sett þem at should think
 þe table ; beforehand where
 to place strangers
 at the table.

For if þey haue gentille chere / & gydyng
 manerable,

1116 þe mershalle doth his souereyn honoure / & he
 þe more lawdable.

¶ 3eff þow be a mershalle to any lord of þis land, If the King sends
 yff þe kynge send to þy souereyn eny his seruand any messenger to
 your Lord
 by sand,

¶ 3eff þe be a S	{	knyght	{	baroun honorand	receive him one degree higher than his rank.
		Squyere		knyght with hand	
		yomañ of þe crown		Squyere	
		grome		yemañ in manere	
		page		grome goodly in fere	
		Childe		grome gentille lernere.	

1125 ¶ hit rebuketh not a knyght / þe knyges grome to The King's groom
 sytte at his table, may dine with a
 Knight or,
 Marshal,

no more hit dothe a mershalle of maners plesable ;
 and so from þe hiest degre / to þe lowest honor-
 able,

1128 if þe mershalle haue a sight þerto, he is com-
 mendable.

A Marshal must
also understand
the rank of
County and
Borough Officers,

¶ Wisdom wolle a marshalle manerably þat he
vndirstand

alle þe worshipfulle officers of the comunialte
of þis land,

of Shires / Citees / borowes ; like as þey ar
ruland,

1132 þey must be sett aftur þeire astate dewe in degre
as þey stand.

¶ hit belongethe to a marshalle to haue a fore sight
of alle estatys of þis land in euery place pight,
For þestate of a knyght of blode, lyvelode, &
myght,

[Fol. 188.]
and that a Knight
of blood and
property is above

a poor Knight,

1136 is not peregalle to a symple & a pouere knyght.

the Mayor of
London
above the Mayor
of Queenborough,

¶ Also þe meyre of london, notable of dignyte,
and of queneborow¹ þe meire, no þynge like in
degre,

at one messe þey owght in no wise to sitt ne be ;

1140 hit no þynge besemethe / þerfore to suche semble
ye se /

the Abbot of
Westminster
above the poor
Abbot of Tintern,
[Fol. 188 a.]

¶ Also þe abbote of Westmynstere, þe hiest of þis
lande /

The abbot of tynterne² þe poorest, y vndirstande,
þey ar boþe abbotes of name, & not lyke of fame
to fande ;

¹ Queenborough, an ancient, but poor town of Kent, in the Isle
of Sheppey, situated at the mouth of the river Medway. The chief
employment of the inhabitants is oyster-dredging. *Walker's
Gazeteer, by Kershaw, 1801.*

² The Annual Receipts of the Monastery "de Tinterna in
Marchia Wallie," are stated in the *Valor Eccl.* vol. iv. p. 370-1,
and the result is

	£	s.	d.
Summa totalis clare valoris dec' predict'	cclviiij	v	x ob'
Decima inde	xxv	xvj	vj ob'q'

Those of the Monasterium Sancti Petri Westm. are given at v. 1,
p. 410—24, and their net amount stated to be £4470 0 2d.

	£	s.	d.
Et remanent clare	m ^l m ^l m ^l liiijclxx	—	ij q'
Decima inde	iiijclxviij	—	— q'

1144 3et Tynterne with Westmynster shalle nowþer
sitte ne stande.

¶ Also þe Pryoure of Caunturbury,¹ a cheff church the Prior of
of dignyte, Canterbury

And þe prioure of Dudley,² no þynge so digne above the Prior of
as he :— Dudley,

3et may not þe prioure of dudley, symple of degre,
1148 Sitte with þe prioure of Caunturbury: þer is
why, a dyuersite.

¶ And remembre euermore / añ rule þer is
generalle :

A prioure þat is a prelate of any church Cathed- the Prior who is
dralle, Prelate of a
above abbot or prioure with-in the diocise sitte Cathedral Church
he shalle, above any Abbot
or Prior of his
diocese,

1152 In church / in chapelle / in chambur / & in
halle.

¶ Right so reuerend docturs, degre of xij. yere, þem a Doctor of 12
ye must assigne years' standing
to sitte aboue hym / þat commensed hath but .ix. above one of 9
and þaughe þe yonger may larger spend gold red (though the latter
& fyne, be the richer),

1156 3et shalle þe eldur sitte aboue / wheþur he
drynke or dyne.

¶ like wise the aldremen, 3ef þey be eny where, the old Aldermen

¹ The clear revenue of the Deanery of Canterbury (Decan' Can-
tuar') is returned in Valor Eccl. v. 1, p. 27—32, at £163 0 21d.

	£	s.	d.
Rem'	clxij	—	xxi
Decima pars inde	xvj	vj	ij

while that of Prioratus de Dudley is only

	£	s.	d.
Summa de claro	xxxiiij	—	xvj
Decima pars inde	iiij	viiij	j ob'q'

Valor Ecclesiasticus, v. 3, p. 104-5.

² Dudley, a town of Worcestershire, insulated in Staffordshire,
containing about 2000 families, most of whom are employed in the
manufacture of nails and other iron wares. Walker, 1801.

above the young
ones, and

þe yongere shalle sitte or stande benethe þe
elder riȝt þere ;

1. the Master of a
craft.

2. the ex-warden.

1160

and of euery craft þe mastir aftur rule & manere,
and þeñ þe eldest of þem, þat warden was þe
fore yere.

¶ Soche poyntes, with many oþer, belongethe to a
marshall ;

Before every feast,
then, think what
people are coming,
and settle what
their order of
precedence is to
be.

þerfore whensoever youre souereyn a feest make
shall,

demeene what estates shalle sitte in the hall,

1164

þañ resoñ with youre self lest youre lord yow
calle ;

¶ Thus may ye devise youre marshallynge, like as
y yow lere,
to þe honoure and worshippe of youre souereyn
euery where ;

If in doubt,

And ȝeff ye haue eny dowt / euer looke þat ye
enquere,

ask your lord or
the chief officer,

1168

Resorte euer to youre souereyne / or to þe cheff
officere ;

and then you'll do
wrong to no one,

¶ Thus shalle ye to any state / do wronge ne pre-
iudice,

but set all

to sette euery persone accordyng with-owteñ
mys,

according to their
birth and dignity.

as aftur þe birthe / livelode / dignite / a-fore y
taught yow this,

1172

alle degrees of highe officere, & worthy as he is.

Now I have told
you of

¶ **N**ow good soñ, y haue shewed the / &
brought þe in vre,

Court Manners,
how to manage

to know þe Curtesie of court / & these þow may
take in cure,

in Pantry,
Buttery, Carving,
and as Sewer,

In pantry / botery / or cellere / & in kervynge
a-fore a souereyne demewre,

and Marshal,

1176

A sewer / or a marshalle : in þes science / y sup-
pose ye byñ sewre,

- ¶ Which in my dayes y lernyd withe a prynce fulle
royalle,
with whom vschere in chambur was y, & mer-
shalle also in halle,
vnto whom alle þese officeres foreseid / þey euer
entende shalle,
1180 Euir to fulfille my commaundement when þat y
to þem calle :
- For we may allow & dissalow / oure office is þe
cheeff
In cellere & spicery / & the Cooke, be he loothe
or leeff.¹
- ¶ Thus þe diligences of dyuerse officez y haue
shewed to þe allone,
1184 the which science may be shewed & doon by
a syngeler² persone ;
but þe dignyte of a prince requirethe vche office
must haue oon
to be rewlere in his rome / a seruaund hym
waytynge oñ.
- ¶ Moore-ouer hit requirethe euerich of þem in office
to haue perfite science,
1188 For dowl and drede doynge his souereyn dis-
plicence,
hym to attende, and his gestis to plese in place
where þey ar presence,
that his souereyn þroughe his seruice may make
grete congaudence.
- ¶ For a prynce to serue, ne dowl he not / and god
be his spede !

as I learnt with a
Royal Prince

whose Usher and
Marshal I was.

All other officers

have to obey me.

Our office is the
chief,

whether the Cook
likes it or not.

[Fol. 188 b.]
All these offices
may be filled by
one man,

but a Prince's
dignity requires
each office to
have its officer,
and a servant,
under him,

(all knowing
their duties
perfectly)

to wait on their
Lord and please
his guests.

Don't fear to serve
a prince;

¹ Two lines are wanting here to make up the stanza. They must have been left out when the copier turned his page, and began again.

² The word in the MS. is *syngle* or *synglr* with a line through the *l*. It may be for *synguler*, *singulus*, *i. unus per se*, sunderly, vocab. in *Rel. Ant.* v. 1, p. 9, col. 1.

take good heed to your duties,
 watch,
 and you need not fear.

1192 Furþer þaṅ his office / & þer-to let hym take
 good hede,
 and his warde wayte wisely // & euermore þer-in
 haue drede ;
 þus doynge his dewte dewly, to dowte he shalle
 not nede.

Tasting is done
 only for those of
 royal blood,

¶ **T**astyng and credence¹ longethe to blode &
 birth royalle,²

as a Pope,

1196 As pope / emperoure / Emperatrice, and Car-
 dynalle,

King,

kyng / queene / prynde / Archebischope in
 palle,

Duke, and Earl :
 not below.

Duke / Erle, and no mo / þat y to remembraunce /
 calle.

Tasting is done
 for fear of poison ;

¶ **C**redence is vused, & tastyng, for drede of poy-
 senynge,

1200 To alle officers y-sworne / and grete othe by
 chargynge ;

therefore keep
 your room secure,
 and close your
 safe, for fear of
 tricks.
 A Prince's

þerfore vche maṅ in office kepe his rome sewre,
 closynge

Cloos howse / chest / & gardevyaṅ³, for drede
 of congettyng.

Steward and
 Chamberlain

¶ **S**teward and Chamburlyṅ of a prince of
 royalte,

1204 þey haue / knowleche of homages, seruice, and
 fewte ;

have the oversight
 of all offices

so þey haue ouersight of euery office / aftur
 þeire degre,

¹ *Credence* as *creance* . . a taste or essay taken of another man's meat. Cotgrave.

² Compare *The Boke of Curtasye*, below, l. 495-8,
 No mete for mon schalle sayed be
 Bot for kyng or prynde or duke so fre ;
 For heiers of paraunce also y-wys
 Mete shalle be seyd.

³ *Gardmanger* (Fr.) a Storehouse for meat. Blount, ed. 1681,
Garde-viant, a Wallet for a Soldier to put his Victuals in.
 Phillipps, ed. 1701.

by wrytynge þe knowleche / & þe Credence to and of tasting,
ouerse ;

¶ Therefore in makynge of his credence, it is to and they must
drede, y sey,

1208 To marshalle / sewere¹ and kervere þey must tell the Marshal,
allowte allwey, Sewer, and Carver

to teche hym of his office / þe credence hym to how to do it.
prey :

þus shalle he not stond in makynge of his cre-
dence in no fray.

¶ **M**oore of þis connyng y Cast not me to con- I don't propose
treve : to write more on
this matter.

1212 my tyme is not to tary, hit drawest fast to eve.
þis tetryse þat y haue entitled, if it ye entende I tried this
to preve, treatise

y assayed me self in youthe with-outen any myself, in my
greve. youth,

while y was yonge y-noughe & lusty in dede,
1216 y enioyed þese maters foreseid / & to lerne y and enjoyed these
toke good hede ; matters,

but croked age hathe compelled me / & leue court but now age
y must nede. compels me to
leave the court ;

þerfore, sone, assay thy self / & god shalle be þy so try yourself."
spede."

“ **N**ow feire falle yow, fadur / & blessid mote “Blessing on you,
ye be, Father, for this

1220 For þis comenyng / & þe connyng / þat y[e] your teaching of
haue here shewed me ! me !

now dar y do seruice diligent / to dyuers of Now I shall dare
dignyte, to serve

where for scantnes of connyng y durst no mañ where before I
y-se. was afraid.

¹ The Boke of Curtasye makes the Sewer alone assay or taste
‘alle the mete’ (l. 763—76), and the Butler the drink (l. 786,
below).

[Fol. 189.]
I will try, and
shall learn by
practice.

May God reward
you for teaching
me!"

"Good son, and
all readers of this

Boke of Nurture,

pray for the soul
of me, John
Russell, (servant
of Humphrey,
Duke of Glou-
cester;) also for

the Duke, my
wife, father, and
mother, that we

may all go to
bliss when we
die."

Little book,
commend me to

all learners,

and to the ex-
perienced, whom
I pray

to correct its
faults.

Any such,

So perfitey sethe y hit perceue / my parte y
wolfe preue and assay;

1224 bope by practike and exercise / yet som good
lerne y may :

and for youre gentille lernynge / y am bound
euer to pray

that oure lorde rewarde you in blis that lasteth
aye."

"**N**ow, good soñ, thy self with other þat
shalle þe succede,

1228 whiche þus boke of nurture shalle note / lerne,
& ouer rede,

pray for the sowle of Iohn Russelle, þat god
do hym mede,

Som tyme seruaunde with duke vmfrey, duc¹ of
Glowcetur in dede.

For þat prynce pereles prayethe / & for suche
other mo,

1232 þe sowle of my wife / my fadur and modir also,
vn-to Mary modyr and mayd / she fende us
from owre foe,

and brynge vs alle to blis when we shalle hens
goo. **AMEN."**

Go forth the lytelle boke, and lowly þow me
commende

1236 vnto alle yonge gentilmen / þat lust to lerne or
entende,

and specially to þem þat han exsperience, praynge
þe[m] to amende

and correcte þat is amysse, þere as y fawte or
offende.

¶ And if so þat any be founde / as þrouȝ myñ
necligence,

¹ The *duc* has a red stroke through it, probably to cut it out.

1240 Cast þe cawse oñ my copy / rude / & bare of eloquence, put to my copy-
ing,
 whiche to drawe out [I] haue do my besy dili- which I have
done as I best
could.
 gence,
 redily to reforme hit / by resoñ and bettur
 sentence.

¶ As for ryme or resoñ, þe forewryter was not to blame, The transcriber is
not to blame;

1244 For as he founde hit aforne hyñ, so wrote he þe same, he copied what
was before him,
 and þaughe he or y in oure matere digres or
 degrade,

blame neithur of vs / For we neuyre hit made; and neither of us
wrote it,

¶ Symple as y had insight / somewhat þe ryme y correcte; I only corrected
the rhyme.

1248 blame y cowde no mañ / y haue no persone sus-
 pecte.

Now, good god, graunt vs grace / oure sowles God! grant us
grace
 neuer to Infecte!

þañ may we regne in þi regioun / eternally with to rule in Heaven
with Thine elect!
 thyne electe.

[Some word or words in large black letter have been cut off at
 the bottom of the page.]

NOTES.

l. 11-12. John Russell lets off his won't-learns very easily. Willyam Bulleyn had a different treatment for them. See the extract from him on "Boxyng & Neckweede" after these *Notes*.

l. 49. See the interesting "Lord Fairfax's Orders for the Servants of his Houshold" [after the Civil Wars], in Bishop Percy's notes to the Northumberland Household Book, p. 421-4, ed. 1827.

l. 51. Chip . 'other .ij. pages them oweth to chippe bredde, but not too nye the crumme.' *H. Ord.* p. 71-2. The "Chippings of Trencher-Brede" in Lord Percy's household were used "for the fedyinge of my lords houndis." *Percy H. Book*, p. 353.

l. 56. *Trencher bread*. ITEM that the *Trencher Brede* be maid of the Meale as it cummyth frome the Milne. *Percy Household Book*, p. 58.

l. 66. Cannell, a Spout, a tap, a cocke in a conduit. *Epistomium*. *Vne canelle, vn robinet*. Baret.

l. 68. Faucet. Also he [the yeoman of the Butler of Ale] asketh allowance for tubbys, treyes, and *faucettes*, occupied all the yeare before. *H. Ord.* p. 77.

l. 74. *Figs*. A. Borde, *Introduction*, assigns the gathering of figs to "the Mores whych do dwel in Barbary," . . . "and christen men do by them, & they wil be diligent and wyl do al maner of seruice, but they be set most comonli to vile things; they be called slaues, thei do gader grapes and *fygges*, and with some of the *fygges* they wyl wip ther tayle, & put them in the frayle." Figs he mentions under Judæa. "Iury is called y^e lande of Iude, it is a noble countre of ryches, plenty of wine & corne. . . *Figges* and Raysions, & all other frutes." In his *Regymen^t*, fol. M. iii., Borde says of 'Fygges. . They doth stere a man to veneryous actes, for they doth auge and increase the seede of generacion. And also they doth prouoke a man to sweate: wherfore they doth ingendre lyce.'

ll. 74-95. *Chese*. 'there is iiij. sortes of Chese, which is to say, grene Chese, softe chese, harde chese, or spermyse. Grene chese is not called grene by y^e reason of colour, but for y^e newnes of it, for the whay is not half pressed out of it, and in operacion it is colde and moyste. Sotte chese not to new nor to olde, is best, for in operacion it is hote and moyste.

Harde chese is hote and drye, and euyl to dygest. Spermyse is a Chese the whiche is made with curdes and with the Iuce of herbes. . Yet besydes these .iiij natures of chese, there is a chese called a Irweue [rewene, ed. 1567] chese, the whiche, if it be well ordered, doth passe all other cheses, none excesse taken.' A. Borde, *Reg.* fol. I. i. See note on l. 85.

l. 78, 83. The Bill-berry or *Windberry*, R. Holme, Bk. II., p. 52, col. 1; p. 79, col. 1; three Wharl Berries or Bill-Berries. . They are termed Whortle Berries or *Wind Berries*, p. 81, col. 2. § xxviii. See the prose Burlesques, *Reliq. Antiq.*, v. 1, p. 82. Why hopes thu nott for sothe that ther stode wonus a coke on Seynt Pale stepull toppe, and drewe up the strapuls of his brech. How preves thu that? Be all the .iiij. doctors of *Wynbere hylles*, that is to saye, Vertas, Gadatryme, Trumpas, and Dadyl-trymsert.

l. 79. *Fruits*. These officers make provysions in seasons of the yere accordynge for fruytes to be had of the Kinges gardynes withoute prises; as cherries, peares, apples, nuttes greete and smalle, for somer season; and lenten, wardens, quinces and other; and also of presentes gevyn to the Kinge; they be pourveyours of *blaundrelles*, pepyns, and of all other fruytes. *H. Ord.* p. 82.

l. 80. Mr Dawson Turner's argument that the "ad album pulverem" of the Leicester Roll, A.D. 1265, was white sugar pounded (Pref. to Household Expenses, ed. 1841, p. li.), proves only that the *xiiij lib. Zucari* there mentioned, were not bought for making *White powder* only.

ll. 81-93. *Crayme*. 'Rawe crayme undecocted, eaten with strawberyes, or hurttes, is a rurall mannes banket. I haue knowen such bankettes hath put men in ieobardy of theyr lyues.' A. Borde, *Regymment*, fol. I. ij.

l. 82, l. 93. Junket. The auncient manner of grateful suitors, who, hauing prevailed, were woont to present the Judges, or the Reporters, of their causes, with Comfets or other *Jonkets*. Cotgrave, w. *espice*.

l. 85. Cheese. Whan stone pottes be broken, what is better to glew them againe or make them fast; nothing like the Symunt made of Cheese; know therfore it will quickly build a stone in a drie body, which is ful of choler adust. And here in Englande be diuers kindes of Cheeses, as Suff. Essex, Banburie .&c. according to their places & feeding of their cattel, time of y^e yere, layre of their Kine, clenlinesse of their Dayres, quantitie of their Butter; for the more Butter, the worse Cheese. *Bullein*, fol. lxxxv.

l. 89. *Butter*. A. Borde, *Introduction*, makes the *Flemynge* say,
Buttermouth Flem yng, men doth me call.

Butter is good meate, it doth relent the gall.

l. 94. *Posset* is hot Milk poured on Ale or Sack, having Sugar, grated Bisket, Eggs, with other ingredients boiled in it, which goes all to a Curd. R. Holme.

l. 94. *Poset* ale is made with hote mylke and colde ale; it is a temperate drynke. A. Borde, *Reg.* G. iij.

l. 98. *Trencher*. The College servant 'Scrape Trencher,' R. Holme, Bk. III., Chap. iv., p. 099 [199], notes the change of material from bread to wood.

l. 105. Hot wines & sweet or confectioned with spices, or very strong Ale or Beere, is not good at meales, for thereby the meat is rather corrupted then digested, and they make *hot and stinking vapours* to ascend vp to the braines. Sir Jn. Harrington. *Pres. of Health*, 1624, p. 23.

l. 109. Reboyle. 'If any wyne be corrupted, *reboyled*, or unwholsome for mannys body, then by the controller it to be shewed at the counting bourde, so that by assent all suche pypes or vesselles defectife be dampned and cast uppon the losses of the seyd chiefe Butler.' *H. Ord.* p. 73.

l. 109. Lete, leek. 'Purveyours of Wyne . . to ride and oversee the places there as the Kinges wyne be lodged, that it be saufely kept from peril of *leeking* and breaking of vessels, or lacke of hooping or other couperage, and all other crafte for the rackinge, coynynge, rebatinge, and other salvations of wyne, &c.' *H. Ord.* p. 74.

SWETE WYNES, p. 8, l. 118-20.*

a. Generally:

Halliwell gives under *Piment* the following list of wines from MS. Rawlinson. C. 86.

Malmasyes, Tires, and Rumneys,
With Caperikis, Campletes,† and Osueys,
Vernuge, Cute, and Raspays also,
 Whippet and Pyngmedo, that that ben lawyers therto;
 And I will have also wyne de Ryne,
 With new maid *Clarye*, that is good and fyne,
Muscadell, Terantyne, and Bastard,
 With *Ypocras* and *Pymment* comyng afterwarde.

MS. Rawl. C. 86.

And under *Malvesyne* this:

Ye shall have Spayneche wyne and Gascoyne,
Rose coloure, whyt, *claret*, rampyon,
Tyre, capryck, and *malvesyne*,
Sak, raspyce, alycaunt, *rumney*,
Greke, ipocrase, new made *clary*,
 Suche as ye never had.

Interlude of the Four Elements (no date).

Of the wine drunk in England in Elizabeth's time, Harrison (Holinshed's Chron. v. 1, p. 167, col. 2, ed. 1586) says, "As all estates doo exceed herin, I meane for strangenesse and number of costlie dishes, so these forget not to vse the like excesse in wine, in so much as there is no kind to be had (neither anie where more store of all sorts than in England, although we have none growing with us, but yearlie to the proportion of 20,000 or 30,000 tun and vpwards, notwithstanding the dailie restrincts of the same brought over vnto vs) wherof at great meetings there is not some store to be had. Neither do I meane this of small wines onlie, as *Claret*, White, Red, French,

* See *Maison Rustique* or *The Country Farme*, p. 630-1, as to the qualities of Sweet Wines.

† See *Campolet* in "The Boke of Keruyng."

&c., which amount to about fiftie-six sorts, according to the number of regions from whence they come: but also of the thirtie kinds of Italian, Grecian, Spanish, Canarian, &c., whereof *Vernage*, *Cate*, *pument*, *Raspis*, *Muscadell*, *Romnie*, *Bastard*, *Tire*, *Oseie*, *Caprike*, *Clareie*, and *Malmesie*, are not least of all accompted of, bicause of their strength and valure. For as I haue said in meat, so the stronger the wine is, the more it is desired, by means wherof in old time, the best was called *Theologicum*, because it was had from the cleargie and religious men, vnto whose houses manie of the laitie would often send for bottels filled with the same, being sure that they would neither drinke nor be serued of the worst, or such as was anie waies mingled or brued by the vintener: naie the merchant would haue thought that his soule should haue gone streight-waie to the diuell, if he should haue serued them with other than the best."

On Wine, see also Royal Rolls, B.M. 14 B. xix.

β. Specially: The following extracts are from Henderson's *History of Ancient and Modern Wines*, 1824, except where otherwise stated:—

1. *Vernage* was a red wine, of a bright colour, and a sweetish and somewhat rough flavour, which was grown in Tuscany and other parts of Italy, and derived its name from the thick-skinned grape, *vernaccia* (corresponding with the *vinaciola* of the ancients), that was used in the preparation of it (See Bacci. Nat. Vinor. Hist., p. 20, 62). It is highly praised by Redi.*

2. *Vernagelle* is not mentioned by Henderson. The name shows it to have been a variety of *Vernage*.

3. l. 118. *Cute*. "As for the *cuit* named in Latin *Sapa*, it commeth neere to the nature of wine, and in truth nothing els it is, but Must or new wine boiled til one third part and no more do remain; & this *cuit*, if it be made of white Must is counted the better." *Holland's Plinies Nat. Hist.*, p. 157. "(of the dried grape or raisin which they call *Astaphis*). . The sweet *cuit* which is made thereof hath a special power and virtue against the *Hæmorrhoids* alone, of all other serpents," p. 148. "Of new pressed wine is made the wine called *Cute*, in Latin, *Sapa*; and it is by boiling the new pressed wine so long, as till that there remaine but one of three parts. Of new pressed wine is also made another *Cute*, called of the Latines *Defrutum*, and this is by boiling of the new wine onely so long, as till the halfe part be consumed, and the rest become of the thicknesse of honey." *Maison Rustique*, p. 622. 'Cute. A.S. *Cæren*, L. *carenum*, wine boiled down one-third, and sweetened.' Cockayne, Gloss. to Leechdoms.

4. *Pyment*. In order to cover the harshness and acidity common to the greater part of the wines of this period, and to give them an agreeable flavour, it was not unusual to mix honey and spices with them. Thus compounded they passed under the generic name of *piments*,† probably because they were

* *Vernage* was made in the Genoese territory. The best was grown at San Gemignano, and in Bacci's time was in great request at Rome. The wine known as *Vernaccia* in Tuscany was always of a white or golden colour. *Henderson*, p. 396.

† See the recipe for making *Piment* in Halliwell's Dictionary, s. v.

originally prepared by the *pigmentarii* or apothecaries; and they were used much in the same manner as the *liqueurs* of modern times. *Hend.* p. 283.

The varieties of Piment most frequently mentioned are the

Hippocras & Clarry. The former was made with either white or red wine, in which different aromatic ingredients were infused; and took its name from the particular sort of bag, termed Hippocrates's Sleeve, through which it was strained. . *Clarry*, on the other hand, which (with wine of *Osey*) we have seen noticed in the Act 5 Richard II. (St. 1, c. 4, *vin douce, ou clarre*), was a claret or mixed wine, mingled with honey, and seasoned in much the same way, as may be inferred from an order of the 36th of Henry III. respecting the delivery of two casks of white wine and one of red, to make *Clarry* and other liquors for the king's table at York (*duo dolia albi vini et garhiofilacum et unum dolium rubri vini ad claretum faciendum*). *Henderson*, p. 284. *Hippocras*, vinum Aromaticum. Withals. "Artificiall stuffe, as *ypocras & wormewood wine*." *Harrison, Descr. Brit.*, p. 167, col. 2, ed. 1586.

Raspice. "Vin Rapé," says *Henderson*, p. 286, note *v*. "a rough sweetish red wine, so called from its being made with unbruised grapes, which, having been freed from the stalks, are afterwards fermented along with them and a portion of other wine."* *Ducange* has *Raspice*. RASPATICIUM, Ex racemis vinum, cujus præparationem tradit J. Wecker. Antidot. special. lib. 2, § 6, page 518 et 519. Paratur autem illud ex *raspatiis* et vinaceis, una cum uvis musto immissis. *Raspacia* itaque sunt, quæ Varroni et Columellæ *scopi*, *scopiones*, si bene legitur; unde nostrum *Raste*. *Ducange*, ed. 1845. *Raspecia*. . Sed ex relato longiori contextu palam est, *Raspeciam* nihil aliud esse quam vinum mixtis acinis aliisve modis renovatum, nostris vulgo *Rapé*; hujusmodi enim vinum alterationi minus obnoxium est, ut hic dicitur de *Raspecia*. Vide mox *Raspetum*, Vinum recentatum, Gallis *Rapé*. Charta Henrici Ducis Brabantiae pro Communia Bruxellensi ann. 1229: *Qui vinum supra uvas habuerit, quod Raspetum vocatur, in tavernis ipsum vendere non potest*. Vide *Recentatum*. *Ducange*, ed. 1845.

The highly-praised *Raspetum* of Baccius, p. 30-2, of which, after quoting what Pliny says of secondary wines, he declares, "id primùm animaduerti volumus à nostra posteritate, quod Lora Latinorum, quam deuterium cum Græcis, et secundarium Vinum dixit Plinius, δευτερία, seu ποτιμὸν Dioscorides, quodque τρυγὸν vocavit Galenus, cum Aquatis quibus hodie vtimur in tota Italia, & cum nouo genere, quod à delectabili in gustu asperitate, *Raspetum* vocat; similem omnes hæ Voces habent significantiam factitii .s. ex aqua Vini. p. 30. Quod uini genus in Italia, ubi alterius uini copia non sit, parari simpliciter consuevit colore splendido rubentis purpuræ, sapore austero, ac dulcacido primis mensibus mox tamen exolescente, p. 31-2, &c. *Raspice* was also a name for Raspberries. Item, *genene* to my lady Kingstone *seruaunte* bringing Strawberes and *Respeces* to my ladys grace xij d. *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary*, p. 31; and in his Glossary to this

* Besides this meaning of *rapé* (same as *raspé*), *Cotgrave* gives first "A verie small wine comming of water cast uppon the mother of grapes which have been pressed!"

book Sir F. Madden says, 'In a closet for Ladies 12mo. London, 1654, is a receipt "To preserve *Raspices*," and they are elsewhere called "*Raspis-berries*." See "Delights for Ladies," 12mo. 1654.'

6. *Muscadelle of Grew: Bastard: Greke: Malvesyn*. "The wines which Greece, Languedoc, and Sapine doe send vs, or rather, which the delicacie and voluptuousnesse of our French throats cause to be fetched from beyond the Sea, such as are Sacks, *Muscadels* of Frontignan, *Malmesies*, *Bastards* (which seeme to me to be so called, because they are oftentimes adulterated and falsified with honey, as we see wine Hydromell to be prepared) and Corsick wines, so much vsed of the Romanes, are very pernicious unto vs, if we vse them as our common drinke. Notwithstanding, we proue them very singular good in cold diseases . . but chiefly and principally Malmesey." Stevens and Liebault's *Maison Rustique*, or The Countrey Farme, by R. Surflet, reviewed by Gerv. Markham, 1616. *Muscadell*, vinum apianum. Withals. Mulsum, *wine and honie sodden together, swiete wine, basterde or Muscadell*. Withals. William Vaughan says, "Of Muscadell, Malmesie, and browne Bastard. These kindes of wines are onely for married folkes, because they strengthen the back." *Naturall and Artificial Directions for Health*, 1602, p. 9.

Andrewe Borde, of Physicke, Doctor, in his Regyment or Dyetary of helth made in Mountpylor, says, "Also these hote wyne, as Malmesey, wyne corse, wyne greke, Romanyke, Romney, Secke, Alygaune, Basterde, Tyre, Osaye, Muscadell, Caprycke, Tynt, Roberdany, with other hote wyne, be not good to drynke with meate, but after mete and with Oysters, with Saledes with fruyte a draughte or two may be suffered . . Olde men may drynke, as I sayde, hygh wyne at theyr pleasure. Furthermore all swete wyne, and grose wyne, doth make a man fatte."

7. *Rompney*. Henderson, p. 288, says, "Another of the above-mentioned wines (in the *Squire of Low Degree*) designated by the name of the grape, was the Romenay, otherwise Romenay, Rumney, Romaine, or Romagna. That it could not be the produce of the Ecclesiastical State, as the two last corruptions of the word would seem to imply, may be safely averred; for at no period, since the decline of the empire, has the Roman soil furnished any wines for exportation; and even Bacci, with all his partiality, is obliged to found his eulogy of them on their ancient fame, and to confess that, in his time, they had fallen into disrepute." He argues also against the notion that this wine came from Romana in Aragon, and concludes that it was probably a Greek wine, as Bacci (*Nat. Vin. Hist.* p. 333) tells us that the wine from the Ionian Islands and adjoining continent was called in Italian *Romania*,—from the Saracen *Rum-ili*. Now this is all very well, but how about the name of *Rompney of Modene* or Modena, just outside the Western boundary of the Romagna,—not Meudon, in France, "amongst all the wines which we use at Paris, as concerning the red, the best are those of Coussy, Seure, Vaunes, and Meudon." *Maison Rustique*, p. 642.—Who will hold to John Russell, and still consider *Romney* an Italian wine? *Rumney*, vinum resinatum. Withals.

8. *Bastard*. Henderson argues against the above-quoted (No. 6) supposition of Charles Etienne's (which is supported by Cotgrave's *Vin miellé*, honied wine, *bastard*, Metheglin, sweet wine), and adopts Venner's account (*Via Recta ad Vitam Longam*), that "Bastard is in virtue somewhat like to muskadell, and may also in stead thereof be used; it is in goodness so much inferiour to muskadell, as the same is to malmsey." It took its name, Henderson thinks, from the grape of which it was made, probably a bastard species of muscadine. "One of the varieties of vines now cultivated in the Alto Douro, and also in Madeira, is called *bastardo*, and the must which it yields is of a sweetish quality. Of the Bastard wine there were two sorts,—white and brown (brown and white bastard, *Measure for Measure*, Act iii. sc. 2), both of them, according to Markham's report, "fat and strong; the tawny or brown kind being the sweetest." In *The Libelle of Englysch Polycye*, A.D. 1436 (Wright's *Political Songs*, v. 2, p. 160), 'wyne bastarde' is put among the commodyetees of Spayne.

9. *Tire*, if not of Syrian growth, was probably a Calabrian or Sicilian wine, manufactured from the species of grape called *tirio*. *Tyre*, vinum Tyrense, ex Tyro insula. Withals.

10. *Ozey*. Though this is placed among the "commodities of Portugal" in some verses inserted in the first volume of Hackluyt's *Voyages*, p. 188—Her land hath wine, *osey*, waxe, and grain,—yet, says Henderson, "a passage in Valois' Description of France, p. 12, seems to prove, beyond dispute, that *oseye* was an Alsatian wine; *Auxois* or *Osay* being, in old times, the name constantly used for Alsace. If this conjecture is well-founded, we may presume that *oseye* was a luscious-sweet, or straw-wine, similar to that which is still made in that province. That it was a rich, high-flavoured liquor is sufficiently shown by a receipt for imitating it, which may be seen in Markham (*English Housewife*, 1683, p. 115), and we learn from Bacci (p. 350) that the wines which Alsace then furnished in great profusion to England as well as different parts of the continent, were of that description. In the 'Bataille des Vins' we find the 'Vin d'*Aussai*' associated with the growths of the Moselle." *Osey* is one 'Of the commoditees of Portingalle,' *Libelle*, p. 163.

11. *Torrentyne of Ebrew*. Is this from Tarentum, Tarragon, or Toledo? Whence in Ebrew land did our forefathers import wine? Mr G. Grove says, "I should at first say that Torrentyne referred to the wine from some wady (Vulgate, *torrens*) in which peculiarly rich grapes grew, like the wady of Eschcol or of Sorek; but I don't remember any special valley being thus distinguished as 'The Torrent' above all others, and the vineyards are usually on hill-sides, not in vallies."

12. *Greke Malevesyn*. "The best dessert wines were made from the Malvasia grape; and Candia, where it was chiefly cultivated, for a long time retained the monopoly," says Henderson. He quotes Martin Leake to explain the name. Monemvasia is a small fortified town in the bay of Epidaurus Limera. "It was anciently a promontory called Minoa, but is now an island connected with the coast of Laconia by a bridge. The name of

Monemvasia, derived from the circumstances of its position (*μόνη ἑμβασία*, single entrance), was corrupted by the Italians to *Malvasia*; and the place being celebrated for the fine wines produced in the neighbourhood, *Malvasia* changed to *Malvoisie* in French, and *Malmsey* in English came to be applied to many of the rich wines of the Archipelago, Greece, and other countries." (*Researches in Greece*, p. 197.) *Maulmsey*, vinum creticum, vel creteum. Withals.

13. *Caprik* may have been a wine from the island of Capri, or Cyprus.

14. *Clarey*. See above under *Pymment*, and the elaborate recipe for making it, in Household Ordinances, p. 473, under the heading "Medicina optima et experta pro Stomacho et pro Capite in Antiquo hominem." *Claret Wine*, vinum sanguineum subrubrum, vel rubellum. Withals. "The seconde wine is pure *Claret*, of a cleare Iacent, or Yelow choler; this wine doth greatly norish and warme the body, and it is an holsome wine with meate." *Bullein*, fol. xj.

l. 122. *Spice*; l. 171. *Spicery*. Of "The commoditees and nycetees of Venicyans and Florentynes," the author of the *Libelle* says, p. 171,

The grete galees of Veneces and Florence
Be wel ladene wyth thynges of complacence,
Alle *spicerye* and of grocers ware,
Wyth swete wynes, alle maners of cheffare,
Apes, and japes, and marmusettes taylede,
Nifles, trifles, that litelle have availede,
And thynges wyth which they fetely blere oure eye,
Wyth thynges not enduryng that we bye.

l. 123. Turnsole. Newton's Herbal, plate 49, gives Yellow Turnsole G(erarde), the Colouring Turnsole P(arkinson).

l. 123. *Tornesole*. *Achillea tormentosa*, A.S. *Solcherf*. 'This wort hath with it some wonderful divine qualities, that is, that its blossoms turn themselves according to the course of the sun, so that the blossoms when the sun is setting close themselves, and again when he upgoeth, they open and spread themselves.' *Leechdoms*, ed. Cockayne, v. 1, p. 155.

l. 123, 141. *Granes* are probably what are now called "Granes of Paradise," small pungent seeds brought from the East Indies, much resembling Cardamum seeds in appearance, but in properties approaching nearer to Pepper. See Lewis's *Materia Medica*, p. 298; in *North. H. Book*.

l. 131-2. I cannot identify these three sorts of Ginger, though Gerarde says: "Ginger groweth in Spaine, Barbary, in the Canary Islands, and the Azores," p. 6. Only two sorts of Ginger are mentioned in Parkinson's Herbal, p. 1613. 'Ginger grows in China, and is cultivated there.' Strother's Harman, 1727, v. 1, p. 101.

l. 141. *Peper*. "Pepir blake" is one of the commoditees of the Januays (or Genoese). *Libelle*, p. 172.

l. 177. In his chapter *Of Prunes and Damysens*, Andrew Borde says, Syxe or seuen Damysens eaten before dyner, be good to prouoke a mannes appe-

tyde; they doth mollyfie the bely, and be abstersyue. the skynne and the stones must be ablated and cast away, and not vsed. *Regyment*, N. i. b.

l. 178. *Ale*. See the praise of the unparalleled liquor called Ale, Metheglin, &c., in Iohn Taylor's *Drink and Welcome*, 1637. In his *Regiment*, A. Borde says, "Ale is made of malte and water; and they the whiche do put any other thyng to ale than is rehersed, except yest, barme, or goddes good,* doth sophysticall there ale. Ale for an Englysshe man is a naturall drynke. Ale muste haue these properties, it must be fresshe and cleare, it muste not be ropy, nor smoky, nor it muste haue no werte nor tayle. Ale shulde not be dronke under .v. dayes olde. Newe Ale is vnholosome for all men. And sowre ale, and dead ale, and ale the whiche doth stande a tylte, is good for no man. Barly malte maketh better Ale than Oten malte or any other corne doth: it doth ingendre grose humours: but it maketh a man stronge.

Beere is made of malte, of hoppes, and water. It is a naturall drynke for a doche man. And nowe of late dayes [1557?] it is moche vsed in England to the detryment of many Englysshe men; specyally it kylleth them the whiche be troubled with the Colycke and the stone, and the strayne coylyon; for the drynke is a cold drynke. Yet it doth make a man fatte, and doth inflate the belly, as it doth appere by the doche mennes faces and belyes." A. Borde, *Regyment*, fol. G. ii.

l. 194. Neck-towel. The *neck-towelles* of the pantrey, ewerye, confection-arye, comters, hangers, liggers, and all that is the Kinges stuffe. *H. Ord.* p. 85.

l. 201. *Salts*. Other two groomes in this office [of Panetry] to help serve the hall, or other lordes, in absence of the yoman, and to cutte trenchours, to make *saltes*, &c. *H. Ord.*, p. 71.

l. 213. Raynes. Towelles of *raygnes*, towelles of worke, and of playne clothe. *H. Ord.*, pp. 72, 84.

l. 237. *The Surnape*. In the Articles ordained by King Henry VII. for the Regulation of his Household, 31 Dec., 1494, are the following directions, p. 119.

As for the Sewer and Usher, and laying of the Surnape.

The sewer shall lay the surnape on the board-end whereas the bread and salte standeth, and lay forth the end of the same surnape and towell; then the usher should fasten his rodd in the foresaid surnape and towell, and soe drawing it downe the board, doeing his reverence afore the Kinge till it passe the board-end a good way, and there the sewer kneeling at the end of the board, and the usher at the other, stretching the said surnape and towell, and soe the usher to laie upp the end of the towell well on the boarde, and rise goeing before the Kinge, doeing his reverence to the King on the same side the surnape bee gone uppon, and on that side make an estate with his rodd; and then goeing before the Kinge doeing his reverence, and soe make another estate on the other side of the King, and soe goeing to the boards end againe, kneele downe to amend the towell, that there bee noe wrinkles

* Halliwell says it means *yeast*. It cannot do so here.

save the estates ; and then the usher doeing his due reverence to the King ; goeing right before the Kinge with his rodd, the side of the same towell there as the bason shall stand ; and doeing his reverence to the Kinge, to goe to the boards end againe ; and when the King hath washed, to bee ready with his rodd to putt upp the surnape and meete the sewer against the Kinge, and then the sewer to take it upp. (The French name was *Serre-nape*.)

l. 253. *State*. Divers Lords and *Astates*, p. 155 ; divers *astates* and gentils, p. 160. *Wardrobe Accounts of King Edward IV*.

l. 262. The Pauntry Towells, *Purpaynes*, Coverpaynes, Chipping-knyffs. Percy or Northumberland Hd. Book, p. 387.

l. 277. *Symple Condicions*. Compare these modern direotions to a serving man : " While waiting at dinner, never be picking your nose, or scratching your head, or any other part of your body ; neither blow your nose in the room ; if you have a cold, and cannot help doing it, do it on the outside of the door ; but do not sound your nose like a trumpet, that all the house may hear when you blow it ; still it is better to blow your nose when it requires, than to be picking it and snuffing up the *mucus*, which is a filthy trick. Do not yawn or gape, or even sneeze, if you can avoid it ; and as to hawking and spitting, the name of such a thing is enough to forbid it, without a command. When you are standing behind a person, to be ready to change the plates, &c., do not put your hands on the back of the chair, as it is very improper ; though I have seen some not only do so, but even beat a kind of tune upon it with their fingers. Instead of this, stand upright with your hands hanging down or before you, but not folded. Let your demeanour be such as becomes the situation which you are in. Be well dressed, and have light shoes that make no noise, your face and hands well washed, your finger-nails cut short and kept quite clean underneath ; have a nail-brush for that purpose, as it is a disgusting thing to see black dirt under the nails. Let the lapels of your coat be buttoned, as they will only be flying in your way." 1825. T. Cosnett. *Footman's Directory*, p. 97-8. Lord A. Percy's Waiters were changed every quarter. See the lists of them in the *Percy Household Book*, p. 53-4.

l. 280. Lice. See Thomas Phaire's Regiment of Life, The boke of Chyldren, H. h. 5 ; and A. Borde's Introduction, of the Irishe man,

Pediculus other whyle do byte me by the backe,
Wherfore dyvers times I make theyr bones cracke.

And of the people of Lytle Briten,

Although I iag my hosen & my garment round abowt,
Yet it is a vantage to pick *pendiculus* owt.

l. 283. Rosemary is not mentioned among the herbs for the bath ; though a poem in praise of the herb says :

Moche of this herbe to seeth thu take
In water, and a bathe thow make ;
Hyt schal the make lyzt and joly,
And also lykyng and zowuly.

MS. of C. W. Loscombe, Esq., in Reliquiæ Antiquæ, i. 196.

1. 300. Jet.

Rogue why Winkest thou,
Jenny why *Jetttest* thou.

are among R. Holme's Names of Slates, Bk. III. ch. v. p. 265, col. 1.

1. 328. Forks were not introduced into England till Coryat's time. See his *Crudities* p. 90-1, 4to. London, 1611, on the strange use of the Fork in Italy. "I observ'd a custom in all those Italian Cities and Townes through the which I passed, that is not used in any other country that I saw in my travels, neither do I thinke that any other nation of Christendome doth use it, but only Italy. The Italian and also most Strangers that are comorant in Italy, doe always at their meals use a *Little Forke* when they cut their meat." Percy's notes, p. 417-18, North. H. Book.

1. 348-9. Fumositees. But to wash the feete in a decoction of Baye leaues, Rosemary, & Fenel, I greatly disalow not: for it turneth away from the head vapours & *fumes* dimming and ouercasting the mynde. Now the better to repress *fumes* and propulse vapours from the Brain, it shalbe excellent good after Supper to chaw *with* the teeth (the mouth being shut) a few graynes of Coriander first stieped in veneiger wherin Maioram hath bin decocted, & then thinly crusted or couered ouer *with* Sugar. It is scarrce credible what a special commoditie this bringeth to y^e memory. No lesse vertuous & soueraign is the confection of Conserue of Quinces. Quinces called *Diacidonion*, if a prety quantity thereof be likewise taken after meate. For it disperseth *fumes*, & suffreth not vapours to strike vpwarde. T. Newton, *Lemnie's Touchstone*, ed. 1581, fol. 126. See note on l. 105 here.

1. 358. *Forced* or *Farced*, a Forced Leg of Mutton, is to stuff or fill it (or any Fowl) with a minced Meat of Beef, Veal, &c., with Herbs and Spices. *Farcing* is stuffing of any kind of Meats with Herbs or the like; some write it *Forsing* and *Farsing*. To *Farce* is to stuff anything. R. Holme.

1. 378. Brawn. In his chapter on Pygge, Brawne, Bacon, Andrew Borde says of bacon as follows: "Bacon is good for Carters, and plowe men, the which be euer labouryng in the earth or dunge; but & yf they haue the stone, and vse to eate it, they shall synge 'wo be to the pye!' Wherefore I do say that coloppes and egges is as holsome for them as a talowe candell is good for a horse mouth, or a peece of powdred Beefe is good for a blere eyed mare. Yet sensuall appetyde must haue a swynge at all these thynges, notwithstandinge." *Regyment*, fol. K. iii. b.

1. 382 & l. 515. *Venison*. I extract part of Andrewe Borde's chapter on this in his *Regyment*, fol. K. 4, b.

¶ Of wylde Beastes fleshe.

¶ I haue gone rounde about Chrystendome, and ouerthwarte Chrystendome, and a thousande or two and moore myles out of Chrystendome, Yet there is not so moche pleasure for Harte and Hynde, Bucke and Doe, and for Roo-Bucke and Doe, as is in Englande lande: and although the flesshe be disprayed in physicke, *I praye God to sende me parte of the flesshe to eate, physicke notwithstanding* . . all physicions (phyon suchons, orig.) sayth

that Venson . . doth ingendre colorycke humours ; and of trueth it doth so : Wherefore let them take the skynne, and let me haue the flesshe. I am sure it is a Lordes dysshe, and I am sure it is good for an Englysheman, for it doth anymate hym to be as he is : whiche is stronge and hardy. But I do aduertise euery man, for all my wordes, not to kyll and so to eate of it, excepte it be lawfully, for it is a meate for great men. And great men do not set so moche by the meate, as they doth by the pastyme of kyllinge of it.

l. 393. *Chine*, the Back-bone of any Beast or Fish. R. H.

l. 397. Stock Dove, *Columba oenas*, Yarrell ii. 293.

Doues haue this propertie by themselues, to bill one another and kisse before they tread. Holland's Plinie, v. 1, p. 300.

l. 401. Osprey or Fishing Hawk (the Mullet Hawk of Christchurch Bay), *Pandion Haliaeetus*, Y. i. 30.

l. 401, 482. Teal, *Anas crecca*, Y. iii. 282.

l. 402. Mallard or Wild Duck, *Anas boschas*, Y. iii. 265.

l. 421, 542. *Betowre*. Bittern, the Common, *Botaurus stellaris*, Y. ii. 571. In the spring, and during the breeding season, the Bittern makes a loud booming or bellowing noise, whence, probably, the generic term *Botaurus* was selected for it ; but when roused at other times, the bird makes a sharp, harsh cry on rising, not unlike that of a Wild Goose. Yarrell, ii. 573. The Bittern was formerly in some estimation as an article of food for the table ; the flesh is said to resemble that of the Leveret in colour and taste, with some of the flavour of wild fowl. Sir Thomas Browne says that young Bitterns were considered a better dish than young Herons . . ii. 574. 'Hearon, Byttour, Shouelar. Being yong and fat, be lightlier digested then the Crane, & y^e Bittour sooner then the Hearon.' Sir T. Eliot, *Castell of Health*, fol. 31.

l. 422. Heron. Holland (Plinie, p. 301) gives—1. A Criell or dwarfe Heron ; 2. Bittern ; 3. Carion Heron, for Pliny's—1. *Leucon* ; 2. *Asterias* ; 3. *Pellon*.

l. 437. *Martins* are given in the Bill of Fare of Archbp. Nevill's Feast, A.D. 1466, 3rd Course. R. Holme, p. 78.

l. 449. Cannell Bone. 'Susclavier. Vpon the *kannell bone* ; whence Veine susclaviere. The second maine ascendant branch of the hollow veine.' Cot.

l. 457. Compare *Rabbet Ronners* 1 doz., 2 s., temp. Hen. VIII., a^o 33. *H. Ord.* p. 223.

l. 492. *Custard*, open Pies, or without lids, filled with Eggs and Milk ; called also Egg-Pie. R. Holme.

See the Recipes for 'Crustade Ryal,' 'Crustade' (with Chikonys y-smete or smal birdys), and 'Crustade gentyle' (with ground pork or veal), fol. 43, Harl. MS. 279. The Recipe for Crustade Ryal is, "Take and pike out þe marow of bonys as hool as þou may. þen take þe bonys an seþe hem in Watere or þat þe broþe be fat y-now. þen take Almaundys & wayssche hem clene & bray hem, & temper hem vppe with þe fat broþe ; þan wyl þe mylke be broun. þen take pouder Canelle, Gyngere, & Suger, & caste þer-on. þen take Roysonys of coraunce & lay in þe cofynne, & taylid Datys

& kyt a-long. þen take Eyroun a fewe y-straynid, & swenge among þe Milke þe 3olke. þen take the botmon of þe cofynne þer þe Marow schal stonde, & steke þer gret an long gobettys þeron vppe ryzt. & lat bake a whyle. þen pore þin comade þer-on halful, & lat bake, & whan yt a-rysith, it is ynow; þen serue forth."

Sir F. Madden in his note on *Frees* pasties, in his Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, p. 131, col. 1, says, "The different species of Confectionary then in vogue are enumerated by Taylor the Water Poet, in his Tract intituled 'The Great Eater, or part of the admirable teeth and stomach's exploits of Nicholas Wood,' &c., published about 1610. 'Let any thing come in the shape of fodder or eating-stuffe, it is wellcome, whether it be Sawsedge, or *Custard*, or Eg-pye, or Cheese-cake, or Flawne, or Foole, or Froyze,* or Tanzy, or Pancake, or Fritter, or Flap iacke,† or Posset, or Galley-mawfrey, Mackerroone, Kickshaw, or Tantablin!'"

l. 500, 706, 730. *Pety Perueis*. *Perueis* should be *Perneis*, as the Sloane MS. 1985 shows. Alter text accordingly. Under the head of *bake Metis or Vyaunde Furne3*, in Harl. MS. 279, fol. 40 b, we have No. xiiij *Pety Pernollys*. Take fayre Floure Cofyns. þen take 3olkys of Eyroun & trye hem fro þe whyte. & lat þe 3olkys be al hole & nozt to-broke. & ley .iiij. or .iiiiij. 3olkys in a cofyn. and þan take marow of bonys, to or .iiij. gobettys, & cowche in þe cofynn. þen take poudre Gyngere, Sugre, Roysonys of coraunce, & caste a-boue. & þan kyure þin cofyn with þe same past. & bake hem & frye hem in fayre grece & serve forth.

xx *Pety Peruaunt*. Take fayre Flowre, Sugre, Safroun, an Salt. & make þeroffe fayre past & fayre cofyngis. þan take fayre y-tryid 3olkys Raw & Sugre an poudre Gyngere, & Raysonys of Coraunce, & myncyd Datys, but not to small. þan caste al þis on a fayre bolle, & melle al to-gederys, & put in þin cofyn, & lat bake oþer Frye in Freyssche grece. Harl. MS. 279.

l. 501, 701. *Powche*. I suppose this to be poached-egg fritters; but it may be the other *powche*: 'Take the Powche and the Lynour [? liver] of haddock, codlyng, and hake.' *Forme of Cury*, p. 47. Recipe 94.

l. 501. *Fritters* are small Pancakes, having slices of Apples in the Batter. R. Holme. *Frutters*, *Fruter Napkin*, and *Fruter Crispin*, were dishes at Archbp. Nevill's Feast, 7 Edw. IV. 1467-8 A.D.

l. 503. *Tansy Cake* is made of grated Bread, Eggs, Cream, Nutmeg, Ginger, mixt together and Fried in a Pan with Butter, with green Wheat and Tansy stamped. R. Holme. 'To prevent being Bug-bitten. Put a sprig or two of *tansey* at the bed head, or as near the pillow as the smell may be agreeable.' T. Cosnett's *Footman's Directory*, p. 292.

* *Froize*, or pancake, *Fritilla*, *Frittur*, *rigulet*. Baret. *Omlet of Eggs* is Eggs beaten together with Minced suet, and so fried in a Pan, about the quantity of an Egg together, on one side, not to be turned, and served with a sauce of Vinegar and Sugar. An *Omlet* or *Froise*. R. Holme.

† Flapjack is "a fried cake made of butter, apples, &c." Jennings. It is not a pancake here, evidently. "Untill at last by the skill of the cooke, it is transform'd into the forme of a *flapjack*, which in our translation is cald a *pancake*." Taylor's *Jack-a-lent*, i. p. 115, in Nares.

l. 504, 511, &c. *Leach*, a kind of Jelly made of Cream, Ising-glass, Sugar, and Almonds, with other compounds (the later meaning, 1787). R. Holme.

l. 517-18. *Potages*. All maner of liquyde thynges, as Potage, sewe and all other brothes doth replete a man that eteth them with ventosyte. *Potage is not so moche vsed in all Chrystendome as it is vsed in Englande*. Potage is made of the licour in the whiche flesshe is sod in, with puttynge to, chopped herbes, and Otmell and salte. A. Borde, *Reg.* fol. H. ii.

l. 517, 731. *Jelly*, a kind of oily or fat liquor drawn from Calves or Neats feet boiled. R. Holme.

l. 519. *Grewel* is a kind of Broth made only of Water, Grotes brused and Currans; some add Mace, sweet Herbs, Butter and Eggs and Sugar: some call it Pottage Gruel. R. Holme.

l. 521. *Cabages*. 'Tis scarce a hundred years since we first had cabbages out of Holland; Sir Anthony Ashley, of Wiburg St Giles, in Dorsetshire, being, as I am told, the first who planted them in England. Jn. Evelyn, *Acetaria*, § 11. They were introduced into Scotland by the soldiers of Cromwell's army. 1854. *Notes and Queries*, May 6, p. 424, col. 1.

l. 533. *Powdered* is contrasted with *fresh* in Household Ordinances: 'In beef daily or moton, fresh, or elles all *poudred* is more availe, 5d.' *H. Ord.* p. 46. In Muffett (p. 173) it means pickled, 'As Porpesses must be baked while they are new, so Tunny is never good till it have been long *pouldred* with salt, vinegar, coriander, and hot spices.' In p. 154 it may be either salt or pickled; 'Horne-beaks are ever lean (as some think) because they are ever fighting; yet are they good and tender, whether they be eaten fresh or *poudred*.' *Powdered*, says Nicolas, meant sprinkled over, and "powdered beef," i.e. beef sprinkled with salt, is still in use. *Privy Purse expenses of Elizabeth of Yorke, &c.*, p. 254, col. 1. See note to l. 378, 689, here.

l. 535-688. *Chaudoun*. MS. Harl. 1735, fol. 18, gives this Recipe. '¶ Chaudon sauz of swannes. ¶ Tak y^e issu of y^e swannes, & wasche hem wel, skoure y^e guttys with salt, sethz al to-gidre. Tak of y^e fleysche; hewe it smal, & y^e guttys with alle. Tak bred, gyngere & galingale, Canel, grynd it & tempre it vp with bred; colour it with blood ore with brent bred, seson it vp with a lytyl vinegre; welle it al to-gydere.' And see the Chaudoun potage of Pygys, fol. 19, or p. 37.

l. 540. Crane, the Common, *Crus cinerea*, Y. ii. 530.

l. 540. Egret, or Great White Heron, *Ardea alba* Y. ii. 549. (Buff-coloured, Buff-backed, and Little Egret, are the varieties.)

l. 540. Hernshaw or Common Heron, *Ardea cinerea*. Y. ii. 537 (nine other varieties).

l. 541. Plover, the Great (Norfolk Plover and Stone Curlew), *Aedicnemus crepitans*, Y. ii. 465 (10 other varieties).

l. 541. Curlew the Common, *Numenius arquata*, Y. ii. 610 (there are other varieties).

l. 542. Bustard, the Great, *Olis tarda*, Y. ii. 428; the Little (rare here). ii. 452.

l. 542. Shoveler (blue-winged, or Broad-Bill), *Anas clypeata*, Y. iii. 247. Snipe, the Common, *Scolopax gallinago*, Y. iii. 38 (11 other sorts).

l. 543. Woodcock, *Scolopax rusticola*, Y. iii. 1.

l. 543. Lapwing or Peewit, *Vanellus cristatus*, ii. 515.

l. 543. The Martin, or House Martin, *Hirundo urbica*, Y. ii. 255; the Sand or Bank Martin, *Hirundo riparia*, ii. 261.

l. 544. Quail, the Common, *Coturnix vulgaris*, Y. ii. 413.

l. 546. On Fish wholesome or not, see Bullein, fol. lxxxij., and on Meats, fol. 82.

l. 548. Torrentille: Mr Skeat suggests '? Torrent-eel.' Though the spelling of Randle Holme's A *Sandile* or a *Sandeele* (Bk. II., p. 333), and Aldrovandi's (p. 252 h.) "*De Sandilz Anglorum*" may help this, yet, as Dr Günther says, eels have nothing to do with torrents. *Torrentille* may be the Italian *Tarentella*: see note on Torrentyne, l. 828 below.

l. 555. *Ling.* There shall be stryken of every Saltfische called a Lyng Fische vj Stroks after iij Strooks in a Side. *Percy Household Book*, p. 135.

l. 558. *Stockfish.* Vocatur autem 'Stockfisch' à trunco, cui hic piscis aridus tundendus imponitur. ariditate enim ita riget, ut nisi præmaceratus aqua, aut prætunsus, coqui non possit. *Gesner*, p. 219. '*Ie te frotteray à double carillon.* I will beat thee like a *stockfish*, I will swinge thee while I may stand ouer thee.' Cotgrave. 'The tenne chapitule' of 'The Libelle of Englysch Polycye' is headed 'Of the coundius *stokfyshe* of Yselonde,' &c., &c., and begins

Of Yseland to wryte is lytille nede,
Save of *stockfische*.

A. Borde, in his Introduction to Knowledge, under Islond, says,

And I was borne in Islond, as brute as a beest;
Whan I ete candels ends I am at a feest;
Talow and raw *stockefysh* I do loue to ete,
In my countrey it is right good meate.

. . . In stede of bread they do eate *stocfyshe*, and they wyll eate rawe fyshe & fleshe; they be beastly creatures, vnmannered and vntaughte. The people be good fyshers; muche of theyr fishe they do barter with English men for mele, lases, and shoes & other pelfery. (See also under Denmarke.)

l. 559. *Mackerel.* See Muffett's comment on them, and the English and French ways of cooking them, p. 157.

l. 569. Onions. Walnuts be hurtfull to the Memory, and so are *Onyons*, because they annoy the Eyes with dazeling dimnesse through a hoate vapour. T. Newton, *Touchstone*, ed. 1581, fol. 125 b.

l. 572. A *Rochet* or *Rotbart* is a red kind of *Gurnard*, and is so called in the South parts of England; and in the East parts it is called a *Curre*, and a *Golden polle*. R. Holme.

l. 575. A *Dace* or a Blawling, or a Gresling, or a Zienfische, or Weyfish; by all which the Germans call it, which in Latin is named *Leucorinus*. And the French *Vengeron*, which is English'd to me a *Dace*, or *Dace-fish*. R. Holme.

l. 577. *Refett*. I thought it clear that *refett* was roe, and I do not yet give it up. But see P.P., *Refeccyon*, where the editor gives ‘*refet of fische K., refet or fische H., reuet P.*’ from other manuscripts, and cites in a note Roquefort from Fr. *reffait* (refait) as meaning a fish, the *rouget*, &c., &c. The authority of Roquefort is not much, and he gives no citation. If, however, in K. H. and P. these forms are used instead of the spelling *refeccyon*, and defined *refectio*, *refectura*, it rather embarrasses the matter. Halliwell cites no authority for *rivet*, roe. G. P. Marsh. See note to l. 840 here, p. 224.

l. 580. *Gobbin*, or *Gobbet*, or *Gubbins* : Meat cut in large peeces, as large as an Egg. R. Holme.

l. 584. A *Thornbacke*, soe called from the Sharp Crooked Pricks set on Studs, all down the middle of the Back. R. Holme.

l. 584. *Hound Fysch*. A Sow-Hound-Fish. . . So it is called from its resemblance of a *Dog*, and its fatness like to a *Swine* : though most term it a *Dog-Fish*. It hath a small Head, great Eyes ; wide Mouth, rough, sharp and thick skinned. R. Holme.

l. 584, l. 830. *Thorlepolle*. Aldrovandi, describing the *Balæna vera Rondel[etii]* says : Hec belua Anglis, (vt dixi) Hore vocatur, & alio nomine Horlepoole & VVirlepoole etiam, ni fallor, earum nimirum omnium significatione, quòd impetuo suo & flatu vorticosas in mari tanquam palude procellas excitet. Oleum ex ea colligi aiunt. p. 677. See Holland’s Plinie on the Whales and Whirlepooles called *Balænæ*, which take up in length as much as foure acres or arpens of land, v. 1, p. 235, &c.

Thornback, Raja. *Thornback*, which Charles Chester merily and not unfitly calleth Neptune’s beard, was extolled by Antiphanes in Athenæus history for a dainty fish ; indeed it is of a pleasant taste, but of a stronger smell than Skate, over-moist to nourish much, but not so much as to hinder lust, which it mightily encreaseth. Muffett, p. 172.

l. 596. *Verjuice* is the juice of Crabs or sour Apples. R. Holme.

l. 622. *Jole of Sturgion or Salmon* is the two quarters of them, the head parts being at them. R. Holme.

l. 630. *Lamprey pie*. In the Hengrave Household Accounts is this entry “for presenting a *lamprey pye* vj d.” “Item. the xiiij day of January [1503] to a servant of the Pryour of Lanthony in reward for brynging of two bakyn laumpreys to the Quene v s. Nicolas’s Elizabeth of York, p. 89, and Glossary.”

Under ‘How several sorts of Fish are named, according to their Age or Growth,’ p. 324-5, R. Holme gives

‘An *Eel*, first a Fauser, then a Grigg, or Snigg, then a Scaffling, then a little Eel ; when it is large, then an *Eel*, and when very large, a *Conger*.

A *Pike*, first a Hurling pick, then a Pickerel, then a *Pike*, then a *Luce* or *Lucie*.

A Smelt or *Sparling*, first a Sprat, then a small Sparling, then a *Sparling*.

A Codd, first a Whiting, then a Codling, then a Codd.

A *Lamprey*, first a Lampron Grigg, then a Lampret, then a Lamprell, then a *Lamprey*.

A *Lampron*, first a Barle, than a Barling, then a Lamprell, and then a *Lamprey* or *Lampron*.

A *Crevice*, first a Spron Frey, then a Shrimp, then a Sprawn, and when it is large, then called a *Crevice*.

The curious Burlesques, pp. 81-2, 85-6, vol. 1 of *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, contain a great many names of fish.

l. 631. *Pasty* is paste rouled broad, and the Meat being laid in Order on it, it is turned over, and made up on three sides, with garnishes about. R. Holme.

l. 634, note. *Galingale*. Harman (ed. Strother, 1727) notices three varieties, *Cyperus rotundus*, round Galingal; *Galanga major*, Galingal; *Galanga minor*, lesser Galingal.

Gallinga, Lat. Galanga, says Bp Percy, is the root of a grassy-leaved plant brought from the East Indies, of an aromatic smell and hot biting bitterish Taste, anciently used among other Spices, but now almost laid aside. Lewis, *Mat. Med.* p. 286. See Mr Way's note 4 in *Pr. Parv.* p. 185.

'*Galendyne* is a sauce for any kind of roast Fowl, made of Grated Bread, beaten Cinnamon and Ginger, Sugar, Claret-wine, and Vinegar, made as thick as Grewell.' Randle Holme, Bk. III., chap. III., p. 82, col. 2. See also Recipes in Markham's *Houswife*, the second p. 70, and the first p. 77.

l. 657. A sewer, *appositor ciborum*. *Appono*, to sette vpon the table. Withals.

l. 686. See Randle Holme's 'relation of the Feast made by George Nevill, Arch-Bishop of York, at the time of his Consecration, or Installation, 7. Edw. IV. 1467-8,' and his other Bills of Fare, p. 77-81, Book III. Chap. III.

l. 686. *Mustard* is a kind of sharp biting sauce, made of a small seed bruised and mixed with Vinegar. R. Holme.

l. 686. *Dynere*. Compare the King's dinner in *The Squyr of Lowe Degree*. The Squyer

He toke a white yeard in his hande,
Before the kynge than gane he stande,
And sone he sat hym on his knee,
And serued the kynge ryght royally
With deynty meates that were dere,
With Partryche, Pecoche, and Plouere,
With byrdes in bread ybake,
The Tele, the Ducke, and the Drake,
The Cocke, the Corlewe, and the Crane,
With Fesauntes fayre, theyr ware no wane,
Both Storkes and Snytes ther were also,
And venyson freshe of Bucke and Do,
And other deyntés many one,
For to set afore the kynge anone.

l. 312-27, *E. Popular Poetry*, v. 2, p. 36.

Several of the names of the dishes in Russell are used burlesquely in the

Feest of the Turnament of Tottenham, *E. Pop. P.*, v. 3, pp. 94-6, "saduls sewys, mashefatts in mortrewys, mylstones in mawmary, iordans in iussall, chese-crustis in charlett," &c.

l. 688, *Swan*. "Cap. xxviij. The Swanne is veri a fayr birde, with whyte feders / & it hath a blacke skinne & flesshe / the mariner seeth hym gladly / for whan he is mery, the mariner is without sorowe or daunger; & all his strengthe is in his wynges / and he is coleryke of complexion / & whan they will engender, than they stryke wyth theyr nebbys togeder, and cast theyr neckes ouer eche other as yf thei wolden brace eche other; so come they togeder, but the male doth hurt the female; & as sone as he beknoweth that he hathe hurte her, than he departeth frome her compani in all the haste possible / and she pursueth after for to reuenge it / but the anger is sone past, & she wassheth her with her bylle in the water / and clenseth herselfe agayne."—L. Andrewe, *Noble Lyfe*. Pt. II. sign. m. 1.

l. 688, *Feysaund*. "Cap. xlvi. Fascianus is a wyld cocke or a fesant cocke that byde in the forestes, & it is a fayre byrde with goodly feders. but he hath no commbe as other cockes haue / and they be alway alone except whane they wylle be by the henne. and they that will take this bird / and in many places the byrders doth thus, they paynte the figure of this fayre byrde in a cloth, & holdeth it before hym / & whan this birde seeth so fayr a figure of hym selfe / he goeth nother forward nor bacwarde / but he standeth still, staringe vpon his figure / & sodenly commeth another, and casteth a nette ouer his hede, and taketh hym. Thys byrde morneth sore in fowle weder, & hideth hym from the rayne vnder the bussches. Towarde the morninge and towards night, than commeth he out of the busshe, and is oftentimes so taken, & he putteth his hede in the ground, & he weneth that all his boddy is hyden / and his flesshe is very light and good to disiest."—L. Andrewe, *Noble Lyfe*. Pt. II. (m. 4.)

l. 689. *Vensoun bake*, or Venison Pasty. Of the Hart and Hinde, Topsel says, "The flesh is tender, especially if the beast were libbed before his horns grew: yet is not the juice of that flesh very wholesome, and therefore Galen adviseth men to abstain as much from Harts flesh as from Asses, for it engendereth melancholy; yet it is better in Summer then in Winter. Simeon Sethi, speaking of the hot Countries, forbiddeth to eat them in Summer, because then they eat Serpents, and so are venemous; which falleth not out in colder Nations, and therefore assigneth them rather to be eaten in Winter time, because the concoctive powers are more stronger through plenty of inward heat; but withal admonisheth, that no man use to eat much of them, for it will breed Palsies and trembling in mans body, begetting grosse humors, which stop the Milt and Liver: and Auicen proveth, that by eating thereof men incur the quartane Ague; wherefore it is good to powder them with salt before the dressing, and then seasoned with Peper and other things, known to every ordinary Cook and woman, they make of them Pasties in most Nations," p. 103, ed. 1658.

l. 694. *Blanchmanger*, a made dish of Cream, Eggs, and Sugar, put into an open puff paste bottom, with a loose cover. *Blamanger*, is a Capon roast

or boile, minced small, planched (sic) Almonds beaten to paste, Cream, Eggs, Grated Bread, Sugar and Spices boiled to a pap. R. Holme.

l. 694. *Po = tage* is strong Broth of Meat, with Herbs and Spices Boiled. *Pottage* is the Broth of Flesh or Fowl, with Herbs and Oatmeal boiled therein. R. Holme.

l. 694, *Vensoun*; and l. 696, *Heironsew*.

But many men byn nowe so lekerous
That they can not leve by store of howse,
As brawne, bakyn, or powderd beef;
Such lyvelod now ys no man leef,
But venyson, wyldfowle or heronsewes,
So newfangell be these men of her thewes;
Moche medlyd wyne all day men drynke;
j haue wyste wyldfowle sum tyme stynke.

Piers of Fullham, ll. 171-8, p. 8, v. 2, of *Early Popular Poetry*,

ed. Hazlitt, 1866.

l. 695, *Bustard*. "Cap. xv. The Bistarda is a birde as great as an egle, of *the* maner of an egle, and of *suche* colour, saue in *the* winges & in the taylor it hath some white feders; he hath a crooked byll, & longe talants. and it is slowe of flight / & whan he is on the grownde, than must he ryse .iiij. or .iiij. tymes or he can come to any fulle flight. he taketh his mete on the erth; for .v. or .vi. of them togeder be so bold that they festen on a shepe & tere hym a-sonder / & so ete the flesshe of him / & this birde dothe ete also of dede bestes & stinkyn caryon, and it eteth also grasse & grene erbes / & it layth his eggis vpon the ground, & bredeth them out the while that *the* corne groweth on the felde."—L. Andrewe, *Noble Lyfe*, L ij back.

l. 695, *Crane*. "Cap. lix. The Crane is a great byrde / and whan they flye, they be a grete many of them to-gyder in ordre, and a-monge them they chose a kynge the whiche they obey / whan the crane sleepth, than standeth he vpon one fote with his hede vnder his winges / & ther is one *that* kepeth the wache with his hede vpryght to-wardes *the* ayre / & whan they ete, than the kynge kepeth the wache fore them, and than the cranes ete without sorowe. Aristotiles sayth *that* aboue Egipt in farre londes come the cranes in the winter / and there the fight with the pygmeis as before is shewed in *the* .c. & .xvi. chapter.*

The Operacion.

Rasi. The flesshe of him is grosse, & not good to disiest / & it maketh melancolious blode. ¶ The crane that is kille in somer shalbe hanged vp one

* Pigmeis be men & women, & but one cubite longe, dwellinge in *the* mountaynes of ynde | they be full growen at their third yere, & at their seuen yere they be olde | & they gader them in may a grete company togeder, & arme them in theyr best maner | and than go they to the water syde, & where-so-euer they fynde any cranes nestis they breake all the eggis, & kyll all the yonges *that* they fynde | and this they do because *the* cranes do them many displeasures, & fight with them oftentimes, & do them great scathe | but these folke couer their houses with the cranes feders & egshels. fol. h. ij. back.

daye / and in winter season .ij. dayes or it be eten, and than it is the more disiestious."—L. Andrewe, *Noble Lyfe*. Pt. II. (n. iij.)

l. 695, *peacock*. "Paon revestu. A Peacocke flayed, parboyled, larded, and stucke thicke with Cloues ; then roasted, with his feet wrapped vp to keepe them from scorching ; then couered againe with his owne skinne as soone as he is cold, and so vnderpropped that, as aliue, hee seemes to stand on his legs : In this equipage a gallant, and daintie seruice."—1611, *Cotgrave*.

l. 695, *Peacock*. "Pauo / the pecocke is a very fayre byrde / and it hath a longe necke, and hath on his hede feders lyke a lytell crowne / he hathe a longe tayle the whyche he setteth on hye very ryche, but whan he loketh on hys lothly fete, he lateth his tayle sinke. Be nyght, whan the Pecocke can nat see hymselfe, than he cryeth ernefully, and thynketh that he hath lost hys beautye / and with his crye he feareth all serpentes / in suche maners *that* they dare nat abyde in those places whereas they here hym crye / and whan the pecocke clymmeth hye, that is a token of rayne . . also the pecocke is envious & wylle nat knowe his yonges tyll that they haue *the* crowne of feders vpon theyr hede, and that they begynne to lyken hym. . . . The flesshe of hym will nat lightly rote nor stynke / and it is euyll flesshe to disiest, for it can nat lightly be rosted or soden ynough."—L. Andrewe, *Noble Lyfe* (o. iv.), Cap. xci.

l. 696, *Heironsew*. Ardea is a byrde that fetcheth his mete in y^e water, & yet he byldeth vpon the hiest trees that he can. This birde defendeth his yonges from y^e goshawke, castinge his dounge vpon him / & than the fedders of the goshawke rote of y^e dounge of ardea as far as it touchet[h]. *Nob. Lyfe*, L. ij.

l. 696, *Partrich*. "Cap. xcvi. Perdix is a byrde very wylde, & the cockes feght oftentymes for the hennes. and these byrdes flye of no heght / and they put theyr hedes in the erthe, & they thinke *that* they than be well hyden, for whan she seeth nobody she thinketh *that* nobody seeth here. & she bredeth out other partriches egges / for whan she hath lost her eges, than she steleth other egges & bredeth them / & whan they be hatched *that* they can go on the grounde / than this damme setteth them out of *the* nest / but whan they be a-brode, & here the wyse of theyr owne dammes, incontinent they leue theyr damme *that* brought them up, & go to their owne natural damme / & than she *that* brought them vp hath lost her labour. The Operacion. The flesshe of a partriche is most holsomest of all wylde fowles, *the* brest & vppermoste parte of *the* bodie is the swetest, & hathe the best sauoure / but *the* hinder parte is nat so swete." L. Andrewe, *Noble Lyfe*, sign. p. i. & back.

l. 698, *Lark*. Alauda: the larke is a lytel birde, & with euery man well beknowen through his songe / in *the* somer *thei* begynneth to singe in the dawning of *the* day, geuyng knowlege to the people of *the* cominge of the daye ; and in fayre weder he reioyseth sore / but whan it is rayne weder, than it singeth selden / he singeth nat sittinge on the grownde nouthur / but whan he assendith vpwarde, he syngeth mereli / & in the descending it falleth to the grownde lyke a stone. The Operacion. The larkes flesshe hardeneth the beli, and the brothe of hym that he was soden in, slaketh the beli. L. Andrewe, *Noble Lyfe*, sign. L. iv. back, and L. i.

l. 706, *Snyte* or Snipe. "Cap. lxxxiiij. Nepa is a byrde with a longe byll / & he putteth his byll in *the* erthe for to seke the worms in the grounde / and they put their bylles in *the* erthe sometyme so depe *that* they can nat gete it vp agayne / & than they scratche theyr billes out agayn with theyr fete. This birde resteth betimes at nyght / and they be erly abroad on the morninge / & they haue swete flesshe to be eten."

l. 706, *Sparow*. "Passer / The Sparowe is a lytell byrde / and whan *the* cucko fyndeth the sparowes nest / than he suppeth vp *the* egges, & layeth newe egges hym self therin agayne / & the sparowe bredeth vp these yonge cuckoes tyl they can flee; than a great many of olde sparowes geder to-geder to thentent *that* thei sholde holde vp the yonge sparowes that can nat flee / & theyr mete is wormes of *the* erthe. . . All sparowes flesshe is euyl / and their egges also. The flesshe is very hote, and moueth to the operacion of lechery." L. Andrewe, *Noble Lyfe* (o. iv.), Cap. xci.

l. 713. *Comfits* are round, long or square pellets of Sugar made by the Art of a Confectioner. R. Holme.

l. 737, *Eles*. Trevisa in his *Higden* says of Britain 'þe lond ys noble, copious, & ryche of noble welles, & of noble ryvers wip plente of fysch. þar ys gret plente of smal fysch & of *eeles*, so þat cherles in som place feedeþ sowes wip fysch.' *Morris's Specimens*, p. 334.

Comyth ther not al day owt of hollond and flaundre

Off fatte *eles* full many a showte,

And good chepe, who that wayteth the tyddys abowte?

Piers of Fullham, ll. 71-3, *Early Pop. Poetry*, v. 2, p. 4 (and see ll. 7-10).

l. 747, 812. *Minoes*, so called either for their littleness, or (as Dr. Cajus imagined) because their fins be of so lively a red, as if they were died with the true Cinnabre-lake called *Minium*: They are less than Loches, feeding upon nothing, but licking one another. . . they are a most delicate and light meat. . . either fried or sodden. *Muffett*, p. 183.

l. 758. *Towse*. Can this be a form of *dough*? G. P. Marsh.

l. 782. Sotiltees were made of sugar and wax. *Lel. Coll.* VI. p. 31. Pegge.

l. 788-795, *Sanguineus*, *Colericus*, *Fleumaticus*, *Malencolicus*. Men were divided into these four classes, according to their humours. Laurens Andrewe says, in his *Noble Lyfe*, "And the bodij of man is made of many diuers sortes of lymmes / as senewes / vaynes / fatte / flesshe & skynne. And also of the foure moistours / as sanguyne / flematyke / coleryke & melancoly." (fol. a iv. back) col. 2. In his Chapter "Howe that man commeth into the house of dethe," he has drawings of these four types of man, on either side of King Death & the skeleton under him. Men die, he says in thre ways. 1. by one of the four elements of which they are made, overcoming the others; 2. by *humidum radicale* or 'naturall moystour' forsaking them; 3. by wounds; "& these thre maners of dethes be contained in the four complexcions of man / as in the sanguyne / colerike / flematike / & melancoly. The sanguyne wareth oftentimes so olde through gode gouernaunce / that he must occopy

spectacles, & liue longe or hummidum radicale departe frome him / but than he dyeth. The colerike commeth oftentimes to* dethe be accidentall maner through his hastines, for he is of nature hote & drye. The flematike commeth often to dethe thorough great excesse of mete & drinke, or other great labours doinge / for his nature is colde and moyste, & can not well disiest. And melancoly is heuy / full of care & heuynes / whereof he engendereth moche euyl blode that causeth great sekenes, which bringeth him vnto dethe. Thus go we al vnto the howse of dethe / the one through ensuyng of his complexion / the other through the ordenances of almyghty god. The thirde through the planetis & signes of the firmament." fol. a vi.

l. 799, *Beef*. Laurens Andrewe, *Noble Lyfe*, sign. C. i., Pt. i. says, "Of the oxce, ca. xiiij. "The oxce is a companable beste, & amonge his compani he is very meke / & alwaye he seketh his felowe that was wont to go in the plowghe wyth hym / and whan he fyndeth nat his felow, than cryeth he wyth a lowde voyce, makyng gret mone / as it were one *that* wolde make a mourninge complaynt. A bull lyueth .xv. yere, and a oxce .xx. yere. ¶ Isaac sayth that an oxce flesshe is the dryest flesshe amonge all other / & his blode is nat holsome to be eten, for it wyll nat lightly disieste. & therfore it fedeth sore, & it maketh euyl humoures, & bredeth melancoly / & they melancolicus that eat moche suche metes be like to suffer many diseases, as to gete an harde mylte / the febris quartayn / the dropcy / mangnies, lepry, &c."

l. 799, *Mutton*. Wether mutton was rightly held the best. See "The operacion" below. "¶ Of the Ramme or weddr. Ca. iij. Ysydorus sayth that the ramme or wedder is the lodysman of other shepe / and he is the male or man of the oye, and is stronger than the other shepe / & he is also called a wedder because of a worme that he hath in his hede / & whan that beginneth for to stirre, than wyll he tucke and feght / and he fereth naturally the thonder, as other shepe dothe. For whan a shepe is with frute, hering the thonder, she casteth her frute, and bryngeth it dede to the worlde. and the wedder in the tyme that he bespryngeth the oye, than is it in the tyme of loue amonge the shepe / and the Ramme or wedder wyl feght boldly for theyr wyues one with another

The Operacion.

¶ The flesshe of a yonge wether that is gelded is moch better than any other motton / for it is nat so moyste as other motton, and it is hoter, and whan it disgesteth well it maketh gode blode / but the flesshe of an oled ramme wyll nat lightly disgest, & that is very euyl." L. Andrewe, *Noble Lyfe*, Pt. I. sign. b. i. back.

l. 800, *Chykon*. On the cocke & hen L. Andrewe discourses as follows: "the Cocke is a noble byrde with a combe on his hed & vnder his iawes / he croweth in *the* night heuely & light in *the* morninge / & is fare herd *with* the winde. The lyon is afraid of the cocke / & specially of the whyte / the crowyng of the cocke is swete & profitable; he wakeneth *the* sleper / he conforteth the sorowful / & reioyseth the wakers in tokenynge *that* the night is passed . . . The flesshe of the coscke is groser than the flesshe of the

* orig. do.

henne or capon. Nota / the olde cockes flesshe is tenderer than the yonge. The capons flesshe is mightiest of all fowles & maketh gode blode. Auicenna. The cokerels flesshe *that* neuer crewe is better than *the* olde cockes flesshe: the stones be gode for them that haue to light a disiestyon / the brothe of hym is gode for the payn in *the* mawe *that* commeth of wynde." *Noble Lyfe*, n. i. back. Of the hen, L. Andrewe says: "the henne is *the* wyfe of the cocke / & ye shall lay odde egges vnder her for to hache / . . The flesshe of the yonge henne or she haue layde / is better than of the olde henne / also the grese of the cheken is moche hotter than of the henne." *Noble Lyfe*, n. i. back.

l. 802, *Goose*. "The tame gese . . be heuy in fleinge, gredi at their mete, & diligent to theyr rest / & they crye the houres of y^e night, & therwith they fere y^e theues. In the hillis of alpis be gese as great, nere hande, as an ostriche: they be so heuy of body that they cannat flee, & so me take them with the hande . . The gose flesshe is very grose of nature in disiestion." *Noble Lyfe*, L. i. back. Part ii. cap. 10.

l. 803, *Capon*. "Gallinacius / the capon is a gelded cocke / & because *that* he is gelded he waxeth the soner fatte / & though he go with the hennes, he dothe nat defende them / nor he croweth nat." L. Andrewe, *Noble Lyf*, fol. n. ij.

l. 804, *Eggis*. "the new lyde egges be better than the olde / the henne egges be better than ani other egges, whan thei be fresshe, & specialli whan thei be rere, than they make gode blode / but the egges that be harde rosted be of *the* grose metis.

The Operacion.

All maners of egges waken a man to the worke of lecherie, & specialli sparowes egges. Auicenna: The ducke egges & suche like make grose humoures. The best of the egges is the yolke, & that causeth sperma / the white of the egge enclineth to be cole. whan an henne shall brede, take hede of those egges that be blont on bothe endes, & thei shal be henne chekens / & those that be longe & sharpe on bothe endes shall be cocke chekens." L. Andrewe. *Noble Lyfe* (o iij. back).

l. 808, *Lamb*. Laurens Andrewe, Pt. i. says. ¶ Of the Lamme. Cap. primo. In the beginnyng we haue the Lamme, because he is the moste mekest beste leuinge, for it offendeth nobody / and all that he hathe on him is gode / y^e flesshe for to eate, the skynne to make parchement or ledder / the donge for to donge the felde / the clawes & hornes be medicinable / he dredeth the wolfe sore / & he knoweth his damme best be her bleting, though she be amonge many shepe.

The Operacion.

The Lamme that soucketh his damme hath his flesshe very slymie, & nat lowable / and it will nat be digested, principally of them that haue cold stomakes. lammes of a yere olde be better & lighter to digest / & they make gode blode / and specyally they be gode for theym that be hote & drye of complexyon & dwell in a hote & drye lande / lammes flesshe is very gode for one that is hole & lusti, but for them *that* be seke it is very euyll: though

it lightly disgest and descende out of the man / yet it is euyll for other partes of the body, for it maketh slimy humours. sign. b. i.

l. 808, *Cony*. "The coney is a lytel beste dwellynge in an hole of the erthe / & thore as he vseth he encreaseth very moche, and therfore he is profitable for man, for he casteth oftentymes in the yere . . . Ysaac sayth. That conys flesshe hath properli the vertue to strenge the mawe and to dissolue the bely / and it casseth moche vryne." *The Noble Lyfe*, sign. e. i.

817 l. 811. *Mead* or *Meath*, a drink made of Ginger, Sugar, Honey and Spring water boiled together. R. Holme.

Metheglin, a drink made of all sorts of wholesome Herbs boiled and strained with Honey and Water, and set to work with Bearm, as Ale or Beer. R. Holme. Dan. *miod*.

817 l. 811. *Braggot*. This drinke is of a most hot nature, as being compos'd of Spices, and if it once scale the sconce, and enter within the circumclusion of the *Perricranion*, it doth much accelerate nature, by whose forcible attraction and operation, the drinker (by way of distribution) is easily enabled to afford blowes to his brother. In Taylor. *Drink & Welcome*, 1637, A 3, back.

821 l. 812. Mussels (*Mityli, Chamæ*) were never in credit, but amongst the poorer sort, till lately the lilly-white Mussel was found out about Romers-wall, as we sail betwixt Flushing and Bergen-up-Zon, where indeed in the heat of Sommer they are commonly and much eaten without any offence to the head, liver, or stomach: yea my self (whom once twenty Mussels had almost poisoned at Cambridg, and who have seen sharp, filthy, and cruel diseases follow the eating of English Mussels) did fill my self with those Mussels of the Low Country, being never a whit distempered with my bold adventure. *Muffett*, p. 159.

l. 824, *Samon*.

Also sumtyme where samons vsen for to haunte,
Lampreys, luces, or pykkes plesaunte,
wenyth the fyscher suche fysche to fynde.

Piers of Fullham, ll. 11-13.

l. 828. *Torrentyne*. The passage before that quoted from Aldrovandi, de Piscibus, p. 585, in the note, is, "Trutta, siue ut Platina scribit Truta, siue Trotta Italicum nomen est, à Gallis, quibus Troutte vel potius Truette, vel ab Anglis quibus à Trute, vel Trovvt appellant, acceptum. Rhæti qui Italica lingua corrupta vtuntur, Criues vocant, teste Gesnero." The special fish from the Tarentine gulf is the "Tarentella, Piscis genus. Tract. MS. de Pisc. cap. 26 ex Cod. reg. 6838. C.: *Magnus thunnus, is scilicet qui a nostris Ton vocatur . . . dicitur Italis Tarentella, a Tarentino, unde advehitur, sinu.*" Ducange, ed. 1846.

l. 838. *Hake*. *Merlucius* (or *Gadus*) *vulgaris* Y. ii. 258, 'the Seapike. . . It is a coarse fish, not admitted to the tables of the wealthy; but large quantities are annually preserved both by salting and drying, part of which is exported to Spain.' 'Fish, samon, *hake*, *herynge*' are some of the commoditees of Irelande mentioned in the *Libelle* (A.D. 1436), p. 186.

- l. 840, *reffett*. In the following extract *refete* has the *Promptorium* meaning:
 eteth of the [full grown] fysche, and be not so lykerous,
 Let the yong leve that woll be so plenteous;
 ffor though the bottomles belyes be not ffyllyd with such *refete*,
 Yet the saver of sauze may make yt good mete.

Piers of Fullham, ll. 80-3, *E. Pop. P.*, v. 2, p. 5.

- l. 842. *breme*.

. . y schall none pondes with pykes store,
Breme, perche, ne with tenche none the more.—*Ibid.* ll. 51-2.

- l. 843, *floundurs*.

But now men on deyntees so hem delyte,
 To fede hem vpon the fysches lyte,
 As *floundres*, perches, and such pykyng ware;
 Thes can no man gladly now-a-day spare
 To suffyr them wex vnto resonable age.—*Ibid.* ll. 74-8.

- l. 867. *Hose*. For eight pair of *hosen* of cloth of divers colours, at xiiij s. iiij d. the pair; and for four pair "of sokks of fustian" at iij d. the pair (p. 118) . . for making and lynyng of vj pair of *hosen* of puke lyned with cloth of the goodes of the saide Richard, for lynyng of every pair iij s. iiij d. xx s. *Wardrobe Accounts of Edw. IV.* (ed. Nicolas) p. 120.

- l. 879. Combing the head was specially enjoined by the doctors. See A. Borde, Vaughan, &c., below.

- l. 915. *Fustian*. March, 1503, 'for v yerdes *fustyan* for a cote at vij d. the yerd ij s. xj d.' Nicolas's *Elizabeth of York*, p. 105. See A. Borde, p. 225, below. 'Coleyne threde, *fustiane*, and canvase' are among the 'commodites . . fro Pruse ibroughte into Flaundres,' according to the *Libelle*, p. 171,

But tha Flemmyngis amonge these thinges dere
 In comen lowen beste bacon and bere:
 Thus arn thy hogges, and drynkye wele staunt;
 Fare wele Flemynge, hay, horys, hay, avaunt. (See *n.* p. 247, below.)

- A. Borde, in his *Introduction*, makes one of the Januayes (Genoese) say,

I make good treacle, and also *fustian*,
 With such thynges I crauft with many a pore man.

- l. 941-5. See the extracts from Andrew Borde, W. Vaughan, &c., below.

- l. 945. The Motte bredethe amonge clothes tyll that they have byten it a sonder / & it is a maniable worm, and yet it hydeth him in y^e clothe that it can scantly be sene / & it bredethe gladly in clothes that haue ben in an euyll ayre, or in a rayn or myst, and so layde vp without hanging in the sonne or other swete ayre after.

The Operacyon.

The erbes that be bitter & well smellinge is good to be layde amonge suche clothes / as the baye leuis, cypres wode. *The Noble Lyfe* (i. 3.) Pt. i. Cap. c.xliij. sign. i. 3.

- l. 969. *Catte*. The mouse hounter or catte is an onclene beste, & a

poyson ennemy to all myse / and whan she hath goten [one], she playeth therwith / but yet she eteth it / & y^e catte hath longe here on her mouthe / and whan her heres be gone, than hathe she no boldnes / and she is gladli in a warme place / and she licketh her forefete & wassheth therwith her face. Laurens Andrewe, *The Noble Lyfe* (g. iv.), Part I. cap. c.i.

l. 970, *dogge*. Here is the first part of Laurens Andrewe's Chapter.

Of the dogge. ca. xxiiij.

The dogge is an onclenly beste / *that* eteth so moche that he vomyteth it out & eteth it vp agayne / it is lightly angry, and byteth gladly straunge dogges / he barketh moche / he kn[oweth] his name well / he is hered [all over his b]ody, he loueth his mast[er, and is eselye] lerned to many games / & be night he kepeth the house. There be many houndes *that* for the loue of theyr maister they wyll ronne in their owne dethe / & whan the dogge is seke / he seketh grasse or other erbes / & that he eteth, and heleth himselfe so / and there be many maner of dogges or houndes to hawke & hunt, as grayhoundes / braches / spanyellis, or suche other, to hunt hert and hynde / & other bestes of chace & venery, &c. and suche be named gentyll houndes. The bitche hath mylke .v. or vij. dayes or she litter her whelpes / and that milke is thicker than any other mylke excepte swynes mylke or hares mylke. fol. c. iv.

l. 970, *Catte*. L. Andrewe says

"Of the Catte. ca. xxv.

The catte is a beste *that* seeth sharpe, and she byteth sore / and scratcheth right perylously / & is principall ennemye to rattis & myce / & her colour is of nature graye / and the cause *that* they be other wyse colowred, that commethe through chaunge of mete, as it is well marked by the house catte, for they be selden colored lyke the wylde catte. & their flesshe is bothe nesshe & soffte." *Noble Lyfe*, Part II. c. iv.

l. 983. *Bathe*. 'Bathing is harmful to them [who are splenitic] chiefly after meat, and copulation (following) on surfeit. . . Let him also bathe himself in sweet water. Without, he is to be leechd and smeared with oil of roses, and with onlayings (or poultices made of) wine and grapes, and often must an onlay be wrought of butter, and of new wax, and of hyssop and of oil; mingle with goose grease or lard of swine, and with frankincense and mint; and when he bathes let him smear himself with oil; mingle (it) with saffron.' *Leechdoms*, v. 2, p. 245.

l. 987. *Scabiosa*, so named of old tyme, because it is giuen in drinke inwardly, or ointmentes outwardly, to heale scabbes, sores, corrupcion in the stomacke, yea, and is most frend among all other herbes in the tyme of the Pestilence, to drinke the water with Mithridatum a mornynge. . . the flowers is like a Blewe or white thrummed hatte, the stalk rough, the vpper leaues ragged, and the leaues next the grose rootes be plainer. Under whom often tymes, Frogges will shadowe theim selues, from the heate of the daie: hoppyng and plaiyng vnder these leaues, whiche to them is a pleasaunt Tente or pauillion, saieth Aristophanes, whiche maie a plade

(= made a play), wherein Frogges made pastime. *Bullein's Bulwarke*, 1562, or, *The booke of Simples*, fol. xvj. b.

l. 995. *Bilgres*. Can this be *bugloss*? I find this, as here, in juxtaposition with *scabiose*, in *Bullein's Bulwarke of Defence*, Book of Simples, fol. xvj. b. G. P. Marsh.

l. 1004. For Selden's Chapter on Precedence see his *Titles of Honour*, ch. xi. Rouge Dragon (Mr G. Adams) tells me that the order of precedence has varied from time to time, and that the one now in force differs in many points from Russell's.

l. 1040. *Nurrieris*. I find no such name in Selden's chap. ix., Of Women. Does the word mean 'foster-mothers or fathers,' from the Latin "Nutricarii, Matricularii, quibus enutriendi ac educandi infantes projectos cura incumberebat: *Nourissiers*. Vita S. Goaris cap. 10: *Hæcque consuetudo erat, ut quando aliquis homo de ipsis infantibus projectis misericordia vellet curam habere, ab illis, quos Nutricarios vocant, matriculariis S. Petri compararet, et illi Episcopo ipsum infantem præsentare deberent, et postea Episcopi auctoritas eundem hominem de illo Nutricario confirmabat. Id clarius explicatur a Wandelberto in Vita ejusdem Sancti, cap. 20.*" Ducange, ed. 1845.

The following list of Names of Fish, from Yarrell, may be found convenient for reference.

Names of Fish from Yarrell's History of British Fish, 1841, 2nd ed.

English Names.	Latin Names.	Yar., vol., page
Basse	<i>Perca labrax</i>	i 8
Bleak	<i>Luciscus</i> , or <i>Cyprinus alburnus</i>	i 419
Bream or Carp-Bream	<i>Abramis</i> , or <i>Cyprinus brama</i>	i 382
„ the common Sea-	<i>Pagellus centrodonatus</i>	i 123
Brill, or Pearl, Kite,	<i>Rhombus vulgaris</i> , or	
BRETT, Bonnet-Fleuk	<i>Pleuronectes rhombus</i>	ii 231
Butt, Flook, or Flounder	<i>Pleuronectes flesus</i> , or	ii 303
	<i>Platessa flesus</i>	
Common Cod, or Keeling	<i>Morrhua vulgaris</i> , or	ii 221
	<i>Gadus morrhua</i> (Jenyns)	
Green Cod	<i>Merlangus virens</i> (Cuvier)	ii 256
	<i>Gadus virens</i> (Linnæus)	
Conger	<i>Conger vulgaris</i> , or <i>Muraena conger</i>	ii 402
Dace, Dare, or Dait	<i>Leuciscus vulgaris</i> , or <i>Cyprinus leuciscus</i>	i 404
Dog Fish (the common),	<i>Spinax acanthias</i> , or	ii 524
The Picked Dog-Fish, or	<i>Squalus acanthias</i>	
Bone Dog (Sussex), Hoe		
(Orkney)		
Small Spotted Dog Fish	<i>Scyllium canicula</i> , or	ii 487
or Morgay (Scotl.), Robin	<i>Squalus canicula</i>	
Huss (Sussex Coast)		
Large Spotted Dog Fish, or	<i>Scyllium stellaris</i>	ii 493
Bounce (Scotl. & Devon)		

English Names.	Latin Names.	Yar., vol., page
Black-mouthed Dog-Fish, or Eyed Dog-Fish (Cornwall)	<i>Scyllium melanostomum</i>	ii 495
The Smooth Hound or Shate-toothed Shark, Ray-mouthed Dog (Cornwall)	<i>Squalus mustelus</i> , or <i>Mustelus lævis</i>	ii 512
Dory, or Dorée	<i>Zeus faber</i>	i 183
Sharp-nosed Eel	<i>Anguilla acutirostris</i> , or <i>vulgaris</i>	ii 381
Broad-nosed Eel	<i>Anguilla latirostris</i>	ii 396
Flounder, or Flook (Merret). Mayock, Fluke (Edinb.), Butt.	<i>Platessa flesus</i>	ii 303
Grayling	<i>Thymallus vulgaris</i> , or <i>Salmo thymallus</i>	ii 136
Gudgeon	<i>Gobio fluviatilis</i> , or <i>Cyprinus gobio</i>	i 371
Red Gurnard	<i>Trigla cuculus</i> , or <i>lineata</i>	i 38-63
Haddock	<i>Morrhua æglefinus</i> , or <i>Gadus æglefinus</i>	ii 233
Hake	<i>Merlucius vulgaris</i> , or <i>Gadus merlucius</i>	ii 253
Herring	<i>Clupea harengus</i>	ii 183
Holibut	<i>Hippoglossus vulgaris</i> , or <i>Pleuronectes hippoglossus</i>	ii 321
Hornfish, GARFISH, Sea-pike, Long Nose, &c.	<i>Belone vulgaris</i> , or <i>Esox belone</i>	i 442
Keeling. See Common Cod		ii 221
Lampern, or River Lamprey *	<i>Petromyzon fluviatilis</i>	ii 604
Lamprey	<i>Petromyzon marinus</i>	ii 598
Ling	<i>Lota molva</i> (Cuvier), or <i>Gadus molva</i> (Linnæus)	ii 264
Luce, or PIKE	<i>Esox lucius</i>	i 434
Lump-fish		ii 365
Mackarel	<i>Scomber scombrus</i> , or <i>vulgaris</i>	i 137
Merling, or Whiting	<i>Merlangus vulgaris</i> (Cuvier), or <i>Gadus merlangus</i> (Linnæus)	ii 244
Minnow	<i>Leuciscus</i> , or <i>Cyprinus phoxinus</i>	i 423
Mullet, grey, or Common	<i>Mugil capito</i> , or <i>cephalus</i>	i 234
Muræna	<i>Muræna Helena</i>	ii 406
Perch	<i>Perca fluviatilis</i>	i 1
Pike	<i>Esox lucius</i>	i 434
Plaice	<i>Platessa vulgaris</i>	ii 297
Roach	<i>Cyprinus rutilus</i>	i 399
Salmon	<i>Salmo Salar</i>	ii 1

* The Lamperns have been taken in the Thames at Teddington this autumn (1866) in extraordinary quantities.

English Names.	Latin Names.	Yar., vol., page
Smelt. <i>Spirling</i> and <i>Sparling</i> in Scotland	<i>Salmo Sperlanus</i> , or <i>Osmerus Sperlanus</i>	ii 75 & 129
Sturgeon, the Common,	<i>Acipenser Sturio</i>	ii 475
„ the Broad-nosed	<i>Acipenser latirostris</i>	ii 479
Swordfish	<i>Xiphias gladius</i>	i 164
Tench	<i>Tinca vulgaris</i> , or <i>Cyprinus tinca</i>	i 375
Thornback	<i>Raia clavata</i>	ii 583
Trout, Common	<i>Salmo fario</i>	ii 85
Turbot, or Rawn Fleuk and Bannock Fluck (Scotl.)	<i>Rhombus maximus</i> , or <i>Pleuronectes maximus</i>	ii 324
Vendace or Vendis (? Venprides, l. 821, Russell)	<i>Coregonus Willughbii</i> , or <i>Coregonus Marænula</i> (Jenyns)	ii 146
Whiting, or Merling	<i>Merlangus vulgaris</i> (Cuvier) <i>Gadus merlangus</i> (Linnæus)	ii 244

Extracts about Fish from "The noble lyfe & natures
of man, Of bestes / serpentys / fowles & fisshes
þ^t be moste knowen."

A VERY rare black-letter book, without date, and hitherto undescribed, except perhaps incorrectly by Ames (vol. 1, p. 412, and vol. 3, p. 1531), has been lent to me by Mr Algernon Swinburne. Its title is given above: "The noble lyfe and natures of man" is in large red letters, and the rest in smaller black ones, all surrounded by woodcuts of the wonderful animals, mermaids, serpents, birds, quadrupeds with men's and women's heads, a stork with its neck tied in a knot, and other beasts "þ^t be most knowen." The illustrations to each chapter are wonderfully quaint. The author of it says in his Prologus "In the name of ower sauour criste Iesu, maker & redemour of al mankynd / I Lawrens Andrewe of the towne of Calis haue translated for Johannes doesborrowe, booke prenter in the cite of Andwarpe, this present volume deuyded in thre partes, which were neuer before in no maternall langage prentyd tyl now /" As it is doubtful whether another copy of the book is known, I extract from the Third Part of this incomplete one such notices of the fish mentioned by Russell or Wynken de Worde, as it contains, with a few others for curiosity's sake: —

here after followeth of the natures of the fisshes of the See whiche be right profitable to be vnderstande / Wherof I wyll wryte be the helpe and grace of almighty god, to whose laude & prayse this mater ensueth.

CAP. PRIMO.

A Bremon* is a fruteful fisshe that hathe moche sede / but it is nat through mouynge of the he / but only of the owne proper nature / and than she rubbeth her belly upon the grounde or sande / and is sharpe in handelinge / & salt of sauour / and this fisshe saueth her yonges in her bely whan it is tempestius weder / & when the weder is ouerpast, than she vomyteth them out agayne.

Abremon;
? not *Bream* (see
Cap. xliij; p. 231
here).

* *ἀβραμῖς*, a fish found in the sea and the Nile, perhaps the *bream*, Opp. Hal. i. 244. Liddell & Scott.

Cap. ij.

Eel (Russell, l. 719).

Is of no sex;

is best roasted.

A Nguilla / the Ele is lyke a serpent of fascyon, & may leue eight yere, & without water vi. dayes whan the wind is in the northe / in the winter they wyll haue moche water, & that clere / amonge them is nouthur male nor female / for they become fisshes of *the* slyme of other fisshes / they must be flayne / they suffer a longe dethe / they be best rosted, but it is longe or they be ynouge / the droppinge of it is gode for paines in the eares.

Cap. iij.

Herring (Russell, l. 722).

Is delicious when fresh,
(Russell, l. 748)
or salted.

Dies when it feels the air.

A Lec, the heringe, is a Fisshe of the see / & very many be taken betweene bretayn & germaia / & also in denmarke aboute a place named schonen / And he is best from the beginnyng of August to december / and when he is fresshe taken / he is a very delicious to be eten. And also whan he hath ben salted he is a specyall fode vnto man / He can nat leue without water, for as sone as he feleth the ayre he is dede / & they be taken in gret hepis togeder / & specially where they se light, there wyll they be, than so they be taken with nettis / which commeth be the diuine Prouydens of almighty God.

Cap. v.

Whale ? (Russell, l. 582).

Shipmen cast anchor on him,

and make a fire on him.

He swims away, and drowns them.

A Spidochelon / as Phisiologus saith, it is a monstrous thinge in the see, it is a gret whale fisshe, & hath an ouer-grown rowgh skinne / & he is moste parte with his bake on hye aboue the water in such maner that some shypmen *that* see him, wene that it is a lytell ylande / & whan they come be it, they cast their ankers upon him / & go out of theyr shippes & make a fyre upon hym to dresse theyr metys / and as sone as he feleth the hete of the fyre / thanne he swymmeth fro the place, & drowneth them, & draweth the shippe to the grounde / And his proper nature is, whan he hath yonges, *that* he openeth his mouthe wyde open / & out of it fleeth a swete ayre / to *the* which the fisshes resorte, and than he eteth them.

Goldenpoll ?

A Aurata is a fysshe in the see *that* hathe a hede shynynge lyke golde.

Cap. xi.

Ahuna.

When the Ahuna is in danger,

he puts his head in his belly, and

A Huna is a monster of the see very glorisshe, as Albertus saith / what it eteth it tourneth to greas in his body / it hathe no mawe but a bely / & that he filleth so full that he speweth it out agayne / & that can he do so lyghtely / for he hath no necke / whan he is in peryl of dethe be other fisshes / than he onfacyoneth himselfe as rounde as a bowle, withdrawynge his hede into his bely / whan he hathe then hounger / He

dothe ete a parte of himsele rather than *the* other fisshes sholde ete him hole and all. eats a bit of himself.

Cap. xiii.

BOrbotha be fisshes very slepery, somewhat lyke an ele / *Borbotha.*
 hauinge wyde mouthes & great hedes / it is a swete mete /
 and whan it is xij. yere olde, than it waxeth bigge of body.
 Nota / Botte that is a flounder of the fresshe water / & they *Butt, or Flounder*
 swimme on the flatte of their body, & they haue finnes rounde (Russell, l. 735,
 about theyr body / & with a sothern wynde they waxe fatte / and note 2).
 & they haue rede spottis. Brenna is a breme, & it is a fisshe *Bream* (Russell, l.
 of the riuer / & whan he seeth the pyke that wyll take hym / 745, 578).
 than he sinketh to the botom of *the* water & maketh it so
 trobelous that the pyke can nat se hym.

Cap. xiiii.

BAlena is a great beste in the see, and bloweth moche water *Balena.* (The
 from him, as if it were a clowde / the shippes be in great woodcut is a big
 daunger of him somtyme / & they be sene moste towards Merman. See
 winter / for in the somer they be hidden in swete brod places note, p. 239, here.
 of the water where it casteth her yonges, & suffereth so grete ?Whale. Russell,
 payne *that* than he fleteth aboue the water as one desiringe l. 582.)
 helpe / his mouth is in the face, & therefore he casteth the more Are seen most in
 water / she bringeth her yonges forthe lyke other bestis on winter;
 erthe, & it slepeth / in *tempestius* weder she hydeth her breed in summer.
 yonges in her mouthe / and whan it is past she voydeth them
 out agayne / & they growe x. yere.

Cap. xvi.

CAncer the creuyce is a Fishe of *the* see that is closed in a *Crevice* (Sea and
 harde shelle, hauyng many fete and clawes / and euer it Fresh Water
 crepeth backward / & the he hathe two pynnes on his bely, & Crayfish).
the she hathe none / whan he wyll engender, he climmeth on (Russell, l. 602, l.
 her bake, and she turneth her syde towards him, & so they 618.)
 fulfyll their workes. In maye they chaunge their cotes, & in How they
 winter they hyde them fiue monethes duringe / whan the engender,
 crenes hath dronken milke it may leue longe without water. and hybernate.
 when he is olde, he hathe ij. stones in his hed with rede
 spottes that haue great vertue / for if they be layde in
 drynke / they withdryue the payne frome the herte. the
 creuyce eteth the Oysters, & geteth them be policye / How the Crayfish
 for whan the oyster gapeth, he throweth lytell stones in him, manages to eat
 and so geteth his fishe out, for it bydeth than open. Oysters.

The Operacion.

¶ The Asshes of hym is gode to make white tethe / & to
 kepe the motes out of the clothes / it withdryueth byles, &

Fresh-Water
Crayfish is hard
to digest.

heleth mangynes. The creuyce of the fresshe water geueth gret fode, but it is an heuy mete to disieste.

Cap. xvij.

Caucius.

Capitaius.

Carp.

Is difficult to net.

CAucius is a fissue that will nat be taken *with* no hokes / but eteth of *the* bayte & goth his way quyte. Capitaius is a lytel fissue *with* a great hede / a wyde rounde mouthe / & it hydeth him vnder the stones. Nota. Carpera is a carpe, & it is a fysshe that hathe great scales / and the female hathe a great rowghe, & she can bringe forthe no yonges tyll she haue receyued mylke of her make / & that she receyueth at the mouth / and it is yll for to take / for whan it perceyueth that it shalbe taken *with* the net, than it thrusteth the hede into the mudde of the water / and than the nette slyppeth ouer him whiche waye soeuer it come ; & some holde them fast be the grounde, grasse / or erbis, & so saue themselfe.

Cap. xix.

Whale

Likes Harmony.

Gets harpooned,

rubs the harpoon
into himself, and
slays himself.

Cetus is the greatest whale fissue of all / his mouthe is so wyde that he bloweth vp the water as yf it were a clowde / wher*with* he drowneth many shippes / but whan the maryners spye where he is / than thei accompany them a gret many of shippes togeder about him with diuers instrumentis of musike, & they play with grete armonye / & the fische is very gladde of this armonye / & commeth fletynge a-boue the watere to here the melody, & than they haue amonge them an instrument of yron, *the* whiche they festen in-to the harde skinne, & the weght of it synketh downwarde in to *the* fat & grese / & sodenly *with* that al *the* instrumentes of musike be styll, and *the* shippes departe frome thens, & anone he sinketh to the grownde / & he feleth *that* the salt watere smarteth in *the* wounde, than he turneth his bely vpwaerd and rubbeth his wownde agaynst *the* ground, & the more he rubbeth, the depere it entreth / & he rubbeth so longe *that* he sleeth hymself / and whan he is dede, than commeth he vp agayne and sheweth him selfe dede / as he dyd before quicke / and than the shippes gader them togeder agayne, and take, & so lede hym to londe, & do theyr profyte with hym.

Cap. xxij.

Conche, or
Muscle.

Conche be abydyng in *the* harde shellis: as *the* mone growth or waneth, so be the conches or muscles fulle or nat full, but smale / & there be many sortes of conches or musclys / but *the* best be they that haue the perles in.

Cap. xxij.

Sea-snails.

Coochele / is a snayle dwellinge in the water & also on the londe / they go out of theyr howses / & they thruste out

.ij. longe hornes wherwith they fele wether they go / for they se nat where they crepe.

Cap. xxiiij.

THe Conger is a se fisshe facioned like an ele / but they be *Conger.*
moche greter in quantyte / & whan it bloweth sore, than
waxe they fatte. ¶ Polippus is also a stronge fisshe *Polippus.* *that*
onwarse he wyl pull a man out of a shyp. yet *the* conger is so
stronge that he wyll tere polippum asonder with his teth, & in
winter *the* conger layth in *the* depe cauernes or holes of the
water. & he is nat taken but in somer. ¶ Esculapius sayth.
Coretz is a fisshe that hydeth hym in the depe of *the* water *Corets.*
whan it rayneth / for yf he receiued any rayne, he sholde waxe
blynde, and dye of it. ¶ Iorath sayth. The fisshes that be
named se craues / whanne they haue yonges / they make suche *Sea-crevice.*
noise *that* through theyr noyse they be founde and taken.

Cap. xxvij.

DElphinus is a monster of the see, & it hath no voyce, but *Dolphin or Mermaid.*
it singheth lyke a man / and towarde a tempest it play-
eth vpon the water. Some say whan they be taken that they
wepe. The delphin hath none eares for to here / nor no nose
for to smelle / yet it smelleth very well & sharpe. And it
slepeth vpon the water very hartely, that thei be hard ronke
a farre of / and thei leue C.xl. yere. & they here gladly playnge
on instrumentes, as lutes / harpes / tabours / and pypes. They
loue their yonges very well, and they fede them longe with the
mylke of their pappes / & they haue many yonges, & amonge
them all be .ij. olde ones, that yf it fortunied one of *the* yonges
to dye, than these olde ones wyll burye them depe in the
gorwnd [*sic*] of the see / because othere fisshes sholde nat ete
thys dede delphyn; so well they loue theyr yonges. There
was ones a kinge *that* had taken a delphin / whyche he caused
to be bounde with chaynes fast at a hauen where as the
shippes come in at / & there was alway the pyteoust
wepyng / and lamentynge, that the kinge coude nat for
pyte / but let hym go agayne.

Cap. xxxi.

ECheola is a muskle / in whose fysshe is a precious stone / *Echeola, a Muscle.*
& be night they flete to the water syde / and there they
receyue the heuenly dewe, where throughe there groweth
in them a costly margaret or orient perle / & they flete a great
many togeder / & he *that* knoweth *the* water best / gothe
before & ledeth the other / & whan he is taken, all the other
scater a brode, and geteth them away.

Cap. xxxvi.

Echinus.

Echynus is a lytell fysshe of half a fote longe / & hath sharpe prykcles vnder his bely in stede of fete.

Cap. xxxvii.

Esox.

Esox is a very grete fisshe in that water danowe be the londe of hungarye / he is of suche bygnes that a carte with .iiij. horses can nat cary hym awaye / and he hath nat many bones, but his hede is full / and he hath swete fisshe lyke a porke, and whan this fysshe is taken, thanne geue hym mylke to drynke, and ye may carye hym many a myle, and kepe hym longe quicke.

xxxviii.

Phocas.

Kills his wife and gets another.

FOcas is a see bulle, & is very stronge & dangerous / and he feghteth euer with his wyf tyll she be dede / and whan he hath kylled her, than he casteth her out of his place, & seketh another, and leueth with her very well tyl he dye / or tyll his wyfe ouercome him and kille hym / he bydeth alway in one place / he and his yonges leue be suche as they can gete. ¶ Halata is a beste that dothe on-naturall dedys / for whan she feleth her yonges quycke, or stere in her body / than she draweth them out & loketh vpon them / yf she se they be to yonge, than she putteth them in agayne, & lateth them grow tyll they be bygger.

Halata.

Takes her young out of her womb to look at 'em.

Cap. xv.

Sword-Fish.

GLadius is a fisshe so named because he is mouthed after the fascyon of a sworde poynt / and therfore often tymes he perseth the shyppes thorough, & so causeth them to be drowned. Aristotiles. Gastarios is a fisshe lyke the scorpion / and is but lytell greter than a spyder / & it styngeth many fishes with her poyson so that they can nat endure nowhere / and he styngeth the dolphin on the hede that it entreth in-to the brayne. ¶ Isidorus. Glaucus is a whyte fissh that is but selden sene except in darke rayne weder / and is nat in season but in the howndes dayes.

Gastarios.

Glaucus.

Cap. xli.

Gudgeon.

GObio is a smale longe fissh with a rounde body / full of scales and litell blacke spottys / and some saye they leue of drounde caryon / & the fisshers say contrarye, that they leue in clere watere in sandye graueil / and it is a holsom mete. ¶ Grauus is a fisshe that hath an iye aboue on hys hede, and therwith he loketh vp, and saueth hym from them that wyll eat hym.

Gravus.

liii.

Lucius is a pike / a fische of *the* riuer with a wyde mouthe & sharpe teth : whan *the* perche spieth him / he turneth his tayle towardes him / & than *the* pike dare nat byte him because of his finnes, or he can nat swalowe him because he is so sharpe / he eteth venomous bestes, as todes, frogges, & suche like ; yet it is sayde *that* he is very holsom for seke peple. He eteth fisses almost as moche as himselfe / whan they be to bigge, than he byteth them in ij. peces, & swaloweth the one halfe first, & than the other / he is engendered with a western wynde.

Pike :

eats venomous
beasts ;is begotten by a
West Wind.

Cap. lvii.

Mus marinus, the see mouse, gothe out of the water, & there she laith her egges in a hole of the erthe, & couereth the egges, & goth her way & bydeth frome them xxx. dayes, and than commeth agayne and oncouereth them, & than there be yonges, and them she ledeth into *the* water, & they be first al blynde. Musculus is a fische *that* layth harde shellis, and of it the great monster balena receyueth her nature, & it is named to be the cocke of balena. Mustela is the see wesyll / she casteth her yonges lyke other bestes / & whan she hath cast them, yf she perceiue that they shall be founde, she swaloweth them agayne into her body, and than seketh a place wher as they may be surer without daunger / & than she speweth them out agayne.

Sea-Mouse.

Musculus is the
cock of Balena.

Sea-weazle.

Cap. lix.

Murena is a longe fische with a weke skinne lyke a serpent / & it conceyueth of the serpent vipera / it liueth longest in the tayle, for whan that is cut of, it dyeth incontinent / it must be soden in gode wyne with herbes & spices, or ellis it is very dangerous to be eten, for it hath many venymous humours, and it is euyll to disieste.

Lamprey.

Must be boiled in
wine.

Cap. lxi.

Mulus is a see fysshe *that* is smale of body / & is only a mete for gentils : & there be many maners of these / but the best be those *that* haue ij. berdes vnder the mouthe / & whan it is fayre weder, than they waxe fatte / whan he is dede than he is of many colours.

Malus :

has 2 beards,

Cap. lxiiij.

Nereydes be monsters of *the* see, all rowghe of body / & whan any of them dyeth, than the other wepe. of this is spoken in balena, the .xiiij. chapter.

Nereids.

Orchun.

Is Balene's deadly enemy.

¶ **O**rchun is a monster of *the se* / whose lykenes can nat lightly be shewed / & he is mortal ennemye to *the* balene, & tereth asonder the bely of the balene / & the balene is so boystous *that* he can nat turne hym to defende him, and *that* costeth him his lyfe / for as sone as he feleth him selfe wounded, than he sinketh doune to the botom of the water agayne / & the Orchun throweth at him *with* stones / & thus balena endith his lyfe.

Cap. lxvi.

Pearl-Oyster.

OStreñ is an oyster that openeth his shell to receyue *the* dewe & swete ayre. In *the* oyster groweth naturali orient perles that oftentymes laye on the see stronde, & be but lytell regarded, as Isidorus saith.

Cap. lxvij.

Pagrus.

Sea-Peacock.

Percus.

Pecten : winks.

Pagrus is a fische that hath so harde tethe *that* he byteth *the* oyster shelles in peces, & eteth out the fische of them. Nota. Pauus maris is the Pecoche of the Se, & is lyke the pecoche of the londe, bothe his backe, necke, & hede / & the nether body is fische Nota. Percus is of diuers colours, & swift in ronnyng in *the* water, & hathe sharpe finnes, & is a holsome mete for seke people. Pecten is a fische that is in sandy grounde, & whan he is meued or stered, he wynketh.

Cap. lxx.

Pinna.

How he catches small fishes.

Plaice.

Pinna is a fische *that* layeth alwaye in the mudde, and hathe alway a lodisman, & some name it a lytel hoge, & it hathe a rounde body, & it is in a shell lyke a muscle; it layth in the mone as it were dede, gapyng open / and than the smale fisshes come into his shel, wening of him to take their repaste / but whan he feleth *that* his shell is almoste ful / than he closeth his mouthe, & taketh them & eteth them / & parteth them amonge his felowes. The playce is well knowen fische, for he is brode & blake on the one syde, and whyte on the other.

Cap. lxvij.

Polippus.

Polippus hath gret strength in his fete / what he therin cacheth, he holdeth it fast / he springeth somtyme vp to the shippes syde, & snatcheth a man *with* him to the grounde of the see, & there eteth him / & that *that* he leueth, he casteth it out of his denne agayn / they be moche in the se about Venis / & he is taken in barellis where hartys hornes be layd in / for he is gladly be those hornes.

Cap. lxxvij.

Rumbus.

Rumbus is a great fische stronge & bolde / but he is very slow in swimmyng, therfor can he gete his mete but

soberly with swimmyng / therfor he layth him down in the grounde or mudde, & hideth him there / and all the fisshes that he can ouercome / commynge forby him, he taketh and eteth them.

Cap. lxxviiij.

Rubus is a fisshe of the grekes se & of the sees of ytaly / Rubus.
they be rounde lyke a ringe, & haue many rede spottes / & is full of sharpe finnes & pinnis / he is slow in swimmynge because he is so brode / he gothe be the grounde, & wayteth there his praye / & suche fisshes as he can gete he burieth in the sandes, & it is a very swete fisshe. Ryache.
that be rounde / somtyme they be in length & brede two cubites / & it hath a long tayle / theron be sharpe pinnes / & it is slowe in swimmynge.

Cap. lxxix.

Salmo is a fysshe engendred in the swete water, & he waxeth Salmon.
longe & gret / & also he is heuy / & his colour nor sauour is nat gode tyll he haue ben in the salt water & proued it / thus draweth the samon to the water agaynst the streame; he neuer seaseth tyll he haue ben in the se and returned agayn to his olde home, as Phisiologua saith / his fisshe¹ is rede, & he [1? fleshe.]
may nat liue in a swet standinge water / he must be in a fresshe riuer that he may playe up and doune at his plesure.

Salpa is a fowle fisshe and lytell set by / for it will neuer be Salpa. Stockfish?
ynough for no maner of dressinge tyll it haue ben beten with grete hamers & staues.

Cap. lxxij.

Serra is a fysshe with great tethe, and on his backe he hathe Serra.
sharpe fynnes lyke the combe of a cocke / and iagged lyke a sawe wherewith thys monstrous fisshe cutteth a ship Cuts through ships with his fins.
thorough, & whan he seeth a shippe commynge, than he setteth vp his finnes & thinketh to sayl with the shippe as fast as it / but whan he seeth that he can nat continue / than he latteth his finnes fall agayn & destroieth the shippe with the people, and than eteth the dede bodyes. Scylla. Nota. Scilla is a monster in the see betwene Italye & Sicill / it is great ennemye vnto man. It is faced & handed lyke a gentylwoman / but it hath a wyde mouthe & ferfull tethe / & it is belied like a beste, & tayled lyke a dolphin / it hereth gladly singinge. It is in the water so stronge that it can nat be ouercome / but on the lond it is but weke.

Cap. lxxxiiij.

Syrene. the mermayde is a dedely beste that bringeth a man Siren.
gladly to dethe / frome the nauyll vp she is lyke a woman

Siren is like an eagle below,
 sings sweet songs to mariners,
 and tears them to pieces.
 Sirens, serpents.

with a dredfull face / a long slymye here, a grete body, & is lyke the egle *in* the nether parte / hauinge fete and talentis to tear asonder suche as she geteth / her tayl is scaled like a fische / and she singeth a maner of swete song, and therewith deceyueth many a gode mariner / for whan they here it, they fall on slepe commonly / & than she commeth, and draweth them out of the shippe, and tereth them asonder / they bere their yonges in their armes, & geue them souke of their papis whiche be very grete, hanginge at their brestis / but *the* wyse maryners stoppe their eares whan they se her / for whan she playth on the water, all they be in fear, & than they cast out an empty tonne to let her play with it tyll they be past her / this is specified of them *that* haue sene it. Ther be also in some places of arabye, serpentis named sirenes, that ronne faster than an horse, & haue wynges to flye.

[Cap. lxxxv.]

Solaris.

Solaris is a fische so named because it is gladly be the londes syde in the sonne / he hathe a great hede, a wyde mouth, & a blake skine, & slipper as an ele / it waxeth gret, & is gode to be eten. Solea is the sole, that is a swete fische and holsom for seke people.

Cap. lxxxvi.

Solopendria.

Sea-Scorpion.
[1 orig. Tge]

Solopendria is a fische / whan he hathe swallowed in an angle, than he spueth out al his guttes till he be quyt of the hoke / and than he gadereth *in* all his guttes agayne. The Scorpion of the see is so named because whan he is taken in any mannys handes he pricketh him with his stinge of his tayle. Plinius saith that the dede creuyce that layeth on the drye sonde be the see syde, becommeth scorpyons.

Cap. lxxxix.

Sturgeon.

Eats no food,
has no mouth,grows fat on east
wind.Has no bones in
his body.

Sturio / the sturgion is a gret fische in the ronninge waters / and he taketh no fode *in* his body, but lyueth of *the* styl and swete ayres therefore he hathe a small bely / with a hede and no mouthe, but vnder his throte he hathe a hole *that* he closeth whan he wyll / he openeth it whan it is fayre weder / & with an east wynde he waxeth fat / and whan that the north winde bloweth, than falleth he to the grounde / it is a fische of ix. fote longe whan he is ful growen / he hath whyte swete flesshe & yolow fatte / & he hathe no bone in all his body but only in his hede.

Cap. xcij.

Tench.

Tintinalus.

Tecna is a tenche of the fresshe water, and is fedde in the mudde lyke *the* ele / & is moche lyke of colours: it is a swete fische, but it is euyl to disiest. ¶ Tintinalus is a fayre

mery fissue, & is swete of sauour, & well smellinge lyke the tyme, where of it bereth the name. ¶ Torpido is a fissue. *Torpedo.* but who-so handeleth hym shalbe lame & defe of lymes / that he shall fele no thyng / & it hathe a maner of Squitana. *that* is spoken of in *the lxxxiiii. chapter¹*, and his nature.

Cap. xciiij.

..... ¶ Trncka² / the trowte is a fissue of the ryuer, & *Trout.* hathe scales, & vpon his body spottys of yelow and blodye *[² for Trutta]* coloure. & his fissue³ is rede frome *the* monthe of July to the monthe of Nouember / and is moche sweter than *the* fresshe samon; and all the other part of the yere his fissue³ is whyte. *[³ ? flesshe]*

Cap. xcv.

TEstudo is a fysshe in a shelle / & is in *the* se of Inde / & his *Testudo.* shelle is very great & like a muskle / & be nyght they go out for theyr mete / & whan they haue eten theyr bely full / than they slepe swymming vpon the water. than ther come iij. fisshers botes / of *the* wiche .iij. twayn take one of these muskles. Solinus sayth. *that* this muskle hathe his vppermost shell so brode that it may couere a howse / where many folke may hyde them vnder / And it gothe out the water vpon the londe / & there it layth an hondred egges as grete as gose eggis / and couer them with erth / & oftentimes be night it gothe to the eggys & layeth vpon them with her brest, & than become they yonges.

[This copy of Admiral Swinburne's *Andrewe* ends with the next column of this page, sign. v. i. back, with an illustration not headed, but which is that to Cap. xcviij.]

¹ *Squatinus* is a fissue in *the* se, of fiue cubites longe: his tayle is a fote brode, & he hideth him in the slimy mudde of *the* se, & marreth al other fisshes that come nigh him: it hath so sharpe a skinne that in som places they shaue wode with it, & bone also / on his skinne is blacke short here. The nature hathe made him so harde that he can nat almoste be persed with nouthen yron nor stele.

Note to *Balena*, p. 231. þar [in þe se of Brytain] buþ ofte ytake dolphyns, & se-calves, & *balenes*, (gret fysch, as hyt were of whaales kinde) & dyvers manere schyl-fysch, among þe whoche schyl-fysch buþ moskles þat habbeþ wipynne ham margey perles of al manere colour of huþ, of rody & red, of purple & of bluþ, & specialych & moost of whyte. Trevisa's Higden, in Morris's *Specimens*, p. 334. For 'the cocke of Balena' see *Musculus*, p. 235, above; and for its 'mortal ennemye,' *Orchun*, p. 236.

Wyllyam Bulleyn on
Boxyng & Neckeweede.

(From *The Booke of Compoundes*, fol. lxviii.)

Sicknes.

Will boxyng doe any pleasure?

Health.

For saucy louts,

the best cure is
Boxing.

Y^Ea forsothe, verie moche: As example, if you haue any sausie loughte, or loitryng lubber within your house, that is either to busy of his hand or tongue: and can do nothing but plaie one of the partes of the .24. orders of knaues. There is no pretier medicen for this, nor soner prepared, then boxyng is: iii. or .iiii. tymes well set on, a span long on bothe the chekes. And although perhaps this will not alter his lubberly condicions, yet I assure you, it wil for a time chaunge his knauishe complexion, and helpe him of the grene sicknes: and euery man maie practise this, as occasion shall serue hym in his familie, to reforme them. *Bulleins Bulwarke of Defence*, 1562.

(From *The booke of Simples*, fol. xxvii. back.)

Marcellus.

The names of
Hemp.

T^Here is an herbe whiche light fellowes merily will call Gallowgrasse, Neckeweede, or the Tristrams knot, or Saynt Audres lace, or a bastarde brothers badge, with a difference on the left side, &c. you know my meaning.

Hillarius.

W^Hat, you speake of Hempe? mary, you terme it with manie pretie names. I neuer heard the like

termes giuen to any simple, as you giue to this ; you cal it neckwede. A, well, I pray you, woulde you know the propertie of this Neckeweede in this kinde ? Neckweed (a halter)

beinge chaunged into such a lace, this is his vertue. Syr, if there be any yonkers troubled with idelnesse and loytryng, hauyng neither learnyng, nor willyng handes to labour : or that haue studied Phisicke so longe that he or they can giue his Masters purse a Pur- is good for thievish apprentices,

gacion, or his Chist, shoppe, and Countinghouse, a strong vomit ; yea, if he bee a very cunning practicioner in false accomptes, he may so suddenly and rashely minister, that he may smite his Father, his Maister, or his friende &c. into a sudden incurable consumption, that he or they shall neuer recouer it againe, but be vtterly vndone, and cast either into miserable pouertie, prisonment, bankeroute &c. If this come to passe, then the ¹ best rewarde for this practicioner, is this Necke- [1 Fol. xxviii.]

weede: if there be any swashbuckler, common theefe, ruffen, or murtherer past grace, ^e y nexte remedie is for swashbucklers past grace,

this Lace or Corde. For them which neuer loued concored, peace nor honestie, this wil ende all the mischief ; this is a purger, not of Melancholy, but a finall banisher of all them that be not fit to liue in a common wealth, no and all scamps,

more then Foxes amonge sheepe, or Thistles amonge good Corne, hurters of trew people. This Hempe, I say, passeth the new Diat, bothe in force and antiquitee.

If yonge wantons, whose parentes haue left them fayre houses, goods and landes, whiche be visciously, idle, vnlearnedly, yea or rather beastly brought vp: after the death of their saied parentes, their fruites wil spryng forth which they haue learned in their wicked youthe : Also for young spendthrifts

then bankets and brothels will approche, the Harlots who after their parents' death

will be at hande, with dilighes and intisementes, the Baude will doe hir diligence, robbyng not onlie the purses, but also the hartes of suche yongemen, whiche waste their all with harlots

when they be trapped, can neuer skape, one amonge

an hundreth, vntill Hempe breaketh the bande amonge
 and in gambling these loytring louers. The Dice whiche be bothe smalle
 and light, in respecte vnto the Coluering, or double
 Cannon shotte or Bollet, yet with small force and noyse
 can mine, break downe, and destroy, and caste away
 their one Maisters houses, faire felde, pleasaunt Woddes,
 and al their money, yea frendes and al together, this
 can the Dice do. And moreouer, can make of worship-
 full borne Gentilmen, miserable beggers, or theefes, yet
 for the time "a-loft syrs, hoyghe childe and tourne thee,
 what should youth do els : I-wisse, not liue like slaues
 or pesantes, but all golden, glorious, may with dame
 Venus, my hartes delight" say they. "What a sweete
 heauen is this : Haue at all, kockes woundes, bloud and
 nayles, caste the house out at the window, and let the
 Diuell pay the Malte man : a Dogge hath but a day, a
 good mariage will recouer all together : " or els with a
 Barnards blowe, lurkyng in some lane, wodde, or hill
 top, to get that with falshead in an hower, whiche with
 trueth, labour, & paine, hath bene gathered for per-
 happes .xx. yeares, to the vtter vndoyng of some
 honest familie. Here thou seest, gentle Marcellus, a
 miserable Tragedie of a wicked shamelesse life. I nede
 not bring forth the example of the Prodigall childe.
 Luke .xvi. Chapter, whiche at length came to grace : It
 is, I feare me, in vaine to talke of him, whose ende was
 good ; but a greate number of these flee from grace, and
 come to endes moste vngracious, finished only life by
 this Hempe. Although sometime the innocente man
 dieth that way, through periurie for their one propper
 gooddes, as Naboth died for his owne Vineyarde,
 miserable in the eies of the worlde, but precious in the
 sight of God. This is one seruice whiche Hempe
 doeth.

The use of Hemp

Also this worthy noble herbe Hempe, called *Canna-*
bis in Latten, can not bee wanted in a common wealth,

no Shippe can sayle without Hempe, y^e sayle clothes, the
 shroudes, staies, tacles, yarde lines, warps & Cables can to the Sailor,
 not be made. No Plowe, or Carte can be without Plowman,
 ropes ¹ halters, trace &c. The Fisher and Foulter [¹ Fol. xxviii. b.]
 Fisher and
 muste haue Hempe, to make their nettes. And no
 Archer can wante his bowe string: and the Malt Archer.'
 man for his sakes. With it the belle is rong, to
 seruice in the Church, with many mo thynges profit-
 able whiche are commonly knowen of euery man, be
 made of Hempe.

Andrew Borde on
Sleep, Rising, and Dress.

[From his Regyment, ?1557.]

[Fol. R. 1.]	Whole men of what age or complexion so euer they be of, shulde take theyr naturall rest and slepe in the nyght : and to eschewe merydyall sleep. But and nede shall compell a man to slepe after his meate : let hym make a pause, and than let hym stande & lene and slepe agaynst a cupborde, or els let hym sytte upryght in a chayre and slepe. Slepynge after a full stomacke doth ingendre dyuers infyrmyties, it doth hurte the splene, it relaxeth the synewes, it doth ingendre the dropses and the gowte, and doth make a man looke euyl colored.
After Dinner, sleep standing against a cupboard.	¹ Beware of veneryous actes before the fyrste slepe, and specyally beware of suche thynges after dyner or after a full stomacke, for it doth ingendre the crampe and the gowte and other displeasures. To bedwarde be you mery, or haue mery company aboute you, so that to bedwarde no angre, nor heuynes, sorowe, nor pensyfulnes, do trouble or dysquyet you.
[1 Fol. R. i. b.]	To bedwarde, and also in the mornynge, vse to haue a fyre in your chambre, to wast and consume the euyl vapowres within the chambre, for the breath of man may putryfye the ayre within the chambre : I do aduertise you not to stande nor to sytte by the fyre,
Before bedtime be merry.	but stande or syt a good way of from the fyre, takynge the flauour of it, for fyre doth aryfie and doth drye vp a mannes blode, and doth make sterke the synewes and ioyntes of man. In the nyght let the wyndowes of
Have a fire in your bedroom,	
but stand a good way off it.	
Shut your windows.	

your howse, specyallye of your chambre, be closed.

Whan you * be in your bedde,¹ lye a lytle whyle on your lefte syde, and slepe on your ryght syde. And

[* Fol. E. ii.]

Lie first on your left side.

whan you do wake of your fyrste slepe, make water yf you feel your bladder charged, & than slepe on the lefte side; and looke as ofte as you do wake, so oft turne your selfe in the bedde from one syde to the

other. To slepe grouellynge vpon the stomacke and bely is not good, oneles the stomacke be slowe and tarde of dygestion; but better it is to laye your hande,

To sleep grovel-
ing on the belly,
is bad;

or your bedfelowes hande, ouer your stomacke, than to lye grouellynge. To slepe on the backe vpryght² is

on the back
upright, is worse.

vtterly to be abhorred¹: whan that you do slepe, let not your necke, nother your sholders, nother your hands, nor feete, nor no other place of your bodye, lye bare vndiscovered. Slepe not with an emptye stomacke, nor slepe not after that you haue eaten meate one howre or two after. In your bed lye with your head

somewhat hyghe, leaste that the * meate whiche is in your stomacke, thorowe eructuacions or some other cause, ascende to the oryfe (*sic*) of the stomacke. Let your nyght cap be of scarlet: and this I do aduertise you, to cause to be made a good thycke quylte of cotton,

[* Fol. E. ii. b.]

Wear a scarlet
nightcap.

¹⁻¹ Compare what Bulleyn says: —slepe. The night is the best time: the daie is euill: to slepe in the felde is perilous. But vpon, or in the bedde, liyng firste vpon the right side, untill you make water: then vpon the lefte side, is good. But to lye vpon the backe, with a gaping mouth, is daungerous: and many thereby are made starke ded in their slepe: through apoplexia, and obstruccion of the sinewes, of the places vitalle, animall, and nutrimentalle. *Bullein's Bulwarke, The booke of the vse of sicke men and medicines*, fol. lxx. See also Sir John Harrington's directions from Ronsovius: "They that are in health, must first sleepe on the right side, because the meate may come to the liuer, which is to the stomack as a fire vnder the pot, and thereby is digested. To them which haue but weake digestion, it is good to sleepe prostrate on their bellies, or to haue their bare hands on their stomackes: and to lye vpright on the backe, is to bee vtterly abhorred." p. 19.

How to lie in bed.

Who should put
their hands on
their stomachs.

² This wenche lay *upright*, and faste slepte. Chaucer. *The Reeves Tale*, l. 4192, ed. Wright.

Have a flock bed
over your
featherbed.

On rising, re-
member God,
brush your
breeches, put on

your hose,
stretch,

[* Fol. E. iii.]
go to stool.

Truss your
points, comb
your head,

wash your hands
and face,

take a stroll,

pray to God.

Of Frication

and combing the
head.

or els of pure flockes or of cleane wolles, and let the couerynge of it be of whyte fustyan, and laye it on the fetherbed that you do lye on ; and in your bed lye not to hote nor to colde, but in a temporaunce. Olde auntyent Doctors of physicke sayth .viii. howres of slepe in sommer, and ix. in wynter, is suffycent for any man : but I do thynke that slepe oughte to be taken as the complexion of man is. Whan you do ryse in the mornynge, ryse with myrth and remembre God. Let your hosen be brusshed within & without, and flauer the insyde of them agaynst the fyre ; vse lynnyn socks, or lynnyn hosen nexte your legges : whan you be out of your bedde, stretche forth your *legges & armes, & your body ; cough, and spytte, and than go to your stoole to make your egestyon, and exonerate youre selfe at all tymes, that nature wolde expell. For yf you do make any restrycion in kepyng your egestyon or your vryne, or ventosyte, it maye put you to dyspleasure in breadynge dyuers infyrmyties. After you haue euacuated your bodye, & trussed your poyntes,¹ kayme your heade oft, and so do dyuers tymes in the day. And wasshe your handes & wrestes, your face, & eyes, and your teeth, with colde water ; and after y^t you be apparayled, walke in your gardyn or parke, a thousande pase or two. And than great and noble men doth vse to here masse, & other men that can not do so, but muste applye theyr busynes, doth serue god with some prayers, surrendrynge thanks to hym for hys manyfolde goodnes, with askynge mercye

¹ Fricacion is one of the euacuacions, yea, or clensynges of mankinde, as all the learned affirmeth : that mankinde should rise in the mornynge, and haue his apparell warme, stretchyng foorth his handes and legges. Preparying the bodie to the stoole, and then begin with a fine Combe, to kembe the heere vp and down : then with a course warme clothe, to chafe or rubbe the hedde, necke, breast, armeholes, bellie, thighes, &c., and this is good to open the pores. 1562 *Bullein's Bulwarke*, The booke of the vse of sicke men and medicenes, fol. lxxij. See Vaughan below, No. 2, p. 249.

for theyr offences. And before you go to your refec-
 ti*on, moderatly exercise your body with some labour, [* Fol. E. iii. b.]
 or playeng at the tennys, or castyng a bowle, or paysyng Play at tennis,
 weyghtes or plommettes of leede in your handes, or or wield weights.
 some other thyng, to open your poores, & to augment
 naturall heate. At dyner and supper¹ vse not to drynke At meals,
 sundry drynkes, and eate not of dyuers meates: but
 feede of .ii. or .iii. dysshes at the moste. After that eat only of 2 or 3
 you haue dyned and supte, laboure not by and by dishes;
 after, but make a pause, syttynge or standyng vpryght
 the space of an howre or more with some pastyme:
 drynke not moch after dyner. At your supper, vse let supper-dishes
 lyght meates of dygestyon, and refrayne from grose be light.
 meates; go not to bed with a full nor an emptye
 stomacke. And after your supper make a pause or you
 go to bed; and go to bed, as I sayde, with myrth.

Furthermore as concernyng your apparell. In
 wynter, next your shert vse you to weare a petycote of Wear a scarlet
 scarlet: your dowb*let vse at plesure: But I do [* Fol. E. iv.]
 aduertysse you to lyne your Iacket vnder this fasshyon Have a jacket
 or maner. Bye you fyne skynnes of whyte lambe & of white and black
 blacke lambe. And let your skynner cut both y^e sortes lambskin sewn
 of the skynnes in smale peces triangle wyse, lyke halfe diamond-wise.
 a quarell of a glasse wyndowe. And than sewe
 togyther a* whyte pece and a blacke, lyke a whole [* MS. a a]
 quarell of a glasse wyndowe: and so sewe vp togyther

¹ Drunkards, bench-wislers, that will quaffe untill thei are starcke
 staring madde like Marche Hares: Fleming-like Sinckars; brain-
 lesse like infernall Furies. Drinkyng, braulyng, tossyng of the
 pitcher, staryng, pissyng*, and sauynge your reuerence, beastly
 spuyng vntill midnight. Therefore let men take hede of dronken-
 nes to bedward, for feare of sodain death: although the Flemishe †
 nacion vse this horrible custome in their vnnaturall watching all
 the night. *Bullein*, fol. lxix-lxx, see also fol. xj.

* Compare A. Borde of the "base Doche man," in his *Introduction*.

† I am a Flemyng, what for all that

Although I wyll be dronken other whyles as a rat.

A. Borde, *Introduction*.

Keep your neck
warm.
Wear goatskin
gloves.

[* Fol. E. iv. b.]

Don't stand long
on grass or
stones.

Don't sleep in
ratty rooms.

Don't take cold in
your feet.

quarell wyse as moche as wyll lyne your Iacket: this furre, for holsommes, is praysed aboue sables, or any other fur. Your exteryall aparel vse accordyng to your honour. In sommer vse to were a scarlet petycote made of stamell or lynse wolse. In wynter and sommer kepe not your bed to hote, nor bynde it to strayte; kepe euer your necke warme. In somer kepe your necke and face from the sonne; vse to wear gloues made of goote skyn, perfumed with Amber degrece.

And beware in standyng or lyeng on the *grounde in the reflection of the sonne, but be mouable. If thou shalt common or talke with any man: stande not styll in one place yf it be vpon y^e bare grounde, or grasse, or stones: but be mouable in suche places. Stande nor syt vpon no stone or stones: Stande nor syt longe barehed vnder a vawte of stone. Also beware that you do not lye in olde chambres which be not occupied, specyally suche chambres as myse and rattes and snayles resorteth vnto: lye not in suche chambres, the whiche be depreued cleane from the sonne and open ayre; nor lye in no lowe Chambre, excepte it be boorded. Beware that you take no colde on your feete and legges. And of all weather beware that you do not ryde nor go in great and Impytous wyndes. (*a Compendyous Regyment or a Dyetary of helth, made in Mountpylior: Compyled by Andrewe Boorde, of Physicke Doctor.* (Colophon.) Imprinted by me Robert Wyer: Dwellynge at the sygne of seynt Johñ Euangelyst, in S. Martyns Parysshe, besyde Charynge Crosse.)

William Vaughan's
Fifteen Directions to preserve Health.

(From his *Naturall & Artificial Directions
for health*, 1602, p. 57-63.)

Declare vnto mee a dayly dyet, whereby I may
liue in health, and not trouble my selfe in Physicke.

(1) I will: first of all in the morning when you
are about to rise vp, stretch your self strongly: for
thereby the animall heate is somewhat forced into the
outward partes, the memorie is quickned, and the
bodie strengthened.

1. Stretch
yourself.

(2) Secondarily, rub and chafe your body with the
palmes of your hands, or with a course linnen cloth;
the breast, back, and belly, gently: but the armes,
thighes, and legges roughly, till they seem ruddy and
warme.

2. Rub yourself.

(3) Euacuate your selfe.

3. Go to stool.

(4) Put on your apparell: which in the summer
time must be for the most part silke, or buffe, made of
buckles skinne, for it resisteth venime and contagious
ayres: in winter your vpper garment must be of cotton
or friezeadow.

4. Put on your
clothes.

(5) When you have apparelled your selfe han-
somely, combe your head softly and easily with an
Iuorie combe: for nothing recreateth the memorie
more.

5. Comb your
head.

(6) Picke and rub your teeth: and because I
would not haue you to bestow much cost in making

6. Clean your
teeth.

(How to keep the
teeth sound and
the breath sweet,

Use Vaughan's
Water

made after this
recipe.

It's better than
1000 Dentrifices.)

7. Wash.

dentrifices for them ; I will aduertise you by foure rules of importance how to keepe your teeth white and vncorruyt (*sic*), and also to haue a sweete breath. First, wash well your mouth when you haue eaten your meat : secondly, sleepe with your mouth somewhat open. Thirdly, spit out in the morning that which is gathered together that night in the throate : then take a linnen cloth, and rub your teeth well within and without, to take away the fumositie of the meat and the yellownesse of the teeth. For it is that which putrifieth them and infecteth the breath. But least peraduenture your teeth become loose and filthy, I will shew you a water farre better then pouders, which shall fasten them, scoure the mouth, make sound the gums, and cause the flesh to growe againe, if it were fallen away. Take halfe a glasse-full of vinegar, and as much of the water of the mastick tree (if it may easily be gotten) of rosemarie, myrrhe, mastick, bole Armoniake, Dragons herbe, roche allome, of each of them an ounce ; of fine cinnamon halfe an ounce, and of fountaine water three glassefulles ; mingle all well together and let it boile with a small fire, adding to it halfe a pound of honie, and taking away the scumme of it ; then put in a little bengwine, and when it hath sodden a quarter of an houre, take it from the fire, and keepe it in a cleane bottle, and wash your teeth therewithall as well before meate as after ; if you hould some of it in your mouth a little while, it doth much good to the head, and sweetneth the breath. I take this water to be better worth then a thousand of their dentifrices.

(7) Wash your face, eyes, eares and hands, with fountaine water. I have knowne diuers students which vsed to bathe their eyes onely in well water twise a day, whereby they preserued their eyesight free from all passions and bloudsheds, and sharpened

their memories maruaylously. You may sometimes bathe your eyes in rosewater, fennell water, or eyebright water, if you please; but I know for certaintie, that you neede them not as long as you vse good fountaine water. Moreouer, least you by old age or some other meanes doe waxe dimme of sight, I will declare vnto you, the best and safest remedie which I knowe, and this it is: Take of the distilled waters of verueine, bettonie, and fennell one ounce and a halfe, then take one ounce of white wine, one drachme of Tntia (if you may easilie come by it) two drachmes of sugarcandy, one drachme of Aloes Epatick, two drachmes of womans milke, and one scruple of Camphire: beat those into pouder, which are to be beaten, and infuse them together for foure and twenty houres space, and then straine them, and so vse it when you list.

The best remedy
for dim sight.

(8) When you haue finished these, say your morning prayers, and desire God to blesse you, to preserue you from all daungers, and to direct you in all your actions. For the feare of God (as it is written) is the beginning of wisdom: and without his protection whatsoeuer you take in hand, shall fall to ruine. Therefore see that you be mindfull of him, and remember that to that intent you were borne, to weet, to set foorth his glorie and most holy name.

8. Say your
Prayers.

(9) Goe about your businesse circumspectly, and endeauour to banish all cares and cogitations, which are the onely baits of wickednesse. Defraud no man of his right: for what measure you giue vnto your neighbour, that measure shall you receiue. And finally, imprint this saying deeply in your mind: A man is but a steward of his owne goods; wherof God one day will demaund an account.

9. Set to work.

Be honest.

(10) Eate three meales a day vntill you come to the age of fourtie yeares: as, your breakefast, dinner, and supper; yet, that betweene breakefast and dinner there

10. Eat only three
meals a day.

be the space of foure houres, and betwixt dinner and supper seauen houres: the breakfast must be lesse then dinner, and the dinner somewhat lesse then supper.

Eat light food
before heavy.

In the beginning of meales, eate such meates as will make the belly soluble, and let grosse meats be the last. Content your selfe with one kind of meate, for diuersities hurt the body, by reason that meats are not all of one qualitie: Some are easily digested, others againe are heauy, and will lie a long time vpon the stomack: also, the eating of sundrie sorts of meat require often pottes of drinke, which hinder concoction; like as we see often putting of water into the meat-potte to hinder it from seething. Our stomack is our bodies kitchin, which being distempered, how can we liue in temperate order: drinke not aboue foure times, and that moderately, at each meale: least the belly-God hale you at length captiue into his prison house of gurmandise, where you shall be afflicted with as many diseases as you haue deuoured dishes of sundry sorts.

Drink hinders
digestion.

Use silver cups.

The cups whereof you drinke, should be of siluer, or siluer and gilt.

11. Don't work
directly after
meals, but talk,

wash,

and cleane your
teeth.

(11) Labour not either your mind or body presently after meales: rather sit a while and discourse of some pleasant matters: when you haue ended your confabulations, wash your face and mouth with cold waters, then go to your chamber, and make cleane your teeth with your tooth-picker, which should be either of iuorie, silver, or gold. Watch not too long after supper, but depart within two hours to bed. But if necessitie compell you to watch longer then ordinary, then be sure to augment your sleepe the next morning; that you may recompence nature, which otherwise through your watching would not a little be impaired.

12. Undress by
the fire in winter.

(12) Put of your clothes in winter by the fire side: and cause your bed to bee heated with a warming panne:

vnless your pretence bee to harden your members, and to apply your selfe vnto militarie discipline. This outward heating doth wonderfully comfort the inward heat, it helpeth concoction, and consumeth moisture.

(13) Remember before you rest, to chew down two or three drachmes of mastick: for it will preserue your body from bad humours.

13. Before bed,
chew Mastic, and

(14) Pray feruently to God, before you sleepe, to inspire you with his grace, to defend you from all perils and subtelties of wicked fiends, and to prosper you in all your affaires: and then lay aside your cares and businesse, as well publicke as priuate: for that night, in so doing, you shall slepe more quietly. Make water at least once, and cast it out: but in the morning make water in an vrinal: that by looking on it, you may ghesse some what of the state of your body. Sleep first on your right side with your mouth open, and let your night cappe haue a hole in the top, through which the vapour may goe out.

14. Pray to God.

Look at your
water in a
Urinal.

Have a hole in
your nightcap.

(15) In the morning remember your affayres, and if you be troubled with rheumes, as soone as you haue risen, vse diatrion piperion, or eate white pepper now and then, and you shall be holpen.

15. Against
rheums, eat
white pepper.

FINIS.

The Dyet for every Day.

(FROM

Sir John Harington's 'Schoole of Salerne,'

2ND PART.

The Preservation of Health, or a Dyet for the Healthfull
Man, 1624, p. 358.)

. . . first I will begin with the dyet for every day.

Stretch your
limbs,

[* Page 36.]

rub your body

and head;

protect yourself
from cold;

dress, washing in
Summer,

warming yourself
in Winter.

In the beginning when you arise from the bed, extend forth all your members, for by this meanes the *animal* spirits are drawne to the outward members, the *braine is made subtill, & the body strengthened. Then rub the whole body somewhat with the palmes, the brest, back and belly gently, but the armes and legs with the hands, either with warm linnen : next, the head is to be scrubbed from the forepart to the hinderpart very lightly. After you are risen, I will that you defend with all care and diligence your head, necke, and feet, from all cold in the morning ; for there is no doubt, but in the morning and euening the cold doth offend more, then it doth about noone tide, by reason of the weaknes of the Sun-beames. Put on your clothes neat and cleane : in the Summer season, first wash with cleane pure water, before described ; but in the Winter season sit somewhat by the fire, not made with turfe or stinking coale, but with oake or other wood that burneth cleare, for our bodies are somewhat affected with our clothes, and as strength is increased by the

vse of meat and drinke, and our life defended and preserued ; and so our garments doe conserue the heat of our bodies, and doe driue away colds : so that as diet and apparel may seeme alike, so in either of them a like diligence is to be preferred.

In the Summer-time I chiefly commend garments of Harts-skinnes, and Calues-skins, for the Hart is a creature of long life, and resisteth poyson and Serpents ; therefore I my selfe vse garments of the like sort for the winter season, also neuerthelesse lined with good linnen. Next I doe iudge it not to bee much amisse to vse garments of Silke or Bombace, or of purple : also of Martyn or Wolfe-skinnes, or made of Fox skinnes, I suppose to be good for the winter ; notwithstanding in the time of Pestilence, apparell of Silke and skinnes is condemned, because it doth easily admit and receiue the contagious ayre, and doth retain it long. After the body is well clothed, kembe your head wel with an Iuory comb, from the forehead to the backe-part, drawing the comb some forty times at the least ; then wash all the instruments of the sences, as the eies, the ears, the nostrils, the mouth, the tongue, the teeth, and all the face with cold water ; and the eyes are not only to be washed, but being open plainly, immerg'd : and the gumme and foulnes of the eie-lids that do there stick, to remoue ; somtimes also to besprinkle the water with Rose-water cr Fenel-water, also rubb the neck well with *a linnen napking somewhat course, for these things doe confirme the whole body ; it maketh the mind more cheerefull, and conserueth the sight. In this place it pleaseth me to adioyne some Dentifrices or clensers of teeth, waters not only to make the teeth white, but also to conserue them, with some medicines also to conserue the sight.

In Summer
[Page 37.]
wear deer's and
calves' skins,

in Winter, wolf
and fox skins.

Comb your head
40 times,

wash your face,

clean your
eyelids,

rub your neck
well.

[* Page 38.]

On Rising, Diet, and Going to Bed.

(FROM

Sir John Harington's 'Schoole of Salerne,'

2ND PART.

The Preserbation of Health, or a Dyet for the Healthfull
Man, 1624, p. 358.)

On rising,
empty your
bladder and
belly, nose and
lungs.

Cleanse your
whole body.

Say your Prayers.

Walk gently,

go to stool.
[* Page 42.]

Work in the
forenoon.

Also to prosecute our former purpose, when you arise in the morning, to auoyd all superfluities, as well by vrine as by the belly, which doe at the least euery day. Auoid also from the nostrils and the lungs all filthy matter, as wel by clensing, as by spittle, and clense the face, head, and whole body ; & loue you to be cleane and wel apparelled, for from our cradles let vs abhor vncleannes, which neither nature or reason can endure. When you haue done these things, remember to powre foorth your prayers vnto God with a cleare voice, that the day may be happy and prosperous vnto you, that God may direct your actions to the glory of his name, the profit of your country, & the conseruation of your bodies. Then walke ye gently, and what excrements soeuer do slip down to the inferiour parts, being excited by *naturall heate, the excretion thereof shall the better succeed.

As for your businesses, whether they be publike or priuate, let them be done with a certaine honesty; then afterwards let your hunting iourneyes bee performed; apply your selues to studie and serious businesse the

houres of the fore-noone, and so likewise in the after-noone, till twoor three houres before supper : alwaies in your hands vse eyther Corall or yellow Amber, or a Chalcedonium, or a sweet Pommander, or some like precious stone to be worne in a ring vpon the little finger of the left hand : haue in your rings eyther a Smaragd, a Saphire, or a Draconites, which you shall beare for an ornament : for in stones, as also in hearbes, there is great efficacie and vertue, but they are not altogether perceived by vs : hold sometime in your mouth eyther a Hyacinth, or a Crystall, or a Granat, or pure Gold, or Siluer, or else sometimes pure Sugar-candy. For *Aristotle* doth affirme, and so doth *Albertus Magnus*, that a Smaragd worne about the necke, is good against the Falling-sicknes : for surely the vertue of an hearbe is great, but much more the vertue of a precious *stone, which is very likely that they are endued with occult and hidden vertues.

Always wear a
precious stone

in a ring ;

hold a crystal
in your mouth ;

for the vertue of
precious stones is
[* Page 43.]
great.

Feede onely twice a day, when yee are at mans age : neuerthelesse to those that are subiect to choller, it is lawfull to feede often : beginne alwayes your dinner and supper with the more liquid meates, sometimes with drinckes. In the time betweene dinner and supper, abstain altogether from cups, vnlesse necessitie or custome doe require the same : notwithstanding the same custome being so vitious, must be by little and little changed.

Eat only twice a
day.

Don't drink
between dinner
and supper.

I would not that you should obserue a certaine houre, either for dinners or suppers, as I haue sufficiently told you before, lest that daily custome should be altered into nature : and after this intermission of this custome of nature, hurt may follow ; for custome doth imitate nature, and that which is accustomable, the very same thing is now become naturall.

Don't have one
fixed hour
for your meals.

Take your meate in the hotte time of Summer in cold places, but in the Winter let there bee a bright

In Winter eat in

hot well-aired
places.

[* Page 44.]

Fast for a day
now and then.

Eat more at
supper than
dinner.

After meals, wash
your face, and
clean your teeth,

chat and walk
soberly.

Don't sit up
late.
[* Page 45.]

Before bed,
rub your body
gently.

Undress by a fire
in Winter,

fire, and take it in hotte places, your parlors or Chambers being first purged and ayred with suffumigations, which I would not haue you to *enter before the suffumigation bee plainely extinct, lest you draw the fume by reason of the odour.

And seeing one and the same order of diet doth not promiscuously agree with all men, take your meate in order, as is before said, and sometimes also intermit the vse of meats for a whole day together, because through hunger, the faults of the stomacke which haue beene taken eyther by much drinking or surfetting, or by any other meanes, may be depelled and remoued.

By this meanes also your bodies shall be better accustomed to endure and suffer hunger and fasting, eyther in iourneyes or wars. Let your suppers bee more larger then your dinners, vnlesse nightly diseases or some distilations doe afflict you.

After meat taken, neither labour in body nor mind must be vsed, and wash the face and mouth with cold water, clense the teeth either with Iuory, or a Harts horne, or some picker of pure siluer or gold.

After your banquets, passe an houre or two in pleasant talkes, or walke yee very gently and soberly, neither vse much watchings long in the night, but the space of two howres goe to your bed; but if honest *businesse doe require you to watch, then sleepe afterwards so much the longer, that your sleepe may well recompence your former watchings. Before that you go to your bed, gently smooth down your head, armes, and shoulders, the back and all the body, with a gentle and soft rubbing, vnlesse you meane to do it in the morning to mooue distribution, whose time is best to be done in the morning.

In the Winter, sitting by the fire, put off your garments, and dry your feet by the fire, neuerthelesse auoyd the heat and the smoke, because it is very hurtfull both to the lungs, and the eyes.

In the Winter time, warme well your garments at the fire, and warm the linings of the same, for it helpeth concoction, and remoueth all humidity and moysture. But my father did not allow of this custome, warning men of strength, and those that are borne for the Common-wealth, not to accustom themselves to such kind of softnesse, which doe weaken our bodies. Also when you put off your garments to go to bed, then put away all your cogitations, & lay them aside, whether they be publike or priuate, for when all your *members be free from all cares, you shall then sleep the quieter, concoction and the other naturall actions shall best be performed.

and warm your
garments well.

Put off your cares
with your clothes,

[* Page 46.]

But in the morning when you rise againe, resume to your selues your former dayes thoughts and cares; for this precept my Father had often in his mouth, therefore I deliuer it vnto you as the more worthy of your obseruation.

and take them
up again in the
morning.

The Boke of Hermyngge.

The Book of Numbers

The
Boke of Keruyngge,

[that is to say,

The boke of Seruyce & Keruyngge and Sewyngge
& all Maner of Offyce in his kynde
vnto a Prynce or ony other Estate,
& all the Feestes in the yere.]

Enprynted by Wynkyn de Worde at London in
Flete Strete at the sygne of the Sonne. The
yere of our Lorde God. M.CCCC.xiiij.

[and now reprinted,
1867.]

State of Tennessee

1820

The State of Tennessee is bounded by the States of Kentucky and Georgia to the north, Alabama to the south, and North Carolina to the east. It is situated in the Southern part of the United States, and is one of the most fertile and productive of the Union. The population of the State in 1820 was 110,000.

It is divided into 27 counties, and is governed by a Governor and a Senate and House of Representatives. The capital of the State is Nashville.

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The Boke of Keruyngge.

[Fol. A 1.]

¶ Here begynneth the boke of keruyngge and
sewyngge / and all the feestes in the yere, for the seruyce
of a prynce or ony other estate, as ye shall fynde eche
offyce, the seruyce accordyngge, in this boke folowyngge.

[Fol. A 1 b.]
*The Book of Carv-
ing and Arrang-
ing; and the Dishes
for all the Feasts
in the year.*

¶ Termes of a Keruer.

Terms of a Carver:

BReke that dere
lesche ^ty brawne
rere that goose
lyft that swanne
sauce that capon
spoyle that henne
frusshe that chekyn
vnbrace that malarde
vnlace that cony
dysmembre that heron
dysplaye that crane
dysfygure that pecocke
vnioynt that bytture
vntache that curlewe
alaye that fesande
wyngge that partryche
wyngge that quayle
mynce that plouer
thye that pegyon
border that pasty
thye that wodcocke
thye all maner of small byrdes
tymbre that fyre

tyere that egge
chyne that samon
stryngge that lampraye
splatte that pyke
sauce that playce
sauce that tenche
splaye that breme
syde that haddocke
tuske that barbell
culpon that troute
fynne that cheuen
transsene that ele
traunche that sturgyon
vndertraunche ^ty purpos
tayme that crabbe
barbe that lopster

Slice brawn,

splat a pike,

spoil a hen,

unbrace a mallard,

fin a chub,

untache a curlew,

barb a lobster,

¶ Here hendeth the
goodly termes.

border a pasty,

¶ Here begynneth
Butler and
Panter.

thigh small birds.

The Butler has 3
knives :

[1 Fol. A ii.]

1. a squarer,
2. a chipper,
3. a smoother.

Trencher-bread
must be 4 days
old;

the Salt-Planer of
ivory;

table cloths kept
in a chest, or
hung on a perch.

To breach a Pipe,
have 2 augers,

funnels, and
tubes, and pierce
the Pipe 4 inches
from the bottom.

Always have
ready fruits
[² Orig. seassous]

and hard cheese.

Beware of cow
cream.

Hard cheese is
aperient, and

keeps off poison.

Milk and Junket
close the Maw.

[³ Fol. A ii. b.]

THou shalte be Butler and Panter all the fyrst yere /
and ye muste haue thre pantry knyues / one
knyfe to square trenchoure loues / an other to be a
¹ chyppere / the thyrde shall be sharpe to make smothe
trenchoures / than chyppe your soueraynes brede hote,
and all other brede let it be a daye olde / housholde
brede thre dayes olde / trenchour brede foure dayes
olde / than loke your salte be whyte and drye / the
planer made of Iuory, two inches brode & thre inches
longe / & loke that youre salte seller lydde touche not
the salte / than loke your table clothes, towelles, and
napkyns, be fayre folden in a cheste or hanged vpon a
perche / than loke your table knyues be fayre pullysshed,
& your spones clene / than loke ye haue two tarryours,
a more & a lesse, & wyne cannelles of boxe made
accordynge / a sharpe gymlot & faucettes. And whan
ye sette a pype on broche, do thus / set it foure fynger
brede aboue ^ey nether chyme vpwardes aslaunte / and
than shall ^ey lyes neuer a-ryse. Also loke ye haue in
all seasons² butter, chese, apples, peres, nottes, plommes,
grapes, dates, fygges & raysyns, compost, grene gynger
and chardequynce. Serue fastynge butter, plommes,
damesons, cheryes, and grapes. after mete, peres, nottes,
strawberyes, hurtelberyes, & hard chese. Also bran-
drels or pepyns with caraway in confetes. After
souper, rost apples & peres, with blaunche poudre, &
harde chese / be ware of cowe creme, & of good straw-
beryes, hurtelberyes, Iouncat, for these wyll make your
souerayne seke but he ete harde chese / harde chese
hath these operacyons / it wyll kepe ^ey stomacke
open / butter is holsome fyrst & last, for it wyll do awaye
all poysons / mylke, creme, & Iouncat, they wyll close
the mawe, & so dooth a posset / therfore ete harde
chese, & drynke romney modon / beware of grene
sallettes & rawe fruytes, for they wyll make your
sourayne seke / therfore set no mo-³che by suche metes

as wyll set your tethe on edge ; therfore ete an almonde & harde chese / but ete non moche chese without romney modon. Also yf dyuers drynkes, yf theyr fumositytees haue dyspleased your souerayne, let hym ete a rawe apple, and ^ey fumositytees wyll cease : mesure is a mery mene & it be well vused / abstynence is to be praysed whan god therwith is pleased. Also take good hede of your wyne euery nyght with a candell, bothe rede wyne and swete wyne, & loke they reboyle nor leke not / & wasshe ^ey pype hedes euery nyght with colde water / & loke ye haue a chynchynge yron, addes, and lynen clothes, yf nede be / & yf the[y] reboyle, ye shall knowe by the hyssynge / therfore kepe an empty pype with ^ey lyes of coloured rose, & drawe the reboyled wyne to ^ey lyes, & it shal helpe it. Also yf your swete wyne pale, drawe it in to a romney vessell for lessynge.

For food that sets your teeth on edge, eat an almond and hard cheese.

A raw apple will cure indigestion.

See every night that your wines don't boil over or leak.

You'll know their fermenting by their hissing.

¶ Here foloweth the names of wyne.

Names of Wines.

¶ Reed wyne / whyte wyne / clared wyne / osey / capryke / campolet / renysshe wyne / maluesey / bastarde / tyer, romney / muscadell / clarrey / raspys / vernage / vernage wyne cut / pymente and ypocras.

Campolet, Rhenish, &c.

For to make ypocras.

To make Ypocras.

¶ Take gynger / peper / graynes / canell / synamon / suger and tornsole / than loke ye haue fyue or syxe bagges for your ypocras to renne in, & a perche that your renners may ren on / than muste ye haue .vi. peautre basyns to stande vnder your bagges / than loke your spyce be redy / & your gynger well pared or it be beten ¹ to poudre / than loke your stalkes of synamon be well coloured ; & swete canell is not so gentyll in operacyon ; synamon is hote and drye / graynes of paradico ² ben hote and moyste / gynger / graynes / longe peper / and suger, ben hote and moyst / synamon /

Take spices; put 6 bags on a perch,

6 pewter basins under,

ginger and cinnamon.
[1 Fol. A iii.]

(Of the qualities of spices.)

[2 sic: o for e]

Pound each spice
separately, put 'em
in bladders, and
hang 'em in your
bags,
add a gallon of
red wine to 'em,
stir it well, run
it through two
bags,
taste it,
pass it through 6
runners, and put
it in a close vessel.
Keep the dregs for
cooking.
Have your Com-
post clean, and
your ale 5 days
old,
but not dead.
To lay the Cloth.
Put on a *couch*,
then a second
cloth,
the fold on the
outer edge; a
third, the fold on
the inner edge.
[¹ Fol. A iii. b.]
Cover your cup-
board,
put a towel round
your neck, one
side lying on your
left arm;
on that, 7 loaves of
eating bread and
4 trencher loaves.
In your left hand
a saltcellar,
canell, & rede wyne, ben hote and drye / tornsole is
holsome / for reed wyne colourynge. Now knowe ye the
proporcions of your ypocras / than bete your poudres
eche by themselfe, & put them in bladders, & hange
your bagges sure, that no bage touche other / but let
eche basyn touche other; let the fyrste basyn be of a
galon, and eche of the other of a potell / than put in
your basyn a galon of reed wyne, put thereto your
poudres, and styre them well / than put them in to the
fyrste bagge, and let it renne / than put them in to the
seconde bagge / than take a pece in your hande, and
assaye yf it be stronge of gynger / and alaye it with
synamon / and it be stroⁿge of synamon / alaye it
with suger / and loke ye lette it renne thurgh syxe
renners / & your ypocras shall be the fyner / than
put your ypocras in to a close vessell, and kepe
the receyte / for it wyll serue for sewes / than serue
your souerayne with wafers and ypocras. Also loke
your composte be fayre and clene / and your ale fyue
dayes olde or men drynke it / than kepe your hous of
offyce clene, & be curtoys of answer to eche persone,
and loke ye gyue no persone noo dowled drynke / for it
wyll breke y^e scabbe. And whan ye laye the clothe,
 wype y^e borde clene with a cloute / than laye a cloth,
a couche, it is called, take your felawe that one ende, &
holde you that other ende, than drawe the clothe
straught, the bought on y^e vtter edge / take the vtter
parte, & hange it euen / than take the thyrde clothe,
and lay y^e bought on the inner ¹ edge / and laye estat
with the vpper parte halfe a fote brode / than couer thy
cupborde and thyn ewery with the towell of dyaper /
than take thy towell about thy necke, and laye that one
syde of y^e towell vpon thy lefte arme / and there-on
laye your soueraynes napkyn / and laye on thyn arme
seuen loues of brede, with thre or foure trenchour loues,
with the ende of y^e towell in the lefte hande, as the

maner is / than take thy salte seller in thy lefte hande,
 and take the ende of ^ey towell in your ryght hande to
 bere in spones and knyues / than set your salt on the
 ryght syde where your souerayne shall sytte, and on ^ey
 lefte syde the salte set your trenchours / than laye your
 knyues, & set your brede, one lofe by an other / your
 spones, and your napkyns fayre folden besyde your
 brede / than couer your brede and trenchoures, spones
 and knyues / & at euery ende of ^ey table set a salte
 seller with two treachour¹ loues / and yf ye wyll wrappe
 your soueraynes brede stately, ye muste square and
 proporceyon your brede, and se that no lofe be more
 than an other / and than shall ye make your wrapper
 man[er]ly / than take a towell of reynes of two yerdes
 and an halfe, and take the towell by ^ey endes double,
 and laye it on the table / than take the ende of ^ey
 bought a handfull in your hande, and wrappe it harde,
 and laye the ende so wrapped bytwene two towelles;
 vpon that ende so wrapped, lay your brede, botom to
 botom, syxe or seuen loues / than set your brede
 manerly in fourme / and whan your soueraynes table is
 thus arayed, couer all other bordes with salte, tren-
 choures, & cuppes. Also so² thyn ewery be arayed with
 basyns & ewers, & water hote & colde / and se' ye haue
 napkyns, cuppes, & spones / & se your pottes for
 wyne³ and ale be made clene, and to ^ey surnape make
 ye curtesy with a clothe vnder a fayre double napry /
 than take þe towelles ende nexte you / & the vtter ende
 of the clothe on the vtter syde of the table, & holde
 these thre endes atones, & folde them atones, that a
 plyte passe not a fote brode / than laye it euen there it
 sholde lye. And after mete wasshe with that that is
 at y ryghte ende of the table / ye muste guyde it
 out, and the marshall must conuey it / and loke
 on eche clothe the ryght syde be outwarde, & drawe
 it streyght / than must ye reyse the vpper parte

in your right the
towel.

Set the saltcellar
on your lord's
right, and
trenchers on the
left of it.

Lay knives, bread,
spoons, napkins,

and cover 'em up.

[1 sic : a for n]

To wrap your
Lord's bread
stately.

Square the loaves;

take a Reynes
towel 2½ yards
long by the ends;
put it on the
table, pinch up a
handful of one
end,

and lay it between
2 towels, and on it
lay your 6 or 7
loaves bottom to
bottom.

Put salt, cups, &c.,
on the other
tables.

[2 for se, see.]

See that your
Every is properly
supplied,
and your ale-pots
kept clean.

[3 Fol. A 4.]

To arrange the
Surnape.

Put a cloth under
a double towel,
hold 3 ends
together,

fold them in a
foot-broad pleat,
and lay it smooth.

After washing,

the Marshal must
carry the surnape
out.

of ^ey towell, & laye it with-out ony gronyng / and at euery ende of ^ey towell ye must conuey halfe a yerde that ^ey sewer may make estate reuerently, and let it be. And whan your souerayne hath wasshen, drawe ^ey surnape euen / than bere the surnape to the myddes of the borde & take it vp before your souerayne, & bere it in to ^ey ewery agayne. And whan your souerayne it^l set, loke your towell be aboute your necke / than make your souerayne curtesy / than vncouer your brede & set it by the salte & laye your napkyn, knyfe, & spone, afore hym / than knele on your knee tyll the purpayne passe eyght loues / & loke ye set at ^ey endes of ^ey table foure loues at a messe / and se that euery persone haue napkyn and spone / & wayte well to ^ey sewer how many dysshes be couered; ^ey so many cuppes couer ye / than serue ye forth the table manerly ^ty euery man may speke your curtesy.

Leave out half a yard to make estate.

When your lord has washed, remove the Surnape.

When he is seated, [1 for is]

salute him, uncover your bread,

kneel on your knee till 8 loaves are served out (?)

Provide as many cups as dishes.

Sewynge of Flesshe.

¶ Here endeth of the Butler and Panter, yoman of the seller and ewery. And here foloweth sewynge of flesshe.

[Fol. A 4 b.]
The Sewer or
arranger of dishes

must ascertain what dishes and fruits are prepared daily for dinner; and he must have people ready to carry up the dishes.

[2 for be]

THe sewer muste sewe, & from the borde conuey all maner of potages, metes, & sauces / & euery daye comon with the coke, and vnderstande & wyte how many dysshes shall be, and speke with the panter and offycers of ^ey spycery for fruytes that shall be eten fastynge. Than goo to the borde of sewynge, and se ye haue offycers redy to conuey, & seruauntes for to bere, your dysshes. Also yf marshall, squyers, and seruauntes of armes, bo² there, than serue forth your souerayne withouten blame.

The Succession of Dishes.

1. Brawn, &c.
2. Pheasant, &c.

¶ Seruyce.

¶ Fyrste sette ye forthe mustarde and brawne, potage, befe, motton stewed. Fesande / swanne /

capon / pygge, venyson bake / custarde / and leche lombarde. Fruyter vaunte, with a subtylte, two potages, blaunche manger, and gelly. For standarde, venyson roste, kydde, fawne & cony / bustarde, storke, crane, pecoche with his tayle, heronsewe, bytture, woodcocke, partryche, plouer, rabettes, grete byrdes, larkes / doucettes, paynpuffe, whyte leche, ambre / gelly, creme of almondes, curlewe, brewe, snytes, quayle, sparowes, martynet, perche in gelly / petyperuys¹, quynces bake / leche dewgarde, fruyter fayge, blandrelles or pepyns with carawaye in confettes, wafers and ypocras, they be a-greable. Now this feest is done, voyde ye the table.

3. Meat Fritters, &c.
4. For a standard,

a peacock with his tail.

5. Doucettes, Paynpuff, Brew, Snipe.

Petyperuys and [1 ? u for n]

Fayge,

Caraways, &c.

Clear the table.

¶ Here endeth the sewynge of flesshe. And begynneth the keruyng of flesshe.

Keruyng of Flesshe.

THe keruer must knowe the keruyng and the fayre handlyng of a knyfe, and how ye shall seche al maner of fowle / your knyfe muste be fayre and ² your handes muste be clene; & passe not two fyngers & a thombe vpon your knyfe. In ^e myddes of your hande set the halfe sure, vnlassynge ^e mynsynge wich ³ two fyngers & a thombe; keruyng of brede, layenge, & voydyng of crommes, with two fyngers and a thombe / loke ye haue ^e cure / set neuer on fysshe / flesshe / beest / ne fowle, more than two fyngers and a thombe / than take your lofe in your lefte hande, & holde your knyfe surely; enbrewe not the table clothe / but wye vpon your napkyn / than take your trenchouer lofe in your lefte hande, and with the edge of your table knyfe take vp your trenchours as nye the poynt as ye may / than laye foure trenchours to your soferayne, one by an other / and laye theron other foure trenchours or elles twayne / than take a lofe in your lyfte hande, & pare ^e lofe rounde aboute / than cut the ouer cruste to your souerayne, and cut the nether cruste, & voyde

[2 Fol. A 5.]
Your hands must be clean:
only two fingers and a thumb should be put on your knife,
[3 for with]

or on fish, flesh,
or fowl.

Wipe your knife on your napkin.

Lay 4 trenchers for your lord, with 2 or 4 on them;
and the upper crust of a fine loaf.

[¹ sic : c for e]
Give heed to what
is indigestible,

as resty, fat things,
feathers, heads,
[² sic : u for n]
legs, &c.

the parynge, & touche the lofe no more after it is so
serued / than clense the table that the sewer may serue
youre souerayne. Also ye muste knowe the fumositytes¹
of fysshe, flesshe, and foules, & all maner of sauces
accordynge to theyr appetytes / these ben the fumositytes /
salte, soure, resty, fatte, fryed, senewes, skynnes, hony,
croupes, yonge feders, heddes, pygous² bones, all maner
of legges of bestees & fowles the vtter syde ; for these
ben fumositytes ; laye them neuer to your souerayne.

*Keruyng of
Flesshe.*

¶ Seruyce.

How to carve
Brawn,

Venison,

[3 Fol. A 5 b.]
(cut it in 12 bits
and slice it into
the furmity.)

Pheasant,
Stockdoves,

(mince the wings
into the syrup.)

Goose, Teal, &c.,
(take off the legs
and wings.)

Capon,

(mince the wing
with wine or ale.)

Plover, Lapwing,

¶ Take your knyfe in your hande, and cut brawne
in ^ey dysshe as it lyeth, & laye it on your soueraynes
trenchour, & se there be mustarde. Venyson with
fourmenty is good for your souerayne : touche not the
venyson with your hande, but with your knyfe cut it
.xii. draugh³tes with the edge of your knyfe, and cut it
out in to ^ey fourmenty / doo in the same wyse with
pesen & bacon, befe chyne and motton / pare the befe,
cut the motton / & laye to your souerayne / beware of
fumositytes / salte, senewe, fatte, resty & rawe. In
syrupe, fesande, partryche, stockdoue, & chekyns / in the
lefte hande take them by the pynyon, & with the fore-
parte of your knyfe lyfte vp your wynges / than mynce
it in to the syrupe / beware of skynne rawe & senowe.
Goos, tele, malarde, & swanne, reyse⁴ the legges, than the
wynges / laye the body in ^ey myddes or in a nother
plater / the wynges in the myddes & the legges ; after
laye the brawne bytwene the legges / & the wynges in
the plater. Capon or henne of grece, lyfte the legges,
than the wynges, & caste on wyne or ale, than mynce
the wynges & giue your souerayne. Fesande, partryche,
plouer or lapwyng, reyse ^ey wynges, & after the legges.

⁴ The top of the s is broken off, making the letter look like an
l rubbed at the top.

woodcocke, bytture, egryt, snyte, curlewe & heronsewe, Bittern, Egret.
 vnlace them, breke of the pynyons, necke & becke /
 than reyse the legges, & let the fete be on styll, than
 the wynges. A crane, reyse the wynges fyrst, & beware How to carve a
 of the trumpe in his brest. Pecocke, storke, bustarde Crane, (mind the
 & shouyllarde, vnlace them as a crane, and let ^ey fete trump in his
 be on styll. Quayle, sparow, larke, martynet, pegyon, breast,) Shoveler,
 swalowe, & thrusshe, ^ey legges fyrst, than ^ey wynges. Quail, Martins,
 Fawne, kyde, and lambe, laye the kydney to your Swallow.
 souerayne, than lyfe vp the sholder & gyue your souer-
 ayne a rybbe. Venyson roste, cut it in the dysshe, & Roast Venison,
 laye it to your souerayne. A cony, lay hym on the Cony,
 backe, cut away the ventes bytwene the hynder legges,
 breke the canell bone, than reyse the sydes, than lay (lay him on his
 the cony on ^ey wombe, on eche syde the chyne ^ey two belly with his two
 sydes departed from the chyne, than laye the bulke, cut-off sides, on
 chyne, & sydes, in ^ey dysshe. * Also ye must mynce each side of him.)
 foure lesses to one morcell of mete, that your soverayne
 may take it in the sauce. All bake metes that ben
 hote, open them a-boue the coffyn ; & all that ben colde,
 open theym in the mydwaye. Custarde, cheke them [* Fol. A 6.]
 inche square that your souerayne may ete therof. Dou- Cut 4 strips to
 cettes, pare awaye the sydes & the bottom : beware of each bit of meat,
 fumosytes. Fruyter vaunte, fruyter say, be good ; better for your lord to
 is fruyter pouche ; apple fruyters ben good hote / and all pick it up by.
 colde fruters, touche not. Tansey is good / hote wortes, Open hot Meat-
 or gruell of befe or of motton is good. Gelly, mortrus, Pies at the top :
 creme almondes, blaunche manger, Iussell, and charlet, cold in the middle.
 cabage, and nombles of a dere, ben good / & all other Cut Custards in
 potage beware of. inch blocks.
 Doucettes, pare off sides and bottom.
 Fritters hot are good,
 cold bad.
 Tansey is good.
 Jelly, Blanche Manger, Charlet, &c., are good, and
 no other potages.

¶ Here endeth ^ey keruyng of flesshe. And *Sauces for all*
 begynneth sauces for all maner of fowles. *maner of Fowles.*

MUstarde is good with brawne, befe, chyne, bacon, Mustard for beef:
 & motton. Vergius is good to boyled chekyns Verjuice for
 and capon / swanne with cawdrons / rybbes of Cawdrons for
 swans;

Garlick, &c., for beef. befe with garlycke, mustarde, peper, vergyus; gynger
 Ginger for lamb: sauce to lambe, pygge, & fawne / mustarde & suger to
 Gamelyne for fesande, partryche, and conye / sauce gamelyne to
 heronsewe, &c.; heronsewe, egryt, plouer, & crane / to brewe, curlewe,
 Salt, Sugar and salte, suger, & water of tame / to bustarde, shouyllarde,
 Water of Tame for & bytture, sauce gamelyne: woodcocke, lapwynge,
 brew, &c. larke, quayle, mertynet, venyson, and snyte, with whyte
 White salt for salt / sparowes & throstelles with salte & synamon /
 lapwings, &c. thus with all metes, sauce shall haue the operacyons.
 Cinnamon and
 salt for thrushes,
 &c.

¶ Here endeth the sauces for all maner of fowles and metes.

[Fol. A 6 b.]
*The Dinner
 Courses from
 Easter to
 Whitsunday.
 From Easter to
 Pentecost,
 set bread,
 trenchers and
 spoons:*

6 or 8 trenchers
 for a great lord,

3 for one of low
 degree. Then cut
 bread for eating.

For Easter-day
 Feast:
 First Course:
 A Calf, boiled and
 blessed;

boiled Eggs and
 green sauce;

Potage, with beef,

¶ Here begynneth the feestes and seruyce from Easter vnto whytsondaye.

ON Eester daye & so forthe to Pentycost, after y^e seruyng of the table there shall be set brede, trenchours, and spones, after the estymacyon of them that shall syt there; and thus ye shall serue your souerayne; laye [six or eight ¹] trenchours / & yf he be of a lower degre [or] estate, laye fyue trenchours / & yf he be of lower degre, foure trenchours / & of an other degre, thre trenchours / than cut brede for your souerayne after ye knowe his condyeyons, wheder it be cutte in y^e myddes or pared, or elles for to be cut in small peces. Also ye must vnderstande how y^e mete shall be serued before youre souerayne, & namely on Eester daye after the gouernaunce & seruyce of y^e countree where ye were borne. Fyrste on that daye he shall serue a calfe soden and blessyd / and than soden egges with grene sauce, and set them before the most pryncypall estate / and that lorde by cause of his hyghe estate shall departe them all aboute hym / than serue potage, as wortes, Iowtes, or browes, with befe, motton,

¹ See above, in the Keruyng of Flesshe, p. 271, lines 5 and 4 from the bottom.

or vele / & capons that ben coloured with saffron, and bake metes. And the seconde course, Iussell with mamony, and rosted, endoured / & pegyons with bake metes, as tartes, chewettes, & flawnes, & other, after the dysposycyon of the cokes. And at soupertyme dyuers sauces of motton or vele in broche¹, after the ordynaunce of the stewarde / and than chekyns with bacon, vele, roste pegyons or lambe, & kydde roste with ^ey heed & the portenaunce on lambe & pygges fete, with vinegre & percely theron, & a tansye fryed, & other bake metes / ye shall vnderstande this maner of seruyce² dureth to Pentecoste, saue fysshe dayes. Also take hede how ye shall araye these thynges before your souerayne / fyrst ye shall se there be grene sauces of sorell or of vynes, that is holde a sauce for the fyrst course / and ye shall begyn to reyse the capon.

saffron-stained
Capons.

Second Course:

Mameny, Pigeons.

Chewets,
Flawnes.

Supper:

[1 ? brothe]

Chickens, Veal,

roast Kid,

Pigs'-Feet.

a Tansey fried.

[2 Fol. B i.]

Green Sauces of
sorrel or vines,
for the first course.

¶ Here endeth the feest of Eester tyll Pentecoste. And here begynneth keruyng of all maner of fowles.

*Keruyng of all
maner of Fowles.*

¶ Sauce that capon.

*How to carve a
Capon.*

¶ Take vp a capon, & lyfte vp the ryght legge and the ryght wyng, & so araye forth & laye hym in the plater as he sholde flee, & serve your souerayne / & knowe well that capons or chekyns ben arayed after one sauce; the chekyn shall be sauced with grene sauce or vergyus.

Sauce: green
sauce or verjuice.

¶ Lyfte that swanne.

Swan.

¶ Take and dyghte hym as a goose, but let hym haue a largyours brawne, & loke ye haue chawdron.

Chawdron is the
sauce for him.

¶ Alaye that fesande.

Pheasant.

¶ Take a fesande, and reyse his legges & his wynges as it were an henne, & no sauce but onely salte.

No sauce but Salt.

¶ wynges that partryche.

Partridge.

¶ Take a partryche, and reyse his legges and his wynges as a henne / & ye mynce hym, sauce hym with

Sauce for
Partridges.

wyn, poudre of gynger, & salte / that set it vpon a
chaufyng-dysshe of coles to warme & serue it.

*How to carve a
Quail.*

¶ wynges that quayle.

Sauce: salt.

¶ Take a quayle, and reyse his legges and his
wynges as an henne, and no sauce but salte.

Crane.

Dysplaye that crane.

Sauce: ginger,
mustard, vinegar,
and salt.

¶ Take a crane, and vnfolde his legges, and cut of
his wynges by the Ioyntes: than take vp hys wynges
and his legges, and sauce hym with poudres of gynger,
mustarde, vynegre, and salte.

[Fol. B i. b.]
Heron.

Dysmembre that heron.

Sauce as before.

¶ Take an heron, and reyse his legges and his
wynges as a crane, and sauce hym with vynegre, mus-
tarde, poudre of gynger, and salte.

Blittern.

Vnioint that bytture.

Salt, the sauce.

¶ Take a bytture, and reyse his legges & his
wynges as an heron, & no sauce but salte.

Egret.

Breke that egryt.

Salt, the sauce.

¶ Take an egryt, and reyse his legges and his
wynges as an heron, and no sauce but salte.

Curlew.

Vntache that curlewe.

Salt, as sauce.

¶ Take a curlewe, and reyse his legges and his
wynges as an henne, and no sauce but salte.

Brew.

¶ Vntache that brewe.

Salt, as sauce.

¶ Take a brewe, and reyse his legges and his
wynges in the same maner, and no sauce but onely
salte, & serue your souerayne.

Cony or Rabbit.

Vnlace that cony.

Sauce: vinegar
and ginger.

¶ Take a cony, and laye hym on the backe, & cut
awaye the ventes / than reyse the wynges and the
sydes, and laye bulke, chyne, and the sydes togyder;
sauce, vynegre and poudre of gynger.

Breke that sarcell.

Sarcel or Teal.

¶ Take a sarcell or a teele, and reyse his wynges & his legges, and no sauce but salte onely.

Mynce that plouer.

Plover.

¶ Take a plouer, and reyse his legges and his wynges as an henne, and no sauce but onely salt.

A snyte.

Snipe.

¶ Take a snyte, and reyse his wynges, his legges, and his sholdres, as a plouer; and no sauce but salte.

¶ Thye that woodcocke.

[Fol. B ij.]
Woodcock.

Take a woodcocke, & reyse his legges and his wynges as an henne; this done, dyght the brayne. And here begynneth the feest from Pentecost vnto mydsomer.

IN the seconde course for the metes before sayd ye shall take for your sauces, wyne, ale, vynegre, and poudres, after the mete be; & gynger & canell from Pentecost to the feest of saynt Iohn baptyst. The fyrst course shall be befe, motton soden with capons, or rosted / & yf the capons be soden, araye hym in the maner aforesayd. And whan he is rosted, thou must caste on salte, with wyne or with ale / than take the capon by the legges, & caste on the sauce, & breke hym out, & laye hym in a dysshe as he sholde flee. Fyrst ye shall cut the ryght legge and the ryght sholdre, & bytwene the foure membres laye the brawne of the capon, with the croupe in the ende bytwene the legges, as it were possyble for to be Ioyned agayne togyder / & other bake metes after: And in the seconde course, potage shall be, Iussell, charlet, or mortrus, with yonge geese, vele, porke, pygyons or chekyns rosted, with payne puffe / fruyters, and other bake metes after the ordynaunce of the coke. Also the goose ought to be cut membre to membre, begynnyng at the ryght legge, and so forth vnder the ryght wyng,

Sauces for the
Second Course.

First Course:
Beef and Capons.

How to sauce and
carve a Roast
Capon:

lay him out as if
ready to fly.

Second Course:
Potage: Charlets,
young Geese,
Payne Puffe, &c.

How to carve a
Goose.

Goose must be
eaten with green
garlic or verjuice.

& not vpon the Ioynte aboue / & it ought for to be eten with grene garlyke, or with sorell, or tender vynes, or vergyus in somer season, after the pleasure of your souerayne. Also ye shall vnderstande that all maner of fowle that hath hole fete sholde be reysed vnder the wynges, and not aboue.

*Dinner Courses
from the Na-
tivity* of St John
the Baptist, (June
24,) to Michaelmas.*

First Course :
soups, vegetables,
legs of Pork, &c.

Second Course :

roast Mutton,
glazed Pigeons,
Fritters, &c.

Serve a Pheasant
dry, with salt and
ginger :

a Heronsewe with
salt and powder
(blanche ?)

Treat open-
clawed birds like
capons.

¶ Here endeth the feest from Pentecost to mydsomer. And here begynneth from the feest of saynt Iohn the baptist vnto Myghelmasse.

IN the fyrst course, potage, wortes, gruell, & fourmenty, with venyson, and mortrus and pestelles of porke with grene sauce. Rosted capon, swanne with chawdron. In the seconde course, potage after the ordynaunce of the cokes, with rosted motton, vele, porke, chekyns or endoured pygyons, heron-sewes, fruyters or other bake metes / & take hede to the fesande : he shall be arayed in the maner of a capon / but it shall be done drye, without ony moysture, and he shall be eten with salte and poudre of gynger. And the heronsewe shall be arayed in the same maner without ony moysture, & he shulde be eten with salte and poudre. Also ye shall vnderstande that all maner of fowles hauynge open clawes as a capon, shall be tyred and arayed as a capon and suche other.

*Dinner Courses
from Michaelmas
to Christmas.*

First Course :
legs of Pork, &c.

Second Course :

¶ From the feest of saynt Myghell vnto the feest of Chrystynmasse.

IN the fyrst course, potage, befe, motton, bacon, or pestelles of porke, or with goose, capon, mallarde, swanne, or fesande, as it is before sayd, with tartes, or bake metes, or chynes of porke. In the second course, potage, mortrus, or conyes, or sewe / than roste flesshe, motton, porke, vele, pulletes, chekyns, pygyons, teeles,

* The feast of St John's Beheading is on Aug. 29.

wegyons, mallardes, partryche, woodcoke, plouer, byt-
 ture, curlewe, heronsewe / venyson roost, grete byrdes,
 snytes, feldefayres, thrusshe, fruyters, chewettes, befe
 with sauce gelopere, roost with sauce pegyll, & other
 ba^lke metes as is aforesayde. And yf ye kerue afore
 your lorde or your lady ony soden flesshe, kerue awaye
 the skynne aboue / than kerue resonably of ^ey flesshe
 to your lord^e or lady, and specyally for ladyes, for ^ey²
 wyll soone be angry, for theyr thoughtes ben soone
 changed / and some lordes wyll be sone pleased, & some
 wyll not / as they be of compleccyon. The goos &
 swanne may be cut as ye do other fowles y^t haue hole
 fete, or elles as your lorde or your lady wyll aske it.
 Also a swanne with chawdron, capon, or fesande, ought
 for to be arayed as it is aforesayd / but the skynne must
 be had awaye / & whan they ben kerued before your
 lorde or your lady / for generally the skynne of all
 maner cloven foted fowles is vnholosome / & the skynne
 of all maner hole foted fowles ben holosome for to be
 eten. Also wete ye well that all maner hole foted
 fowles that haue theyr lyuyng vpon the water, theyr
 skynnes ben holosome & clene, for by ^ey clenens of the
 water / & fysshe, is theyr lyuyng. And yf that they
 ete ony stynkyng thyng, it is made so clene with ^ey
 water that all the corrupeyon is clene gone awaye frome
 it. And the skynne of capon, henne, or chekyn, ben not
 so clene, for the[y] ete foule thynges in the strete / &
 therefore the skynnes ben not so holosome / for it is not
 theyr kynde to entre in to ^ey ryuer to make theyr mete
 voyde of ^ey fylth. Mallarde, goose, or swanne, they
 ete vpon the londe foule mete / but a-non, after theyr
 kynde, they go to the ryuer, & theyr they clense them
 of theyr foule stynke. A fesande as it is aforesayd / but
^ey skynne is not holosome / than take ^ey heddes of all
 felde byrdes and wood byrdes, as fesande, pecoche,
 partryche, woodcoke, and curlewe, for they ete in

Widgeon,

Fieldfares,
 Chewets, Beef,
 with sauces
 Gelopere and
 Pegyll.

[1 Fol. B iii.]

Cut the skin off
 boiled meats.
 Carve carefully for

[2 for they]
 Ladies; they soon
 get angry.

Carve Goose and
 Swan like other
 birds.

The skin of cloven-
 footed birds is
 unwholesome;

of whole-footed
 birds

wholesome.

because the water
 washes all corrup-
 tion out of 'em.

Chickens' skin is
 not so pure,

because their
 nature is not to
 enter into the
 river.

River birds
 cleanse their foul
 stink in the river.

Take off the heads
 of all field birds,

for they eat

worms, toads, and
the like.

theyr degrees foule thynges, as wormes, todes, and other
suche.

*Sewynge of
Fysshe.*

¶ Here endeth the feestes and the keruyng of
flesshe, And here begynneth the sewynge of fysshe.

First Course :

¶ The fyrst course.

Musculade,

TO go to sewynge of fysshe : musculade, menewes in
sewe of porpas or of samon, bacon herynge with
suger, grene fysshe, pyke, lampraye, salens, porpas
rosted, bake gurnade, and lampraye bake.

Salens, &c.,
baked Gurnet.

Second Course :

¶ The seconde course.

Jelly, dates, &c.

For a standard,

Mullet, Chub,
Seal, &c.

¶ Gelly whyte and rede, dates in confetes, congre,
samon, dorrey, brytte, turbot, halybut / for standarde,
base, troute, molette, cheuene, sele, eles & lamprayes
roost, tenche in gelly.

Third Course :

¶ The thyrd course.

Bream, Perch,
Whelks; and
pears in sugar
candy. Figs,
[*1 Orig. raysus*]
dates capped with
minced ginger, &c.
All over! Clear
the table.

¶ Fresshe sturgyon, breme, perche in gelly, a Ioll
of samon, sturgyon, and welkes ; apples & peres rosted
with suger candy. Fygges of malyke, & raysyns,¹ dates
capte with mynced gynger / wafers and ypocras, they
ben agreable / this feest is done, voyde ye the table.

[Fol. B iii. b.]
*Carving and
Dressing of Fish.*

¶ Here endeth sewynge of fysshe. And here
foloweth keruyng of fysshe.

Put tails and
livers in the pea
broth and furmity.
How to carve
Seal Turrentyne,
baked Herring,
white Herring,

Green Fish,

Merling, Hake,

Pike,

THe keruer of fysshe must se to pessene & fourmen-
tye the tayle and ^ey lyuer: ye must loke yf there
be a salte purpos, or sele turrentyne, & do after ^ey
fourme of venyson / baken herynge, laye it hole vpon
your soueraynes trenchour / whyte herynge in a disshe,
open it by ^ey backe, pyke out the bones & the rowe, &
se there be mustarde. Of salte fysshe, grene fysshe,
salt samon & congre, pare away ^ey skyn / salte fysshe,
stocke fysshe, marlynge, makrell, and hake, with butter:
take awaye the bones & the skynnes. A pyke, laye ^ey

wombe vpon his trenchour with pyke sauce ynoughe.
 A salte ¹lampraye, gobone it flatte in .vii. or .viii. [1 Fol. B 4.]
salt Lamprey,
Plaice,
 peces, & lay it to your souerayne. A playce, put out
 the water / than crosse hym with your knyfe, caste on
 salte & wyne or ale. Gornarde, rochet, breme, cheuene, Gurnard, Bream,
 base, molet, roche, perche, sole, makrell & whytynge, Roach, Whiting,
 haddocke and codlynge, reyse them by the backe, & Codling,
 pyke out the bones, & clense the refet in ^ey bely.
 Carpe, breme, sole, & troute, backe & belly togyder. Carp, Trout,
 Samon, congre, sturgyon, turbot, thorpole, thornebacke, Conger, Thorn-
back, Halibut,
 hounde-fysshe, & halybut, cut them in the dysshe as ^ey
 porpas aboute / tenche in his sauce, cut it / eles & Tench,
 lamprayes roost, pull of the skynne, pyke out ^ey bones,
 put therto vyneger & poudre. A crabbe, breke hym and Crab.
 a-sonder in to a dysshe, make y shelle clene, & put in
 the stuffe agayne, tempre it with vynegre & poudre,
 than couer it with brede, and sende it to the kytchyn
 to hete / than set it to your souerayne, and breke
 the grete clawes, and laye them in a disshe. A
 creues, dyght hym thus: departe hym a-sonder, & How to dress and
serve up a Crab.
 slytee² the belly, and take out ^ey fysshe; pare away the
 reed skynne, and mynce it thynne; put vynegre in the
 dysshe, and set in on ^ey table without hete. A Iol of How to dress and
carve a Crayfish,
[2 sic]
 sturgyon, cut it in thynne morselles, & lay it rounde
 aboute the dysshe. Fresshe lampraye bake: open ^ey a Joll of Sturgeon,
a fresh Lamprey,
pasty.
 pasty / than take whyte brede, and cut it thynne, &
 lay it in a dysshe, & with a spone take out galentyne,
 & lay it vpon the brede with reed wyne & poudre of
 synamon / than cut a gobone of the lampraye, & mynce
 the gobone thynne, and laye it in the galentyne; thar
 set it vpon the fyre to hete. Fresshe herynge with (sauce, Galentyne
with red wine
and powdered
cinnamon.)
 salte & wyne / shrympes wel pyked, floundres, gogyons,
 menewes & musceles, eles and lamprayes: sprottes is Fresh Herring, &c.
 good in sewe / musculade in wortes / oystres in ceuy,
 oysters in grauy, menewes in porpas, samon & seele,
 gelly³ whyte and reede, creme of almondes, dates in Sprats,
Musculade in
worts, Oysters,
[3 Fol. B 4 b.]
Dates, pears,

Mortrewes of
Dogfish.

comfetes, peres and quynces in syrupe, with percely
rotes; mortrus of houndes fysshe, ryse standynge.

Sauces for Fish.

¶ Here endeth the keruyng of fysshe. And here
begynneth sauces for all maner of fysshe.

Mustard for
Salmon, &c.;
Vinegar for salt
Whale, &c.;

Galentyne for
Lamprey;
Verjuice for
Roach, &c.;
Cinnamon for
Chub, &c.;

Green Sauce for
Halibut, &c.

MUstarde is good for salte herynge / salte fysshe,
salte congre, samon, sparlynge, salt ele & lynge:
vynegre is good with salte porpas, turrentyne salte /
sturgyon salte, threpole, & salt wale / lampray with
galentyne / vergyus to roche, dace, breme, molet, base,
flounders, sole, crabbe, and cheuene, with poudre of
synamon; to thornebacke, herynge, houndefysshe, had-
docke, whytynge, & codde, vynegre, poudre of synamon,
& gynger; grene sauce is good with grene fysshe &
halybut, cottell, & fresshe turbot / put not your grene
sauce awaye, for it is good with mustarde.

¶ Here endeth for all maner of sauces for fysshe
accordynge to theyr appetyte.

*The Duties of a
Chamberlain.*

¶ The chaumberlayne.

He must be
cleanly, and comb
his hair:

see to his Lord's
clothes, and
brush his hose;

in the morning
warm his shirt,

and prepare his
footsheet;

[1 Fol. B 5.]
warm his pety-
cote, &c.;

put on his shoes,

tie up his hose,

THE caumberlayne muste be dylygent & clenly in
his offyce, with his heed kembed, & so to his
souerayne that he be not recheles, & se that he haue a
clene sherte, breche, petycote, and doublet / than
brusshe his hosen within & without, & se his shone &
slyppers be made clene / & at morne whan your
souerayne wyll aryse, warme his sherte by the fyre /
& se ye haue a fote shete made in this maner. Fyrst
set a chayre by the fyre with a cuysshon, an other
vnder his fete / than sprede a shete ouer the chayre,
and se there be redy a kerchefe¹ and a combe / than
warme his petycote, his doublet, and his stomachere /
& than put on his hosen & his shone or slyppers, than
stryke vp his hosen manerly, & tye them vp, than lace

his doublet hole by hole, & laye the clothe aboute his
 necke & kembe his hede / than loke ye haue a basyn, comb his head,
 & an ewer with warme water, and a towell, and wasshe wash his hands,
 his handes / than knele vpon your knee, & aske your
 souerayne what robe he wyll were, & brynge him such put on the robe
he orders.
 as your souerayne commaundeth, & put it vpon hym;
 than doo his gyrdell aboute hym, & take your leue
 manerly, & go to the chyrche or chapell to your Make ready his
Closet in the
Church or Chapel,
 soueraynes closet, & laye carpentes & cuysshens, & lay
 downe his boke of prayers / than drawe the curtynes,
 and take your leue goodly, & go to youre soueraynes then come home
to his Bed-
chamber, take off
the bed-clothes.
 chambre, & cast all the clothes of his bedde, & bete the
 feder bedde & the bolster / but loke ye waste no feders;
 than shall the blankettes, & se the shetes be fayre &
 swete, or elles loke ye haue clene shetes / than make Make his lord's
bed again with
clean sheets,
 vp his bedde manerly, than lay the hed shetes & the
 pyllowes / than take vp the towel & the basyn, & laye
 carpentes aboute the bedde, or wyndowes & cupbordes and lay hangings
round the bed,
and windows, &c.
 layde with carpettes and cuysshyns. Also loke there
 be a good fyre brennyng bryght / & se the hous of
 hesement be swete & clene, & the preuy borde couered Keep the privy
clean, and the
board covered
with green cloth,
and provide down
or cotton for
wiping.
 with a grene clothe and a cuysshyn / than se there be
 blanked, donne, or cotton, for your souerrayne / & loke
 ye haue basyn, & euer with water, & a towell for your
 souerayne / than take of his gowne, & brynge him a
 mantell to kepe hym fro colde / than brynge hym to
 the fyre, & take of his shone & his hosen; than take a
 fayre kercher of reynes / & kembe his heed, & put on Comb his head,
 his kercher and his bonet / than sprede downe his put on his night-
cap,
 bedde, laye the heed shete and the pyllowes / & whan
 your souerayne is to bedde¹ drawe the curtynes / than
 se there be mortar or waxe or perchoures be redy / than
 dryue out dogge or catte, & loke there be basyn and
 vrynall set nere your souerayne / than take your leue
 manerly that your souerayne may take his rest meryly. drive out the
dogs and cats, set
the urinal near,
and then take
leave.

¶ Here endeth of the chaumberlayne.

[1 Fol. B 5 b.]
draw the curtains
round him,

*Of the Marshal
and Usher.*

¶ Here foloweth of the Marshall and the vssher.

He must know
the orders of
precedence of all
ranks.

THE Marshall and the vssher muste knowe all the estates of the chyrche, and the hyghe estate of a kynge, with the blode royall.

A Cardinal before
a Prince.

¶ The estate of a Pope hath no pere.

¶ The estate of an Emperour is nexte.

¶ The estate of a kynge.

¶ The estate of a cardynall.

¶ The estate of a kynges sone, a prynce.

¶ The estate of an archebyssshop.

¶ The estate of a duke

¶ The estate of a byssshop

¶ The estate of a marques

¶ The estate of an erle

¶ The estate of a vycount

¶ The estate of a baron.

¶ The estate of an abbot with a myter

The Mayor of
London ranks
with the 3 Chief
Justices.

¶ The estate of the thre chefe Iuges & the Mayre of London.

¶ The estate of an abbot without a myter

¶ The estate of a knyght bachelor

The Knight's
equals.
[Fol. B 6.]

¶ The estate of a pryour, dene, archedeken, or knyght

¶ The estate of the mayster of the rolles.

¶ The estate of other Iustices & barons of the cheker

¶ The estate of the mayre of Calays.

¶ The estate of a prouyncyall, a doctour dyvyne,

¶ The estate of a prothonat: he is aboue the popes collectour, and a doctour of bothe the lawes.

The ex-Mayor of
London.

¶ The estate of him that hath ben mayre of London and seruaunt of the lawe.

The Esquire's
equals.

¶ The estate of a mayster of the chauncery, and other worshypfull prechours of pardon, and clerkes that ben gradewable / & all other ordres of

chastyte, persones & preestes, worshypfull marchauntes & gentylmen, all this may syt at the squyers table.

¶ An archebyssshop and a duke may not kepe the hall, but eche estate by them selfe in chaumbre or in paulyon, that neyther se other. Who must dine alone,

¶ Bysshoppes, Marques, Erles, & Vycountes, all these may syt two at a messe. who 2 together,

¶ A baron, & the mayre of London, & thre chefe Iuges, and the speker of the parlyament, & an abbot with a myter, all these may syt two or thre at a messe who 2 or 3,

¶ And all other estates may syt thre or foure at a messe who 3 or 4.

¶ Also the Marshall muste vnderstande and knowe the blode royall, for some lorde is of blode royall & of small lyuelode. And some knyght is wedded to a lady of royal blode; she shal kepe the estate that she was before. And a lady of lower degree shal kepe the estate of her lordes blode / & therfore the royall blode shall haue the reuerence, as I haue shewed you here before. The Marshall must know who are of royal blood, for that has the reverence.

¶ Also a marshall muste take hede of the byrthe, and nexte of the lyne, of the blode royall.

¶ Also he must take hede of the kynges offycers, of the Chaunceler, Stewarde, Chamberlayne, Tresourer, and Controller. He must take heed of the King's officers,

¶ Also the marshall must take heed vnto straungers, & put them to worshyp & reuerence; for and they haue good chere it is your soueraynes honour. do honour to strangers,

¶ Also a Marshall muste take hede yf the kynge sende to your souerayne ony message; and yf he send a knyght, receyue hym as a baron; and yf he sende a squyre, receyue hym as a knyght / and yf he sende you a yoman, receyue hym as a squyer / and yf he sende you a grome, receyue hym as a yoman. and receive a Messenger from the King as if one degree higher than he is,

for a King's groom
may sit at a
Knight's table.

¶ Also it is noo rebuke to a knyght to sette a grome
of the kynge at his table.

Here ends this
Book

¶ Here endeth the boke of seruyce, & keruynge,
and sewynge, and all maner of offyce in his kynde vnto
a prynce or ony other estate, & all the feestes in the
yere. Enprynted by wynkyn de worde at London in
Flete strete at the sygne of the sonne. The yere of our
lorde god M.CCCCC.xiiij.

printed by
Wynkyn de
Worde.

A.D. 1513.

[Wynkyn .de. worde's device here.]

NOTES.

Wynkyn de Worde introduces some dishes, sauces, fish, and one wine, not mentioned by Russell.

The new *Dishes* are—

Fayge (p. 271, l. 10). This may be for *Sage*, the herb, or a variety of Fritter, like *Fruyter vaunte* (p. 271, l. 2; p. 273, l. 24), *fruyter say* (p. 273, l. 24), or a dish that I cannot find, or a way of spelling figs.

Fruyter say, p. 273, l. 24. If *say* is not for *Sage*, then it may be a fish, contrasted with the *vaunte*, which I suppose to mean 'meat.' *Sey* is a Scotch name for the Coalfish, *Merlangus Carbonarius*. Yarrell, ii. 251.

Charlet (p. 273, l. 28). The recipe in 'Household Ordinances,' p. 463, is, 'Take swete cowe mylk and put into a panne, and cast in therto 3 olkes of eyren and the white also, and sothen porke brayed, and sage; and let hit boyle tyl hit crudde, and colour it with saffron, and dresse hit up, and serve hit forthe.' Another recipe for Charlet Enforced follows, and there are others for Charlet and Charlet icoloured, in *Liber Cure*, p. 11.

Jowtes, p. 274, last line. These are broths of beef or fish boiled with chopped boiled herbs and bread, *H. Ord.* p. 461. Others are made 'with swete almond mylke,' *ib.* See 'Joutus de Almonde,' p. 15, *Liber Cure*. For 'Joutes' p. 47; 'for oper ioutes,' p. 48.

Browes, p. 274, last line. This is doubtless the Brus of Household Ordinances, p. 427, and the *bruys* of *Liber Cure*, p. 19, l. 3, brewis, or broth. Brus was made of chopped pig's-inwards, leeks, onions, bread, blood, vinegar. For 'Brewewes in Somere' see *H. Ord.* p. 453.

Chewettes, p. 275, l. 4, were small pies of chopped-up livers of pigs, hens, and capons, fried in grease, mixed with hard eggs and ginger, and then fried or baked. *Household Ordinances*, p. 442, and *Liber Cure*, p. 41. The Chewets for fish days were similar pies of chopped turbot, haddock, and cod, ground dates, raisins, prunes, powder and salt, fried in oil, and boiled in sugar and wine. *L. Cure*, p. 41. Markham's Recipe for 'A Chewet Pye' is at p. 80-1 of his *English Housewife*. *Chewit*, or small Pie; minced or otherwise. R. Holme. See also two recipes in MS. Harl. 279, fol. 38.

Flaunes (p. 275, l. 4) were Cheesecakes, made of ground cheese beaten up with eggs and sugar, coloured with saffron, and baked in 'cofyns' or crusts. 'A Flaune of Almayne' or 'Crustade' was a more elaborate preparation of dried or fresh raisins and pears or apples pounded, with cream, eggs, bread, spices, and butter, strained and baked in 'a faire coffyn or two.' *H. Ord.* p. 452.

Of new *Sauces*, Wynkyn de Worde names *Gelopere* & *Pegyll* (p. 279, l. 4). *Gelopere* I cannot find, and can only suggest that its *p* may be for *f*, and that "cloves of gelofer," the clove-gillyflower, may have been the basis of it. These cloves were stuck in ox tongues, see "Lange de beof," *Liber Cure*, p.

26. Muffett also recommends Gilly-flour Vinegar as the best sauce for sturgeon in summer, p. 172; and Vinegar of Clove-Gilliflowers is mentioned by Culpepper, p. 97, Physical Directory, 1649.

Pegylle I take to be the *Pylulle* of Liber Cure Cocorum, p. 31, made thus;

‘Take droppynge of capone rostyde wele
With wyne and mustarde, as have þou cele [bliss],
With onyons smalle schrad, and sothun in grece,
Meng alle in fere, and forthe hit messe.’

The new *Wine* is *Campolet*, p. 267. Henderson does not mention it; Halliwell has ‘*Campletes*. A kind of wine, mentioned in a curious list in MS. Rawl. C. 86.’ [See the list in the Notes to Russell, above, p. 202.] I suppose it to be the wine from ‘*Campole*. The name of a certaine white grape, which hath very white kernels.’ Cotgrave.

Of new *Fish* W. de Worde names the *Salens* (p. 280, l. 8), *Cottell* and *Tench* (p. 281). Torrentyne he makes *sele turrentyne* (p. 280) seemingly, but has *turrentyne salte* as a fish salted, at p. 282, l. 7.

Cottell, p. 282, l. 14, the cuttlefish. Of these, *Sepiæ vel Loliginæ calamariæ*, Muffet says, they are called also ‘sleewes’ for their shape, and ‘scribes’ for their incky humour wherewith they are replenished, and are commended by Galen for great nourishers; their skins be as smooth as any womans, but their flesh is brawny as any ploughmans; therefore I fear me Galen rather commended them upon hear-say then upon any just cause or true experience.

For the *Salens* I can only suggest thunny. Aldrovandi, *de Piscibus*, treating of the synonyms of the Salmon, p. 482, says, “Græcam salmonis nomenclaturam non inuenio, neque est quod id miretur curiosus lector, cum in Oceano tantum fluminibusque in eum se exonerantibus reperiatur, ad quæ veteres Græci nunquam penetrarunt. Qui voluerit, *Salangem* appellare poterit. Σαλάχξ enim boni, id est, delicati piscis nomen legitur apud Hesychium, nec præterea qui sit, explicatur: aut a migrandi natura κατάδρομος, vel δρόμας fluuiatilis dicatur, nam Aristoteles in mari dromades vocat Thunnos aliosque gregales, qui aliunde in Pontum excurrunt, et vix vno loco conquiescunt; aut nomen fingatur a saltu, & ἄλμων dicitur. Non placet tamen, salmonis nomen a saltu deduci, aut etiam á sale, licet salendi natura ei optimè quadret saleque aut muria inueturaria etiam soleat. Non enim latine sed a Germanis Belgisue Rheni accolis, aut Gallis Aquitanicis accepta vox est.” See also p. 318. ‘Scardula, et Incobia ex Pigis, et Plota, Salena.’ Gesner, *de Piscibus*, p. 273. Can *salens* be the Greek ‘σωλην, a shell-fish, perhaps like the razor-fish. Epich. p. 22.’—Liddell and Scott—? I presume not. ‘*Solen*. The flesh is sweet; they may be eaten fryed or boiled.’ 1661, R. Lovell, *Hist. of Animals*, p. 240. ‘*Solen*: A genus of bivalve mollusks, having a long slender shell; razor-fish.’ Webster’s Dict.

Sele turrentyne, p. 277. Seemingly a variety of seal, or of eel or sole if *sele* is a misprint. But I cannot suggest any fish for it.

Rochets, p. 281, l. 5, *Rubelliones*. *Rochets* (or rather Rougets, because they are so red) differ from Gurnards and Curs, in that they are redder by a great deal, and also lesser; they are of the like flesh and goodness, yet better fryed with onions, butter, and vinegar, then sodden. Muffett, p. 166.

The Booke of

Demeanor

and

the Allowance and

Disallowance

of

certaine Misdemeanors

in

Companie,

[From the reprint by Bensley & Sons (in 1817) of "The Booke of Demeanor from Small Poems entitled *The Schoole of Vertue* by Richard Weste," 1619, 12mo.]

To the Reader.

R ightly conceiue me, and obserue me well,
I Doe what heere is done for Childrens good,
C Hrist in his Gospell (as S. Marke doth tell)
H Ath not forbidden Children, nor withstood
A Ny that should but aske the ready way,
R Egarding Children, not to say them nay.
D Irecting all that came, how faith should be,

W Hat they should crave of Gods high Majestie,
E Ven Salvation, through their faithful Prayer,
S Ending their contemplations into the ayre,
T O his high throne, whose love so guide us all
E Ven to the end we neuer cease to call.

[N.B.—The stops and sidenotes are those of the original, but
that has no Headlines.]

The Booke of Demeanor.

- Stand straight vpright, and both thy feet
together closely standing,
Be sure on't, ever let thine eye
4 be still at thy commanding.
- Observe that nothing wanting be
which should be on the bord.
Vnlesse a question moved be,
8 be carefull : not a word.
- If thou doe give or fill the drinke,
with duty set it downe,
And take it backe with manlike cheere
12 not like a rusticke Lowne.
- If on an errand thou be sent,
make haste and doe not stay,
When all have done, observe the time,
16 serve God and take away.
- When thou hast done and dined well,
remember thou repaire
To schoole againe with carefulnesse,
20 be that thy cheefest care.
- And marke what shall be read to thee,
or given thee to learne,
That apprehend as neere as may be,
24 wisdom so doth warne.

Serving at
the table.

Silence.

Serving
or filling
drinke.

[p. 6.] If on an
errand.

To schoole
againe.

With stedfast eye and carefull eare,
 remember every word
 Thy Schoole master shall speake to thee,
 28 as memory shall afford.

To use the
 browes.

Let not thy browes be backward drawn, [p. 7.]
 it is a signe of pride,
 Exalt them not, it shewes a hart
 32 most arrogant beside.

The eyes.

Nor let thine eyes be gloting downe,
 cast with a hanging looke :
 For that to dreamers doth belong,
 36 that goodnesse cannot brooke.

The fore-
 head.

Let forehead joyfull be and full,
 it shewes a merry part,
 And cheerefulnesse in countenance,
 40 and pleasantnesse of heart.

Counte-
 nance.

Nor wrinckled let thy countenance be,
 still going to and fro :
 For that belongs to hedge-hogs right,
 44 they wallow even so.

The nose.

Nor imitate with Socrates, [p. 8.]
 to wipe thy snivelled nose
 Vpon thy cap, as he would doe,
 48 nor yet upon thy clothes.

But keepe it cleane with handkerchiffe,
 provided for the same,
 Not with thy fingers or thy sleeve,
 52 therein thou art too blame.

Blowing or
 breathing.

Blow not alowd as thou shalt stand,
 for that is most absurd,

Iust like a broken winded horse.
56 it is to be abhord.

Nor practize snufflingly to speake,
for that doth imitate
The brutish Storke and Elephant,
60 yea and the wralling cat.

Snuffling in
the nose
when you
speake.

If thou of force doe chance to neeze,
then backwards turne away
From presence of the company,
64 wherein thou art to stay.

[p. 9.] Neezing.

Thy cheekes with shamefac't modesty,
dipt in Dame Natures die,
Not counterfet, nor puffed out,
68 observe it carefully.

The
Cheekes.

Keepe close thy mouth, for why, thy breath
may hap to give offence,
And other worse may be repayd
72 for further recompence.

Breath-
ing.

Nor put thy lips out like a foole
as thou wouldst kisse a horse,
When thou before thy betters art,
76 and what is ten times worse,

Lips.

To gape in such unseemely sort,
with ugly gaping mouth,
Is like an image pictured
80 a blowing from the south.

[p. 10.] Yawning.

Which to avoyd, then turne about,
and with a napkin hide
That gaping foule deformity,
84 when thou art so aside.

Laughing.

To laugh at all things thou shalt heare,
 is neither good nor fit,
 It shewes the property and forme
 88 of one with little wit.

Biting the
lip.

To bite the lip it seemeth base,
 for why, to lay it open,
 Most base dissembling doggednesse,
 92 most sure it doth betoken.

Biting the
upper lip.

And so to bite the upper lip
 doth most uncomely shew,
 The lips set close (as like to kisse)
 96 in manner seeme not so.

[p. 11.]

The
tongue.

To put the tongue out wantonly,
 and draw it in agen,
 Betokens mocking of thy selfe,
 100 in all the eyes of men,

Spitting.

If spitting chance to move thee so
 thou canst it not forbear,
 Remember do it modestly,
 104 consider who is there.

If filthiness, or ordure thou
 upon the floore doe cast,
 Tread out, and cleanse it with thy foot,
 108 let that be done with haste.

Hammer-
ing in
speech.

If in thy tale thou hammering stand,
 or coughing twixt thy words,
 It doth betoken a liers smell,
 112 that's all that it affords.

[p. 12.]

Belching.

To belch or bulch like *Clitipho*,
 whom *Terence* setteth forth,

116 Commendeth manners to be base,
most foule and nothing worth.

If thou to vomit be constrain'd,
avoyd from company :
So shall it better be excus'd,
120 if not through gluttony.

Vomiting.

Keep white thy teeth, and wash thy mouth
with water pure and cleane,
And in that washing, mannerly
124 observe and keep a meane.

Keeping
the teeth
cleane.

Thy head let that be kembd and trimd,
let not thy haire be long,
It is unseemely to the eye,
128 rebuked by the tongue.

[p. 13.] Kemming
the head.

And be not like a slothfull wight,
delighted to hang downe
The head, and lift the shoulders up,
132 nor with thy browes to frowne.

Hanging
down the
head.

To carry up the body faire,
is decent, and doth shew
A comely grace in any one,
136 Where ever he doth goe.

Carriage of
the body.

To hang the head on any side,
doth shew hypocrisie :
And who shall use it trust him not,
140 he deales with policie.

Hanging
the head
aside.

Let not thy privy members be
layd open to be view'd,
It is most shamefull and abhord,
144 detestable and rude.

[p. 14.] Privy
members.

Urine or
winde.

Retaine not urine nor the winde,
which doth thy body vex,
So it be done with secresie,
148 let that not thee perplex.

Sitting.

And in thy sitting use a meane,
as may become thee well,
Not straddling, no nor tottering,
152 and dangling like a bell.

Curtesie.

Observe in Curtesie to take
a rule of decent kinde,
Bend not thy body too far foorth,
156 nor backe thy leg behind.

The gate in going.

In going keep a decent gate,
not faining lame or broken,
For that doth seeme but wantonnesse,
160 and foolishnesse betoken.

[p. 15.]

Apparrell.

Let thy apparrell not exceede,
to passe for sumptuous cost,
Nor altogether be too base,
164 for so thy credit's lost.

Be modest in thy wearing it,
and keep it neat and cleane,
For spotted, dirty, or the like,
168 is lothsome to be seene.

This for thy body may suffice,
how that must ordred be :
Now at the Church thou shalt observe
172 to God how all must be.

[No doubt incomplete. F. J. F.]

The
Boke of Curtasye.

FROM THE SLOANE MS. 1986 IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,
AB. 1430—40 A.D.

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The boke of Curtasye.

Here begynneth the fyrst boke of curtasye.

[Fol. 12.]

Qwo so wylle of curtasy lere,
In this boke he may hit here !
Yf thow be gentylmon, zomon, or knaue,

In this book you
may learn
Courtesy.
Every one needs
it.

4 The nedis nurture for to haue.

When thou comes to a lordis gate,
The porter þou shalle fynde ther-ate ;
Take hym thow shalt þy wepyn tho,

On reaching a
Lord's gate, give
the Porter your
weapon, and ask
leave to go in.

8 And aske hym leue in to go

¶ To speke with lorde, lady, squyer, or grome.
Ther-to the nedys to take the tome ¹ ;
For yf he be of loghe degre,

If the master is of
low degree, he
will come to you;
if of high, the
Porter will take
you to him.

12 Than hym falles to come to the ;

¶ Yf he be gentylmon of kyn,
The porter wille lede the to hym.

When thow come tho halle dor to,

16 Do of thy hode, thy gloues also ;

At the Hall-door,
take off your hood
and gloves.

¶ Yf þo halle be at the furst mete,

This lessoun loke thow nozt for-zete :

þe stuard, countroller, and tresurere,

If the first meal is
beginning,

20 Sittand at de deshe, þou haylse in fere.

¶ Within þe halle sett on ayther side,
Sitten other gentylmen as falles þat tyde ;
Enclyne þe fayre to hom also,

bow to the Gentle-
men on each side
of the hall,

24 First to the ryght honde þou shalle go,

both right

¹ Toom or rymthe. *Spacium, tempus, oportunitas.* P. Parv.

and left ;

notice the yeomen,
then stand before
the screen

till the Marshal
or Usher leads
you to the table.

Be sedate and
courteous if you
are set with the
gentlemen.

Cut your loaf in
two, the top from
the bottom ;

cut the top crust
in 4,

and the bottom
in 3.

Put your trencher
before you,

and don't eat or
drink till your
Mess is brought
from the kitchen,
lest you be
thought starved
or a glutton.

Have your nails
clean.

Don't bite your
bread,

but break it.

Don't quarrel at
table,

or make grimaces.

- ¶ Sitthen to þo left honde þy neghe þou cast ;
To hom þou boghe withouten wrast¹ ;
Take hede to ȝomon on þy ryght honde,
28 And sithen byfore the screne þou stonde
¶ In myddys þe halle opon þe flore,
Whille marshalle or vssher come fro þe dore,
And bydde the sitte, or to borde the lede.
32 Be stabulle of chere for menske², y rede ;
¶ Yf he þe sette at gentilmonnes borde,
Loke þou be hynde³ and lytulle of worde.
Pare þy brede and kerue in two,
36 Tho ouer crust þo nether fro ;
¶ In fowre þou kutt þo ouer dole,
Sett hom to-gedur as hit where hole ;
Sithen kutt þo nether crust in thre,
40 And turne hit down, lerne þis at me.
¶ And lay thy trenchour þe be-fore,
And sitt vp-ryght for any sore.
Spare brede or wyne, drynke or ale,
44 To thy messe of kochyn be sett in sale ;
¶ Lest men sayne þou art hongur beten,
Or ellis a gloten þat alle men wyten,
Loke þy naylys ben clene in blythe,
48 Lest þy felaghe lothe ther-wyth.
¶ Byt not on thy brede and lay hit doun,—
That is no curteyse to vse in towne ;—
But breke as myche as þou wylle ete,
52 The remelant to pore þou shalle lete.
¶ In peese þou ete, and euer eschewe
To flyte⁴ at borde ; þat may þe rewe.
Yf þou make mawes⁵ on any wyse,
56 A velany þou kacches or euer þou rise.

¹ AS. *wræsten*, to writhe, twist.

² grace, civility ; from AS. *mennisc*, human ; cp. our double sense of *humanity*. H. Coleridge.

³ courteous.

⁴ AS. *flytan*, dispute, quarrel.

⁵ Mowe, or skorne. *Vangia*, *vel valgia*, *cachinna*. Promptorium.

- ¶ Let neuer þy cheke be Made to grete
 With morselle of brede þat þou shalle ete ;
 An apys mow men sayne he makes,
 60 þat brede and flesshe in hys cheke bakes.
- ¶ Yf any mañ speke þat tyme to the,
 And þou schalle onsware, hit wille not be
 But waloande, and a-byde þou most ;
 64 þat is a schame for alle the host.
- ¶ On bothe halfe þy mouthe, yf þat þou ete,
 Mony a skorne shalle þou gete.
 þou shalle not lauþhe ne speke no þynge
 68 Whille þi mouthe be fulle of mete or drynke ;
- ¶ Ne suppe not with grete sowndynge
 Noþer potage ne oþer þynge.
 Let not þi spone stond in þy dysche,
 72 Wheþer þou be serued with fleshe or fische ;
- ¶ Ne lay hit not on thy dishe syde,
 But clense hit honestly with-outen pride.
 Loke no browynge on þy fyngur þore
 76 Defoule þe clothe þe be-fore.
- ¶ In þi dysche yf þou wete þy brede,
 Loke þer-of þat noȝt be lede
 To cast agayne þy dysche in-to ;
 80 þou art vn-hynde yf þou do so.
- ¶ Drye þy mouthe ay wele *and* fynde
 When þou schalle drynke oþer ale or wyne.
 Ne calle þou noȝt a dysche a-ȝayne,
 84 þat ys take fro þe borde in playne ;
- ¶ Ȝif þou sp[i]tt ouer the borde, or elles opoñ,
 þou schalle be holden an vncurtayse mon ;
 Yf þy nowñ dogge þou scrape or clawe,
 88 þat is holden a vyse emong men knawe.
- ¶ Yf þy nose þou clense, as may be-falle,
 Loke þy honde þou clense, as wythe-alle,
 Priuely with skyrt do hit away,
 92 Oþer ellis thurghe thi tepet þat is so gay.

[Fol. 13.]

Don't cram your
 cheeks out with
 food like an ape,

for if any one
 should speak to
 you, you can't
 answer, but must
 wait.

Don't eat on both
 sides of your
 mouth.

Don't laugh with
 your mouth full,

or sup up your
 potage noisily.

Don't leave your
 spoon in the dish
 or on its side,

but clean your
 spoon.

Let no dirt off
 your fingers soil

[p. 27, bot.]
 the cloth.

Don't put into the
 dish bread that
 you have once
 bitten.

Dry your mouth
 before you drink.

Don't call for a
 dish once
 removed,

or spit on the
 table:
 that's rude.

Don't scratch
 your dog.

If you blow your
 nose,
 clean your hand;
 wipe it with your
 skirt or put it
 through your
 tippet.

Don't pick your
teeth at meals,

or drink with food
in your mouth,

as you may get
choked,
or killed, by its
stopping your
wind.

Tell no tale
to harm or shame
your companions.

Don't stroke the
cat or dog.

Don't dirty the
table cloth with
your knife.

Don't blow on
your food,

or put your knife
in your mouth,

or wipe your teeth
[Fol. 14.]
or eyes with the
table cloth.
If you sit by a
good man,

don't put your
knee under his
thigh.

Don't hand your
cup to any one
with your back
towards him.

Don't lean on
your elbow,

¶ Clense not thi tethe at mete sittande,
With knyfe ne stre, styk ne wande.

While þou holdes mete in mouthe, be war
96 To drynke, þat is an-honest ¹ char,

¶ And also fysike for-bedes hit,
And sais þou may be choket at þat byt ;
Yf hit go þy wrang throte into,
100 And stoppe þy wynde, þou art fordo.

¶ Ne telle þou neuere at borde no tale
To harme or shame þy felawe in sale ;
For if he then withholde his methe ²,
104 Eftsons he wylle forcast þi dethe.

¶ Where-sere þou sitt at mete in borde,
Avoide þe cat at on bare worde,
For yf þou stroke cat oþer dogge,
108 þou art lyke an ape teyzed with a clogge.

¶ Also eschewe, with-uten stryfe,
To foule þe borde clothe with þi knyfe ;
Ne blow not on þy drynke ne mete,
112 Neþer for colde, neþer for hete ;

¶ With mete ne bere þy knyfe to mowthe,
Wheþer þou be sett be strong or couthe ;
Ne with þo borde clothe þi tethe þou wype,
116 Ne þy nyen þat rennen rede, as may betyde.

¶ Yf þou sitt by a ryȝht good mañ,
þis lesson loke þou þenke apoñ :
Vndur his theȝghe þy kne not pit,
120 þou ar fulle lewed yf þou dose hit.

¶ Ne bacwarde sittande gyf noȝt þy cupe,
Noþer to drynke, noþer to suppe ;
Bidde þi frende take cuppe and drynke,
124 þat is holden an honest thyng.

¶ Lene not on elbowe at þy mete,
Noþer for colde ne for hete ;

¹ an privative, dishonest.

² AS. *mod*, mood, passion, violence.

- Dip not þi thombe þy drynke into,
 128 þou art vncurtayse yf þou hit do ;
 ¶ In salt saler yf þat þou pit
 Oper fisshe or flesshe þat men may wyt,
 þat is a vyce, as men me telles,
 132 And gret wonder hit most be elles.
 ¶ After mete when þou shalt wasshe,
 Spitt not in basyn, ne water þou dasshe ;
 Ne spit not lorely, for no kyn mede,
 136 Be-fore no mon of god for drede.
 ¶ Who so euer despise þis lessoun ryȝt,
 At borde to sitt he hase no myȝt.
 Here endys now oure fyrst talkyng,
 140 Crist graunt vs alle his dere blessyng !
 ¶ Here endithe þe [first] boke of curtasye.

or dip your thumb
 into your drink,
 or your food into
 the salt cellar :

That is a vice.

Don't spit in the
 basin you wash in

or loosely (?)
 before a man of
 God.

THE SECOND BOOK.

- Y**F that þou be a ȝong enfaunt,
 And thenke þo scoles for to haunt,
 This lessoun schalle þy maistur þe merke,
 144 Croscrist þe spede in alle þi werke ;
 Sytthen þy *pater noster* he wille þe teche,
 As cristes owne postles con preche ;
 Aftur þy Aue maria and þi crede,
 148 þat shalle þe saue at dome of drede ;
 ¶ Then aftur to blesse þe with þe trinité,
 In nomine patris teche he wille þe ;
 þen with marke, mathew, luke, and Ion,
 152 With þe per crucis and the hegh name ;
 ¶ To schryue þe in general þou schalle lere
 þy Confiteor and misereatur in fere.

If you go to
 school

you shall learn :

1. Cross of Christ,

2. Pater Noster,

3. Hail Mary and
 the Creed,

4. In the name of
 the Trinity,

5. of the Apostles,

6. the Confession.

- Seek the kingdom
of God, and
worship Him.
- 156 To seche þe kyngdam of god, my chylde,
þerto y rede þou be not wylde.
¶ Ther-fore worschip god, bothe olde *and* 3ong,
To be in body and soule yliche stronge.
- At church, take
holy water ;
- 160 When þou comes to þo chirche dore,
Take þe haly water stondand on flore ;
¶ Rede or synge or byd *prayeris*
To crist, for alle þy crysten ferys ;
Be curtayse to god, and knele doun
- kneel to God on
both knees,
- 164 On bothe knees *with* grete deuocioun.
¶ To mon þou shalle knele opon þe toñ,
þe toþer to þy self þou halde aloñ.
- to man only on
one.
- At the Altar,
serve the priest
with both hands.
- 168 When þou ministers at þe heghe autere,
With bothe hondes þou serue þo prest in fere,
þe ton to stabulle þe toþer
Lest þou fayle, my dere broþer.
- Speak gently to
your father and
[Fol. 15.]
mother, and
honour them.
- 172 ¶ Anoper curtayse y wylle þe teche,
Thy fadur And modur, *with* mylde speche,
In worschip and serue *with* alle þy myzt,
þat þou dwelle þe lengur in erthely lyzt.
- Do to others as
you would they
should do to you.
- 176 ¶ To anoper man do no more amys
Then þou woldys be dcñ of hym *and* hys ;
So crist þou pleses, *and* getes þe loue
Of meñ *and* god þat syttis aboue.
- Don't be foolishly
meek.
- 180 ¶ Be not to meke, but in mene þe holde,
For ellis a fole þou wylle be tolde.
He þat to ryztwysnes wylle enclyne,
As holy wryzt says vs wele and fyne,
His sede schalle neuer go seche hor brede,
- The seed of the
righteous shall
never beg or
be shamed.
- 184 Ne suffur of mon no shames dede.
¶ To for-gyf þou shalle þe hast ;
To veniaunce loke þou come on last ;
Draw þe to pese *with* alle þy strengþe ;
- Be ready to
forgive,
and fond of peace.
- 188 Fro stryf and bate draw þe on lengþe.
¶ Yf mon aske þe good for goddys sake,
And þe wont thyng wher-of to take,
- If you cannot
give an asker
goods,

- Gyf hym boner wordys on fayre manere,
 192 With glad semblaunt ¹and pure good cher.
 ¶ Also of seruice þou shalle be fre
 To euery mon in hys degré.
 þou schalle neuer lose for to be kynde ;
 196 That on forȝetis anoþer hase in mynde.
 ¶ Yf Any man haue part with þe in gyft,
 With hym þou make an euen skyft ;
 Let hit not henge in honde for glose,
 200 þou art vncurtayse yf þou hyt dose.
 ¶ To sayntis yf þou þy gate hase hyȝt,
 Thou schalle fulfyllen hit with alle þy myȝt,
 Lest god þe stryk with grete veniaunce,
 204 And pyt þe in-to sore penaunce.
 ¶ Leue not alle men that speke þe fayre,
 Wheþer þat hit ben comyns, burges, or mayre ;
 In swete wordis þe nedder was closet,
 208 Disseyuaunt euer and mysloset ;
 þerfore þou art of adams blode,
 With wordis be ware, but þou be wode :
 A schort worde is comynly sothe
 212 þat fyrst slydes fro monnes tothe.
 ¶ Loke lyȝer neuer þat þou be-come,
 Kepe þys worde for alle and somme.
 Lawȝe not to of[t] for no solace,
 216 For no kyn myrthe þat any man mase ;
 Who lawes alle þat men may se,
 A schrew or a fole hym semes to be.
 ¶ Thre enmys in þys worlde þer are,
 220 þat coueyteñ alle men to for-fare,—
 The deuel, þe flesshe, þe worlde also,
 That wyrkyn mankynde ful mykyl wo :
 Yf þou may strye þes þre enmys,
 224 þou may be secur of heuen blys.
 ¶ Also, my chylde, a-gaynes þy lorde
 Loke þou stryfe with no kyn worde,

give him good
words.
[¹ MS. semblamt]
Be willing to
help every one.

Give your partner
his fair share.

Go on the pilgrim-
ages (?) you vow
to saints,
lest God take
vengeance on you.

Don't believe all
who speak fair :

the Serpent spoke
fair words (to
Eve).

Be cautious with
your words, ex-
cept when angry.

Don't lie, but
keep your word,

Don't laugh too
often,

or you'll be
called a shrew or
a fool.

Man's 3 enemies
are :

the Devil, the
Flesh, and the
World.

Destroy these, and
be sure of heaven.

Don't strive with
your lord,

or bet or play
with him.

[Fol. 16.]

In a strange place

don't be too inquisitive or fussy.

If a man falls,
don't laugh, but
help him up :

your own head
may fall to your
feet.

At the Mass, if
the priest doesn't
please you,

don't blame him.

Don't tell your
secrets to a shrew.

Don't beckon,
point, or whisper.

When you meet
a man, greet him,

or answer him
cheerily if he
greet's you :

don't be dumb,

lest men say you
have no mouth.

Never speak im-
properly of
women,

- Ne waiour non *with* hym þou lay,
228 Ne at þe dyces *with* hym to play.
¶ Hym that þou knawes of gretter state,
Be not hys felaw in rest ne bate.
3if þou be stad in strange contré,
232 Enserche no fyr þen falles to the,
Ne take no more to do on honde,
þen þou may hafe menske of alle in londe.
¶ 3if þou se any mon fal by strete,
236 Laweghe not þer-at in drye ne wete,
But helpe hym vp *with* alle þy myzt,
As seynt Ambrose þe teches ryzt ;
þou that stondys so sure on sete,
240 Ware lest þy hede falle to þy fete.
¶ My chylde, yf þou stonde at þo masse,
At vndur stondis bothe more and lasse,
Yf þo prest rede not at þy wylle,
244 Repreue hym nozt, but holde þe styлле.
¶ To any wyzt þy counselle yf þou schewe,
Be war þat he be not a schrewe,
Lest he disclaundyr þe *with* tong
248 Amonge alle men, bothe olde *and* 3ong.
¶ Bekenyng, fynguryng, non þou vse,
And pryué rownyng loke þou refuse.
Yf þou mete knyzt, 3omon, or knaue,
252 Haylys hym a-non, "syre, god 3ou saue."
Yf he speke fyrst opon þe þore,
Onsware hym gladly *with-oute*n more.
¶ Go not forthe as a dombe freke,
256 Syn god hase laft the tonge to speke ;
Lest meñ sey be sibbe or couthe,¹
"3ond is a mon *with-oute*n mouthe."
¶ Speke neuer vn dishonestly of woman kynde,
260 Ne let hit neuer renne in þy mynde ;

¹ to relation or friend.

- þe boke hym calles a chorle of chere,
 That vylany spekes be wemen sere :
 For alle we ben of wymmen born̄,
 264 And oure fadurs vs be-forne ;
 þerfore hit is a vnhonest thyng
 To speke of hem in any hethyng.¹
- ¶ Also a wyfe be, falle of ryȝt
 268 To worschyp hyr husbonde bothe day *and* nyȝt,
 To his byddyng be obediente,
 And hym to *serue* *with-oute*n offence.
- ¶ Yf two brether be at debate,
 272 Loke noþer þou forþer in hor hate,
 But helpe to staunche hom of malice ;
 þen þou art frende to bothe I-wys.
- ¶ Ȝif þou go *with* a-noþer at þo gate,
 276 And ȝe be bothe of on astate,
 Be curtasye and let hym haue þe way,
 That is no vylanye, as men me say ;
 And he be comen of gret kynraden,
 280 Go no be-fore þawgh þou be beden ;
 And yf þat he þy maystur be,
 Go not be-fore, for curtasé,
 Noþer in fylde, wode, noþer launde,
 284 Ne euen hym *with*, but he *commaunde*.
- ¶ Yf þou schalle on pilgrimage go,
 Be not þe thryd felaw for wele ne wo ;
 Thre oxen in plowgh may neuer wel drawe,
 288 Noþer be craft, ryȝt, ne lawe.
- ¶ Ȝif þou be profert to drynk of cup,
 Drynke not al of, ne no way sup ;
 Drynk menskely and gyf agayne,
 292 þat is a curtasye, to speke in playne.
- ¶ In bedde yf þou falle herberet to be,
 With felawe, maystur, or her degré,

for we and our
 fathers were all
 born of women.

A wife should
 honour and obey
 her husband,

and serve him.

Try to reconcile
 brothers if they
 quarrel.

At a gate,
 let your equal
 precede you ;

go behind your
 superior

and your master

unless he bids
 you go beside
 him.

On a pilgrimage
 don't be third
 man :

3 oxen can't draw
 a plough.
 [Fol. 17.]

Don't drink all
 that's in a cup
 offered you ; take
 a little.

If you sleep
 with any man,
 ask what part of

¹ contempt, scorn. O.N. *heðung*, H. Coleridge.

the bed he likes,
and lie far from
him.

þou schalt enquire be curtasye
296 In what *par*[t] of þe bedde he wylle lye ;
Be honest and lye þou fer hym fro,
þou art not wyse but þou do so.

If you journey
with any man,
find out his name,
who he is, where
he is going.

¶ With woso men, boþe fer and negh,
300 The falle to go, loke þou be slegh
To aske his nome, and qweche he be,
Whidur he wille : kepe welle þes thre.

With friars on a
pilgrimage, do as
they do.

¶ With freres on pilgrimage yf þat þou go,
304 þat þei wille ȝyme,¹ wilne þou also ;
Als on nyȝt þou take þy rest,
And byde þe day as tru mannes gest.

Don't put up at a
red (haired and
faced) man or
woman's house.

¶ In no kyn house þat rede mon is,
308 Ne womon of þo same colour y-wys,
Take neuer þy Innes for no kyn nede,
For þose be folke þat ar to drede.

Answer opponents
meekly,

¶ Yf any thurgh sturnes þe oppose,
312 Onswere hym mekely *and* make hym glose :
But glosand wordys þat falsed is,
Forsake, and alle that is omys.

but don't tell lies.

Before your lord
at table,

¶ Also yf þou haue a lorde,
316 And stondes by-fore hym at þe borde,
While þat þou speke, kepe welle þy honde,
Thy fete also in pece let stonde,

keep your hands,
feet, and

¶ His curtasé nede he most breke,—

fingers still.

320 Stirraunt fyngurs toos when he shalle speke.
Be stabulle of chere and sumwhat lyȝt,
Ne ouer alle wayue þou not thy syȝt ;

Don't stare about,
or at the wall,

¶ Gase not on walles with þy neghe²,

or lean against the
post.

324 Fyr ne negh, logh ne heghe ;
Let not þe post be-cum þy staf,
Lest þou be callet a dotet daf ;
Ne delf þou neuer nose thyrle

Don't pick your
nose,

328 With thombe ne fyngur, as ȝong gyrle ;

¹ AS. *gýman*, attend, regard, observe, keep.

² thine eye

- ¶ Rob not þy arme ne noȝt hit claw,
 Ne bogh not doun þy hede to law ;
 Whil any man spekes *with* grete besenes,
 332 Herken his wordis *with-outen* distresse.
- ¶ By strete or way yf þou schalle go,
 Fro þes two þynges þou kepe þe fro,
 Noþer to harme chylde ne best,
 336 *With* castyng, turnyng west ne est ;
 Ne chaunge þou not in face coloure,
 For lyghtnes of worde in halle ne boure ;
 Yf þy vysage chaunge for noȝt,
 340 Men say þe ‘trespas þou hase wroȝht.’
- ¶ By-fore þy lorde, ne mawes þou make
 ȝif þou wylle curtasie *with* þe take.
With hondes vnwasshen take neuer þy mete ;
 344 Fro alle þes vices loke þou þe kepe.
- ¶ Loke þou sytt—*and* make no stryf—
 Where þo est¹ commaundys, or ellis þo wyf.
 Eschewe þe heȝest place *with* wyn,²
 348 But þou be beden to sitt *per-in*.
 Of curtasie here endis þe secunde fyt,
 To heuen crist mot oure saules flyt !

scratch your arm,
 or stoop your
 head.

Listen when
 you're spoken to.

Never harm child
 or beast with evil
 eye (?)

Don't blush when
 you're chaffed,

or you'll be
 accused of
 mischief.

Don't make faces.

Wash before
 eating.

Sit where the host
 [Fol. 18.]
 tells you ; avoid
 the highest place
 unless you're told
 to take it.

THE THIRD BOOK.

¶ De officiarijs in curijs dominorum.

*Of the Officers in
 Lords' Courts.*

- 352 **N**ow speke we wylle of officers
 Of court, and als of hor mestiers.
 Foure men *per* beñ þat ȝerdis schalle
 bere,
 Porter, marshalle, stuarde, vsshare ;
 The porter schalle haue þe lengest wande,
 356 The marshalle a schorter schalle haue *in* hande ;

Four bear rods ;
 three wands :

1. Porter, the
 longest,

2. Marshal,

¹ Read *ost*

² AS. *win*, contention, labour, war ; *win*, *wyn*, joy, pleasure.

3. Usher, the
shortest,
4. Steward, a staff,
a finger thick, half
a yard long.

The vssher of chambur smallest schalle haue,
The stuarde in honde schalle haue a stafe,
A fyngur gret, two wharters long,
360 To reule þe meñ of court ymong.

Of the Porter.

¶ De Ianitore.¹

He keeps the Gate
and Stocks,
takes charge of
misdoers

¶ The porter falle to kepe þo 3ate,
þe stokkes with hym erly *and* late ;
3if any mañ hase in court mys-gayne,
364 To porter warde he schalle be tane,
þer to a-byde þe lordes wylle,

till judged,
also of clothes,

What he wille deme by ry3twys skylle.
For wesselle clothes, þat no3t be solde,
368 þe po[r]ter hase þat warde in holde.

and warns
strangers.

Of strangers also þat comen to court,
þo porter schalle warne ser at a worde.
Lyueray he hase of mete and drynke,
372 And settis with hym who so hym thynke.

He is found in
meat and drink.

On his lord's
removing,

When so euer þo lorde remewe schalle
To castelle til oper as hit may falle,
For cariage þe porter hors schalle hyre,

he hires horses at
4d. a piece,

376 Foure pens a pece with-in þo schyre ;
Be statut he schalle take þat on þe day,
þat is þe kyngis crye in faye.

the statute price.

*Of the Marshal
of the Hall.*

¶ De Marescallo aule.²

¶ Now of marschalle of halle wylle I spelle,³
380 And what falle to hys offyce now wylle y telle ;

¹ See the duties of Prince Edward's Porters, A.D. 1474, in *Household Ordinances*, p. *30, and of Henry VIII.'s Porters, *ibid.* p. 239.

² Though Edward IV. had Marshals (*Household Ordinances*, p. 84, &c.), one of whom made the Surnape when the King was in the Hall (p. 32), or Estate in the Surnape (p. 38), yet there is no separate heading or allowance for them in the *Liber Niger*. Two yeomen Ushers are mentioned in p. 38, but the two yeomen Ewars, their two Grooms and Page, p. 84, perform (nearly) the duties given above to the Usher and his Grooms.

³ MS. spekle.

- In absence of stuarde he shalle arest
 Who so euer is rebelle in court or fest ;
 3omon-vsshere, and grome also,
 384 Vndur hym ar þes two ;
 þo grome for fuelle þat schalle brenne
 In halle, chambur, to kechyn, as I þe kenne,
 He shalle delyuer hit ilke a dele,
 388 In halle make fyre at yche a mele ;
 Borde, trestuls, and formes also,
 þe cupborde in his warde schalle go,
 þe dosurs cortines to henge in halle,
 392 þes offices nede do he schalle ;
 Bryng in fyre on alhalawgh day,
 To condulmas euen, I dar welle say.
- ¶ *Per quantum tempus armigeri habebunt liberatam et
 ignis ardebit in aula.*
- So longe squiers lyuerés shalle hafe,¹
 396 Of grome of halle, or ellis his knafe ;
 But fyre shalle brenne in halle at mete,
 To *Cena domini* þat men hase ete ;
 þer browȝt schalle be a holyn kene,
 400 þat sett schalle be in erber grene,
 And þat schalle be to alhalawgh day,
 And of be skyfted, as y þe say.
 In halle marshalle alle men schalle sett
 404 After here degré, with-uten lett.²

He shall arrest
 rebels, when the
 steward is away.
 Yeoman-Usher
 and Groom a.e
 under him.

The Groom gets
 fuel for the fire,

and makes one in
 Hall for every
 meal ;
 looks after tables,
 trestles, forms,
 the cup-board,
 and hangings of
 the Hall.

Fires last from
 Allsaints' Day to
 Candlemas Eve,
 (Nov. 1 to Feb. 2.)

*How long Squires
 shall have allow-
 ances, and Fire
 shall burn in the
 Hall,*
 and thus long,
 Squires receive
 their daily candle?
 (see l. 839.)

[Fol. 19.]

The Marshal
 shall seat men in
 the Hall.

¹ Edward IV.'s Esquiers for the Body, IIIL, had 'for wynter lyverey from All Hallowentide (Nov. 1) tyll Estyr, one percher wax, one candell wax, ij candells Paris, one tallwood and dimid-ium, and wages in the countyng-house.' *H. Ord.* p. 36. So the Bannerettes, IIIL, or Bachelor Knights (p. 32), who are kervers and cupberers, take 'for wynter season, from Allhallowentyde till Estyr, one tortays, one percher, ii candelles wax, ii candelles Paris, ii talwood, ii faggotts,' and rushes, litter, all the year; which the Esquiers have too. The Percy household allowance of Wax was cciiij score vij lb. dimid. of Wax for th' expensys of my House for oone hole Yere. Viz. Sysez, *Pryketts*, Quarions, and *Torches* after ix d. the lb. by estimacion; p. 12.

² The Liber Niger of Edw. IV. assigns this duty to one of the Gentylnen Usshers. *H. Ord.* p. 37.

*Of the Butler,
Panter, and Cooks
serving him.*
They are the
Marshal's
servants.
He shall score up
all messes served,
and order bread
and ale for men,

but wine for
gentlemen.

Each mess shall
be reckoned at 6d.

and be scored up
to prevent the
cook's cheating.

If bread runs
short, the Marshal
orders more, 'a
reward.'

*Of the Butler's
duties.*

He shall put a
pot and loaf to
each mess.

He is the panter's
mate.

The Marshal shall
see to men's
lodging.
The Lord's
Chamber and
Wardrobe are
under the Usher
of the Chamber.

*Of the Usher and
Grooms of the
Chamber.*

1. Usher,

¶ De pincernario, panetario, *et* cocis sibi seruientibus.

¶ The botelar, pantrer, and cokes also,
To hym ar *seruauntis* with-uten mo;
þer-fore on his 3erde skore shalle he ²

408 Alle messys in halle *þat* *seruet* be,
Commaunde to sett bothe brede *and* ale
To alle men *þat* *seruet* ben in sale;

¶ To gentilmen with wyne I-bake,
412 Ellis fayles *þo* seruice, y vnder-take;
Iche messe at vj^d breue shalle he
At the countyng house with *oper* mené;

Yf *þo* koke wolde say *þat* were more,
416 *þat* is *þo* cause *þat* he hase hit in skore.
þe panter ¹ also yf he wolde stryfe,
For rewarde *þat* sett schalle be be-lyue.

When brede faylys at borde aboute,
420 The marshalle gares sett with-uten doute
More brede, *þat* calde is a rewarde,
So shalle hit be preuet be-fore stuarde.

¶ De officio pincernarij.²

¶ Botler shalle sett for yche a messe
424 A pot, a lofe, with-uten distresse;
Botler, pantrer, felawes ar ay,
Reken hom to-gedur fulle wel y may.

The marshalle shalle herber alle men in fere,
428 That ben of court of any mestere;
Saue *þe* lordys chambur, *þo* wadrop to,
þo vssher of chambur schalle tent *þo* two.

¶ De hostiario *et* suis seruientibus.³

¶ Speke I wylle A lytulle qwyle
432 Of vssher of chambur, with-uten gyle.

¹ See the Office of Panetry, *H. Ord.* p. 70.

² See the Office of Butler of Englund, *H. Ord.* p. 73.

³ See Gentylnen Usshers of Chaumbre, IIIL, *H. Ord.* p. 37.

'This name ussher is a worde of Frenshe,' p. 38.

þer is gentylmen, 30mon-vssher also,
Two gromes at þo lest, A page þer-to.

¶ De Officio gacionum.¹

¶ Gromes palettis shyn fyle *and* make litere,²
436 ix fote on lengthe *with-out* diswere ;
vij fote y-wys hit shalle be brode,
Wele watered, I-wrythen, be craft y-trode,
Wyspes drawen out at fete *and* syde,
~440 Wele wrethyn and turnyd a-3ayne þat tyde ;
On legh vnsonken hit shalle be made,
To þo gurdylstode hegh on lengthe *and* brade.
For lordys two beddys schalle be made,
444 Bothe vtter and inner, so god me glade,
þat henget shalle be *with* hole sylour,³
With crochettis⁴ and loupys sett on lyour ;⁵
¶ þo valance on fylour⁶ shalle henge *with* wyn,
448 iij curteyns streȝt drawen *with-inne*,
þat reche schalle euen to grounde a-boute,
Noþer more, noþer lesse, *with-outen* doute ;
He strykes hom vp *with* forket wande,
452 And lappes vp fast a-boute þe lyft hande ;

2. Yeoman-usher,
3. Two grooms
and a Page.

*The Duties of the
Grooms of the
Chamber.*

They shall make
palets of litter 9
ft. long, 7 broad,

watered, twisted,
trodden, with
wisps at foot
and side,
twisted and
turned back ; from
the floor-level to
the waist.

For lords, 2 beds,
outer and inner,

hung with
hangings,
hooks and eyes
set on the binding;
the valance hang-
ing on a rod (P) ;
four curtains
reaching to the
ground ;

these he takes up
with a forked rod.

¹ Compare *H. Ord.* p. 39. 'Yeomen of Chambre, IIII, to make beddes, to bere or hold torches, to sette bourdes, to apparayle all chaumbres, and suche other servyce as the chaumberlayn, or usshers of chambre command or assigne.' *Liber Niger* Edw. IV. See also *H. Ord.* p. 40, Office of Wardrobe of Beddes, p. 41, Gromes of Chambyr, X ; and the elaborate directions for making Henry VII.'s bed, *H. Ord.* p. 121-2.

² *Hoc stramentum*, lyttre, p. 260, col. 2 (the straw with which the bed was formerly made), Wright's Vocabularies.

³ Sylure, of valle, or a nother thyng (sylure of a walle), *Celatura*, *Celamen*, Catholicon, in P. Parv. Fr. *Ciel*, Heauen, pl. *Ciels*, a canopie for, and, the Testerne and Valances of a Bed. Cotgrave. A tester over the beadde, *canopus*. Withals.

⁴ *Crochet*, a small hooke.

⁵ Lyowre, to bynde wythe precyows clothys. *Ligatorium*. P. Parv.

⁶ Fylowre, of barbours crafte, *Acuteacula*, *flarium*. P. Parv. See note 3, p. 160.

- [Fol. 20.]
- The counterpane
is laid at the foot,
cushions on the
sides,
tapestry on the
floor
and sides of the
room.
- The Groom gets
fuel, and screens.
- The Groom keeps
the table, trestles,
and forms for
dinner;
- and water in a
heater.
He puts 3 wax-
lights
over the chimney,
all in different
syces.
- The Usher of the
Chamber walks,
about and sees
that all is served
right,
- orders the table
to be set and
removed,
- þo knop vp turnes, and closes on ryzt,
¶ As bolde by nek þat henges fulle lyzt.
þo counturpynt he lays on beddys fete,
456 Qwysshenes on sydes shyn lye fulle mete.
Tapetis¹ of spayne on flore by syde,
þat sprad shyn be for pompe and pryde ;
þo chambur sydes ryzt to þo dore,
460 He henges with tapetis þat ben fulle store ;
And fuel to chymné hym falle to gete,
And screnes in clof to y-saue þo hete.
Fro þo lorde at mete when he is sett,
464 Borde, trestuls, and fourmes, with-uten let ;
¶ Alle thes þynges kepe schalle he,
And water in chafer for laydyes fre ;
iiij perchers of wax þen shalle he fet,
468 A-boue þo chymné þat be sett,
In syce² ichoñ from oþer shalle be
þe lengthe of oþer þat men may se,
To brenne, to voide, þat dronkyn is,
472 Oþer ellis I wote he dose Amys.
þo vssher alle-way shalle sitt at dore
At mete, and walke schalle on þe flore,
To se þat alle be seruet on ryzt,
476 þat is his office be day and nyzt ;
And byd set borde when tyme schalle be,
And take hom vp when tyme ses he.

¹ Tapet, a clothe, *tappis*. Palsgrave, 1530. *Tapis*, Tapistrie, hangings, &c., of Arras. Cotgrave, 1611. *Tapis*, carpet, a green square-plot. Miege, 1684. The hangynges of a house or chambre, in plurali, *aulæa* . . . *Circundo cubiculum aulæis*, to hange the chambre. The carpettes, *tapetes*. Withals.

² And he (a Grome of Chambyr) setteth nyghtly, after the seasons of the yere, torchys, tortays, candylles of wax, mortars; and he setteth up the *sises* in the King's chambre, *H. Ord.* p. 41, 'these torches, five, seven, or nine; and as many *sises* sett upp as there bee torches,' *ib.* p. 114; and dayly iiii other of these gromes, called wayters, to make fyres, to sett up tressyls and bourdes, with yomen of chambre, and to help dresse the beddes of sylke and arras. *H. Ord.* p. 41.

- ¶ The wardrop¹ he herbers and eke of chambur
 480 Ladyes *with* bedys of coralle and lambur,
 þo vsshre schalle bydde þo wardropere
 Make redy for alle nyzt be-fore þe fere ;
 þen bryngis he forthe nyzt gown also,
 484 And spredys a tapet and qwysshens two,
 He layes hom þen opou a fourme,
 And fotes hete *per-on and* hit returne.
 ¶ þo lorde schalle skyft hys gown at nyzt,
 488 Syttand on fotes hete tyl he be dyzt.
 þen vsshre gose to þo botré,
 “Haue in for alle nyzt, syr,” says he ;
 Fyrst to þe chaundeler he schalle go,
 492 To take a tortes lyzt hym fro ;
 ¶ Bothe wyne and ale he tase indede,
 þo botler says, *with-ou*ten drede,
 No mete for mon schalle sayed² be,
 496 Bot for kynge or prynce or duke so fre ;
 For heierys of paraunce also y-wys,
 Mete shalle be sayed, now thenkys on this.
 þen to pantré he hyzes be-lyue,
 500 ¶ “Syr, haue in *with-ou*ten stryffe ;”
 Manchet and chet³ bred he shalle take,
 þo pantere assayes þat hit be bake ;
 A morter of wax zet wille he bryng,
 504 Fro chambur, syr, *with-ou*t lesyng ;
 þat alle nyzt brennes in bassyn clere,
 To saue þo chambur on nyzt for fyre.
 ¶ þen 3omon of chambur shynne voyde *with* ryme,
 508 The torches han holden wele þat tyme ;
 Tho chambur dore stekes þo vsshre thenne,
 With preket and tortes þat conne brenne ;

takes charge of
the Wardrobe and
Bedchamber,
bids the *Ward-*
roper get all
ready before the
fire,

nightgown,

carpet, 2 cushions,

a form with a

footsheet over it ;
on which the lord
changes his gown.

The Usher orders
what's wanted
from the Buttery :

a link from the
Chandler,

and ale and wine.

(No meat shall be
assayed except
for King, Prince,
Duke or Heirs-
apparent.)

From the Pantry
the Usher takes
fine and coarse
bread,

and a wax-light

that burns all
night in a basin.

(The Yeoman-
Usher removes
the torches.)

The Usher puts
lights on the Bed-
room door,

¹ Wardroppe, or closet—*garderobe*. Palsgrave.

² See the duties of Edward IV.'s Sewar, *H. Ord.* p. 36.

³ Manchet was the fine bread ; chet, the course. Fr. *pain rouffet*, Cheat, or boulded bread ; household bread made of Wheat and Rie mingled. Cotgrave.

brings bread and
wine,

[Fol. 21.]
(the lord washing
first,)

offers the drink
kneeling; puts
his lord to bed,

and then goes
home himself.
The Yeoman-
Usher sleeps at
the Lord's door.

- Fro cupborde he brynges bothe brede *and* wyne,
512 And fyrst assayes hit wele a[nd] fyne.
But fyrst þe lorde shalle vasshe I-wys,
Fro þo fyr hous when he comen is ;
þen kneles þe vssher *and* gyfes hym drynke,
516 Brynges hym in bed where he shalle wynke ;
In strong styd on palet he lay,
At home tase lefe *and* gose his way ;
3omon vssher be-fore þe dore,
520 In vttur chambur lies on þe flore.

Of the Steward.

¶ De seneschallo.¹

Few are true,
but many false.
He, the clerk,
cook and surveyor
consult over their
Lord's dinner.

Any dainty that
can be had, the
Steward buys.

Before dishes are
put on, the
Steward enters
first, then the
Server.

The Steward shall
post into books all
accounts written
on tablets,

and add them up.

- ¶ Now speke I wylle of þo stuarde als,
Few ar trew, but fele ar² fals.
þo clerke of kechyn, countrollour,
524 Stuarde, coke, and surueyour,
Assenten in counselle, *with-oute*n skorne,
How þo lorde schalle fare at mete þo morne.
Yf any deyntethe in countré be,
528 þo stuarde schewes hit to þo lorde so fre,
And gares by hyt for any cost,
Hit were grete syn and hit were lost.
Byfore þe cours þo stuarde comes þen,
532 þe seruer hit next of alle kyn men
Mays way and stondes by syde,
Tyl alle be serued at þat tyde.
At countyng stuarde schalle ben,
536 Tylle alle be breuet of wax so grene,
Wrytten in-to bokes, *with-ou*t let,
þat be-fore in tabuls hase ben sett,
Tyl countes also þer-on ben cast,
540 And somet vp holy at þo last.

¹ See the 'Styward of Housholde,' *H. Ord.* p. 55-6: 'He is head officer.'

² MS. *and*

¶ De contrarotulatore.¹*Of the Controller.*

¶ The Countrollour shalle wryte to hym,
 Taunt resceu, no more I myn ;
 And taunt dispendu þat same day,
 544 Vncountabulle he is, as y 3ou say.

He puts down the

residue and consumption of every day.

¶ De superuisore.²*Of the Surveyor.*

¶ Surueour and stuarde also,
 Thes thre folke and no mo,
 For no3t resayuen bot euer sene
 548 þat noþyng fayle *and* alle be whene ;
 þat þo clerke of kechyn schulde not mys,
 þer-fore þo countrollour, as hafe I blys,
 Wrytes vp þo somme as euery day,
 552 And helpes to count, as I 3ou say.

He, the steward, and controller, receive nothing, but see that all goes straight.

The Controller checks daily the Clerk of the kitchen's account.

¶ De Clerico coquine.³*Of the Clerk of the Kitchen.*

¶ The clerke of þe cochyn shalle alle þyng breue,
 Of men of court, bothe lothe and leue,
 Of achatis *and* dispenses þen wrytes he,
 556 And wages for gromes and 3emen fre ;
 At dressour also he shalle stonde,
 And fett forthe mete dresset *with* honde ;
 þe spicery and store *with* hym shalle dwelle,
 560 And mony thynges als, as I no3t telle,
 For clethyng of officers alle *in* fere,
 Saue þe lorde hym self and ladys dere,

He shall keep account of all

purchases, and payments, and wages,

shall preside at the Dresser,

and keep the spices, stores, &c.,

and the clothes of the officers.

¶ De cancellario.⁴*Of the Chancellor.*

¶ The chaunceler answeres for hor clothyng,
 564 For 3omen, faukeners, *and* hor horsyng,

He looks after the servants' clothes, and horses,

¹ See the "Countrollour of this houshold royall," *H. Ord.* p. 58-9.² See the duties and allowances of A Surveyour for the Kyng, in *Household Ordinances*, p. 37.³ See the 'chyef clerke of kychyn,' t. Edw. IV., *H. Ord.* p. 70; and Henry VIII.'s Clerke of the Kitchen, A.D. 1539, *ib.* p. 235.⁴ The duties of the Chauncellor of Englonde are not stated in Edw. IV.'s Liber Niger, *H. Ord.* p. 29; but one of the two Clerkys of Grene-Clothe was accustomed to 'delyver the clothinge of housholde,' p. 61.

[Fol. 22.]
seals patents,
and grants of
land, &c., for life,
or during the
lord's pleasure.

He oversees the
land too, and is a
great man.

Of the Treasurer.

He takes from the
Receiver what is
collected from
bailiff and grieve,
courts and
forfeits.

He gives the
Kitchen clerk
money to buy
provisions with,
and the clerk
gives some to the
baker and butler.

The Treasurer
pays all wages.

He, the Receiver,
Chancellor,
Grieves, &c.,

account once a
year to the
Auditor,

from whom they
can appeal to a
Baron of the Ex-
chequer.

- For his wardrop and wages also ;
And asseles patentis mony *and* mo ;
Yf þo lorde gyf oȝt to *terme* of lyf,
568 The chaunceler hit seles *with-uten* stryf ;
Tan come nos plerra men seyne, þer is *quando*
nobis placet,
þat is, whille vs lykes hym noȝt omys ;
Ouer-se hys londes þat alle be ryȝt :
572 On of þo grete he is of myȝt.

¶ De thesaurizario.¹

- ¶ Now speke y wylle of tresurere,
Husbonde and houswyf he is in fere ;
Of þe resayuer he shalle resayue,
576 Alle þat is gedurt of baylé and grayue,²
Of þe lordes courtes and forfetis als,
Wheþer þay ben ryȝt or þay ben fals.
To þo clerke of cochen he payes moné
580 For vetayle to bye opon þo countré :
The clerke to kater and pulter is,
To baker and butler bothe y-wys
Gyffys seluer to bye in alle thyng
584 þat longes to here office, *with-uten* lesyng.
þe tresurer schalle gyfe alkyn wage,
To squyer, ȝomon, grome, or page.
þo resayuer and þo tresurer,
588 þo clerke of cochyn and chaunceler,
Grayuis, and baylys, and parker,
Schone come to aountes euery ȝere
By-fore þo auditour of þo lorde onone,
592 þat schulde be trew as any stone ;
Yf he dose hom no ryȝt lele,
To A baron of chekker þay mun hit pele.

¹ See the 'Thesaurere of Housholde' in Edw. IV.'s Liber Niger, *H. Ord.* p. 56-8: 'the grete charge of polycy and husbandry of all this houshold growyth and stondyth moste part by hys sad and dylygent pourveyaunce and conduytes.'

² AS. *gerefa*, reeve, steward, bailiff.

¶ De receptore firmarum.

Of the Receiver of Rents.

- ¶ Of þe resayuer speke wylle I,
 596 þat fermys¹ resayuys wytturly
 Of grayuys, and hom aquetons makes,
 Sex pons þer-fore to feys he takes,
 And pays feys to parkers als I-wys,
 600 þer-of at acountes he loued² is,
 And ouer-seys castels, maners a-boute,
 þat noȝt falle with-in ne with-oute.
 Now let we þes officers be,
 604 And telle we wylle of smaller mené.

He gives receipts,
 and gets a fee of
 6d.
 He pays fees to
 park-keepers, and
 looks after castles
 and manor-
 houses.

¶ De Auenario.³*Of the Auenar.*

- ¶ þe Aueyner schalle ordeyn prouande⁴ good won,
 For þo lordys horsis euerychon ;
 þay schyn haue two cast⁵ of hay,
 608 A pek of prouande on a day ;
 Euery horse schalle so muche haue,
 At racke and manger þat standes with staue.
 A maystur of horsys a squyer⁶ þer is,
 612 Aueyner and ferour vndur hym I-wys ;
 þose ȝomen þat olde sadels schyn haue,
 þat schyn be last for knyȝt and knaue,
 For yche a hors þat ferroure⁷ schalle scho,
 616 An halpeny on day he takes hym to ;

He shall give the
 horses in the
 stable

two armsful of
 hay and a peck of
 oats, daily.

A Squire is
 Master of the
 Horse ; under
 him are Auenar
 and Farrier,

(the Farrier has
 a halfpenny a day
 for every horse he
 shoes,)

¹ Rents, in kind or money ; AS. *feorme*, food, goods.

² Or loned.

³ The Auenar of Edw. IV. is mentioned in *H. Ord.* p. 69. See the Charge of Henry VIII.'s Stable, A.D. 1526, *ib.* p. 206-7.

⁴ Prouender or menglid corne—fovrraige . . *provende*. Palsgrave.

⁵ See 'two cast of brede,' l. 631. 'One caste of brede' for the Steward's yeoman, *H. Ord.* p. 56, &c.

⁶ Mayster of the horses—*escvier de escvirie*. Palsg.

⁷ See Rogers's *Agriculture and Prices in England*, v. 1, p. 280-1. The latest prices he gives for shoeing are in 1400 ; "Alton Barnes, Shoeing 5 horses, a year, 6s. 8d. Takley, Shoeing 2 cart horses [a year] 1s. 8d." A.D. 1466, 'fore shoyinge ij.d.' *Manners and Household Expenses* (ed. Dawson Turner), 1841, p. 380. (Sir Jn. Howard, Knt., 1462-9.) The Percy allowance in 1512 was "ij s.

and grooms and
pages hired

at 2d. a day,
or 3 farthings,
[Fol. 23.]

and footmen who
run by ladies'
bridles.

Vndur ben gromes and pages mony one,
þat ben at wage euerychone ;

Som at two pons on a day,

620 And som at iij ob., I 3ou say ;

Mony of hem fote-men þer ben,

þat rennen by þe brydels of ladys shene.

Of the Baker.

¶ De pistore.¹

¶ Of þo baker now speke y wylle,

624 And wat longes his office vntylle ;

Out of a London
bushel he shall
bake 20 loaves,
fine and coarse.

Of a lunden buschelle he shalle bake

xx louys, I vndur-take ;

Manchet and chet to make brom² bred hard,

628 For chaundeler and grehoundes and huntres
reward.

*Of the Huntsman
and his Hounds.*

¶ De venatore et suis canibus.

He gets a half-
penny a day for
every hound.

¶ A halpeny þo hunte takes on þe day
For euery hounde, þo sothe to say :

The Feuterer 2
lots of bread if he
has 2 leash of
Greyhounds, and
a bone for each,

þo vewter, two cast of brede he tase,

632 Two lesshe of grehoundes yf þat he hase ;

To yche a bone, þat is to telle,

If I to 3ou þe sothe shalle spelle ;

By-syde hys vantage þat may be-falle,

besidesperquisites
of skins, &c.

636 Of skynnes and oþer thynges with-alle,

þat hunteres con telle better þan I,

þer-fore I leue hit wytt[ur]ly.

viiiij d. every Hors Shoyng for the hole Yere by estimacion, Viz. a Hors to be shodd oons in iij moneths withowt they jornay." p. 24. A horse's daily allowance was 'a Peck of Oats, or 4d. in Breade after iiiij Loiffes, 4d. for Provaunder, from 29th Septr. 8 Hen. VIII. to 3rd May following,' p. 266.

¹ See Edw. IV.'s Office of Bakehouse, *H. Ord.* p. 68-70. 'The sergeaunt of thys office to make continually of every busshell, halfē chiete halfe rounde, besydes the flowre for the Kinges mouthe, xxvii loves, every one weying, after one daye olde, xxiii ounces of troye weyghtes.' p. 69.

² *Read* broun, brown.

¶ De aquario.¹*Of the Ewerer or
Water-bringer.*

¶ And speke I wyll of oper mystere
 640 þat falles to court, as 3e mun here ;
 An euwere in halle þere nedys to be,
 And chandelew schalle haue and alle napere ;
 He schalle gef water to gentilmen,
 644 And als in alle 3omen.

He has all the
candles and cloths,and gives water to
every one.

¶ Qui debent manus lauare et in quorum domibus.

*Who may wash
his hands, and
where.*

¶ In kynges court and dukes also,
 þer 3omen schynne wasshe and no mo ;—
 In duke Ionys house a 3oman þer was,
 648 For his rewarde prayde suche a grace ;
 þe duke gete graunt þer-of in londe,
 Of þe kyng his fader, I vndudurstonde.—(so)
 Wosoeuer gefes water in lordys chaunber,
 652 In presens of lorde or leuedé dere,
 He schalle knele downe opoñ his kne,
 Ellys he for3etes his curtasé ;
 þis euwer schalle hele his lordes borde,
 656 With dowbulle napere at on bare worde :
 The seluage to þo lordes syde with-inne,
 And douñ schalle heng þat oper may wynne ;
 þo ouer nape schalle dowbulle be layde,
 660 To þo vttur syde þe seluage brade ;
 þo ouer seluage he schalle repleye,²
 As towelle hit were fayrest in hye ;
 Browers³ he schalle cast þer-opon,
 664 þat þe lorde schulle clense his fyngers [on],
 þe leuedy and whoseuer syttes with-inne,
 Alle browers schynne haue bothe more and myñ.

The bringer of
Water

shall kneel down.

The Ewerer shall
cover the lord's
table with a
double cloth, the
lower with the
selvage to the
lord's side ; the
upper cloth shall
be laid double,the upper selvage
turned back as if
for a towel.He shall put on
cleaners for
every one.

¹ In Edward the Fourth's Court, 'Knyghts of Household, XII, bachelers sufficient, and most valient men of that ordre of every countrey' had 'to serve the King of his bason.' *H. Ord.* p. 33.

² *Replier*, To redouble, to bow, fould, or plait into many doublings. Cotgrave.

³ Napkins? O. Fr. *brueroi* is *bruyère*, heath.

Of the Panter.

¶ De panetario.

He carries 3
loaves cut square
for trenchers,

and the covered
Saltcellar,
[Fol. 24.]

2 Carving-knives,
and sets the 3rd,
and a spoon to his
lord.

*Of the Lord's
Knives, (Bread,
and Washing.)*
The hafts of 2 are
laid outwards,
that of the 3rd
inwards, and the
steel spoon by it.
More trencher
loaves are set, and
wine served to the
Duchess.

2 Trencher-loaves,
and salt, to the
lord's son; and 1
loaf and saltcellar
set at the end of
the table.

Then 3 loaves of
white bread are
brought, and 1
coarse loaf is put
in the Alms-dish.

To assay bread,
the Panter kneels,
the Carver cuts
him a slice,

and he eats it.

The Ewerer
strains water into
his basins,
on the upper one
of which is a towel

- ¶ þenne comes þe pantere with loues thre,
668 þat square are coruyn of trenchour fre,
To sett with-inne *and* oon with-oute,
And saller y-coueryd and sett in route ;
With þo ouemast lofe hit shalle be sett,
672 With-oute forthe square, with-uten lett ;
Two keruyng knyfes with-oute one,
þe thrydde to þo lorde, and als a spone.

¶ De Cultellis domini.

- ¶ Of þo two þo haftes schynne outwarde be,
676 Of þe thrydd þe hafte inwarde lays he,
þe spony stele þer by schalle be layde ;
Moo loues of trenchirres at a brayde
He settes, *and* seruys euyr in fere
680 To duches his wyne þat is so dere.
Two loues of trenchors *and* salt þo,
He settes be-fore his son also ;
A lofe of trenchours and salt on last,
684 At bordes ende he settes in hast.
þen brede he brynges, in towelle wrythyñ,
Thre lofys of þo wyte schalle be geuyñ ;
A chet lofe to þo elmys dyshe,
688 Weþer he seruyd be with flesshe or fysche ;
At aþer ende he castes a cope,
Layde down on borde, þe endys plyed vp.
That he assayes knelande on kne,
692 þo keruer hym parys a schyuer so fre ;
And touches þo louys yn quere a-boute,
þo pantere hit etys with-oute dowte ;
þo euwere thurgh towelle syles ¹ clene,
696 His water into þo bassynges shene ;
þo ouer bassyn þer-on schalle close,
A towelle þer-on, as I suppose,

¹ ? Du. *zijgen* (*door een zifte ofte Stramijn*), to runne (through a Sift or a Strainer.). *een Suyle* a Pale or a Water-pale. Hexham.

- þat folden schalle be with fulle grete lore,
 700 Two quarters on lenkethe and sumdele more ;
 A qwyte cuppe of tre þer-by shalle be,
 þer-with þo water assay schalle he ;
 Quelmes ¹ hit agayn by-fore alle men ;
 704 þo keruer þe bassynges tase vp þenne ;
 Annaunciande squier, or ellis a knyzt,
 þo towelle down tase by fulle good ryzt ;
 þo cuppe he tase in honde also,
 708 þo keruer powres wat[er] þe cuppe into ;
 The knyzt to þo keruer haldes anon,
 He says hit ar he more schalle doñ ;
 þo cuppe þen voyde is in þo flette,²
 712 þe euwer hit takes with-uten lette.
 The towelle two knyghtis schyn halde in fere,
 Be-fore þe lordes sleues, þat ben so dera ;
 The ouer bassyn þay halde neuer þe queder,
 716 Quylle þo keruer powre water in-to þe nedur.
 For a pype þer is insyde so clene,
 þat water deuoydes, of seluer schene ;
 þen settes he þe nethyr, I vnd[ur]stonde,
 720 In þe ouer, and voydes with bothe is honde ;
 And brynges to þe euwer þer he come ffo ;
 To þo lordys bordes azayn con go ;
 And layes iiij trenchours þo lorde be-fore,
 724 þe fyft aboue by good lore ;
 By hym self thre schalle he dresse,
 To cut opon þe lordes messe ;
 Smale towelle a-boute his necke shalle bene,
 728 To clens his knyfis þat ben so kene,

¶ De Elemosinario.³

- ¶ The aumenere by þis hathe sayde grace,
 And þo almes dysshe hase sett in place ;

folded dodgily.

Then the water
is assayed in a
cup of white wood.

The Carver takes
up the basins ; a
knight takes down
the towel, and
wipes the cup, into
which the Carver
pours water ; the

knight hands it to
him ; he assays it,
and empties the
cup

Two knights hold
the towel before
the lord's sleeves,
and hold the
upper basin while
the Carver pours
water into the
lower ;

then he puts the
lower into the
upper, and empties
both,
takes them to the
Ewerer, returns to
the lord's table,
lays 4 trenchers
for him, with 1
above.

The Carver takes
3 to cut the
lord's messes on,
[Fol. 25.]
and has a cloth
round his neck to
wipe his knives
on.

Of the Almoner.

He says grace,
sets down the
Alms-dish, and

¹ covers. 'Ovyr quelmyd or ouer hyllyde. *Obvolutus*.' P. Parv.

² A.S. *flett*, room, hall.

³ See The Almonry of Henry VIII. A.D. 1526, *H. Ord.* p. 154, and p. 144 ; A.D. 1539, *H. Ord.* p. 239.

the Carver puts
the first loaf in it.

The other loaves
he pares round,

cuts one in two,
and gives the
upper half in
halves to him.
The Almoner has
a staff in his
hand.

He keeps the
broken food and
wine left, for poor
men at the gate,

and is sworn to
give it all to them.

He distributes
silver as he rides.

*Of the Sewer (or
setter-on of
Dishes).*

The Cook assays
the meat before
it's dished.
The Sewer puts
the cover on it,

and the cover
must never be
raised

for fear of
treason.
(A Dodge: If the
silver dish burns
you,

put bits of bread
under it.)

The Sewer assays
all the food:

- 732 *þer-in þe keruer a lofe schalle sette,
To serue god fyrst with-uten lette ;
þese oper lofes he parys a-boute,
Lays hit myd dysshe with-uten doute.
þe smalle lofe he cuttis euen in twynne,
736 þo ouer dole in two lays to hym.
The aumenere a rod schalle haue in honde,
As office for almes, y vndurstonde.
Alle þe broken met he kepys y wate,
740 To dele to pore men at þe 3ate,
And drynke þat leues serued in halle ;
Of ryche and pore bothe grete and smalle.
He is sworne to ouer-se þe seruiss wele,
744 And dele hit to þe pore euery dele ;
Seluer he deles rydand by way ;
And his almys dysshe, as I 3ou say,
To þe porest man þat he can fynde,
748 Oper ellys I wot he is vnkynde.*

¶ De ferculario.

- ¶ This wyle þo squyer to kechyn shalle go,
And brynges a bof for assay þo ;
þo Coke assayes þe mete vngry3t,
752 þo sewer he takes and kouers on ry3t ;
Wo so euer he takes þat mete to bere,
Schalle not so hardy þo couertoure rere,
For colde ne hote, I warne 3ou alle,
756 For suspecyōn of tresoun as may befalle.
Yf þo syluer dysshe wylle algate brenne,
A sotelté I wylle þe kenne,
Take þe bredde coruyn and lay by-twene,
760 And kepe þe welle hit be not sene ;
¶ I teche hit for no curtayse,
But for þyn ese.
When þe sewer comys vnto þe borde,
764 Alle þe mete he sayes at on bare worde,

- þe potage fyrst *with* brede y-coruyn,
 Couerys hom agayn lest þey ben storuyn ;
 With fysshe or flessch yf [they] be serued,
 768 A morselle þer-of shalle he be keruyd ;
 And touche þe messe ouer alle aboute,
 þo sewer hit *etis with-uten* doute.
 With baken mete yf he seruyd be þo,
 772 þo lydes vp-rered or he fyr go,
 þe past or pye he sayes *with-inne*,
 Dippes bredde in graué no more ne mynne ;
 3if þe baken mete be colde, as may byfalle,
 776 A gobet of þo self he sayes *with-alle*.
 But þou þat berys mete in hande,
 Yf þo sewer stonde, loke þou stande ;
 Yf he knele, knele þou so longe for ozt,
 780 ¶ Tylle mete be sayde þat þou hase broght.
 As oft at hegh borde yf brede be nede,
 The butler two louys takys indede ;
 þat on settes down, þat oþer agayn
 784 He barys to cupborde in towelle playn.
 As oft as þe keruer fettys drynke,
 þe butler assayes hit how good hym thynke ;
 In þe lordys cupp þat leuys vndrynken,
 788 Into þe almesdisshe hit schalle be sonken.
 The keruer anon *with-uten* thouzt,
 Vnkouers þe cup þat he hase brouzt ;
 Into þe couertoure wyn he powres owt,
 792 Or in-to a spare pece, *with-uten* doute ;
 Assayes, an gefes þo lorde to drynke,
 Or settes hit doun as hym goode thynke.
 þo keruer ¹ schalle kerue þo lordes mete,
- potage with a
 piece of bread ;
 fish or flesh, he
 eats a piece ;
 baked meats hot,
 he lifts up the
 crust,
 and dips bread in
 the gravy ;
 baked meats cold,
 he eats a bit.
 The meat-bearer
 stands or kneels
 as the Sewer does
 [Fol. 26.]
 When bread is
 wanted, the
 Butler puts one
 loaf on the table,
 the other on the
 cupboard.
 The Butler assays
 all the wine.
 What is left in
 the lord's cup
 goes to the Alms-
 dish.
 The Carver fills
 the empty cup,
 assays it, and
 gives it the lord
 or puts it down.
 He carves the
 lord's meat,

¹ Edward IV. had 'Bannerettes, IIII, or Bachelor Knights, to be kervers and cupberers in his Courte.' 'The kerver at the boarde, after the King is passed it, may chese for hymself one dyshe or two, that plentie is among. . . Theis kervers and cupberers . . them nedeth to be well spede in teking of degree in *the schole of urbanytie*.' *H. Ord.* p. 32-3.

- and lays it on his trencher,
- putting a piece of every thing in the Alms-dish,
- except any favourite piece or potage sent to a stranger.
- (To say more about the Carver would require another section, so I pass it over.)
- After dinner the Sewer brings the Surnape, a broad towel and a narrow, and slides it down,
- The Usher takes one end of the broad, the Almoner the other, and when it is laid, he folds the narrow towel double before his lord and lady.
- After grace removes them,
- lays the table on the floor, and takes away the trestles.
- Of the Chandler.
- 796 Of what kyn pece þat he wylle ete ;
And on hys trenchour he hit layes,
On þys maner *with-out* displayes ;
In almesdysshe he layes yche dele,
800 þat he is *with serued* at þo mele ;
But he sende hit to ony strongere,
A pese þat is hym leue and dere,
And send hys potage also,
804 þat schalle not to þe almes go.
Of keruer more, yf I shulde telle,
Anoper fytt þenne most I spelle,
Ther-fore I let hit here ouer passe,
808 To make oure talkyng summedelasse.
When þe lorde hase eten, þo sewer schalle bryng
þo surnape on his schulder bryng,
A narēw towelle, a brode be-syde,
812 And of hys hondes he lettes hit slyde ;
þe vssher ledes þat on hed ryȝt,
þo aumener þo oper away shalle dyȝt.
When þe vssher comys to þe borde ende,
816 þo narow towelle he strecches vnkende ;
Be-fore þo lorde and þe lady so dere,
Dowbelle he playes þo towelle þere ;
Whenne þay haue wasshen and grace is sayde,
820 Away he takes at a brayde ;
Awoydes þo borde in-to þo flore,
Tase away þo trestis þat ben so store.

¶ De candelario.¹

¶ Now speke I wylle a lytulle whyle
824 Of þo chandeler, *with-uten* gyle,

¹ See the 'Office of Chaundlerye,' *H. Ord.* p. 82-3. Paris candles, torches, morters, tortayes, sizes, and smalle lightes, are mentioned there.

- þat torches¹ and tortes² and preketes³ con make, He can make all
 Perchours,⁴ smale condell, I vnder-take; kinds of candles,
 Of wax þese candels alle þat brennen, little and big,
 828 And mortar of wax þat I wele kenne; and mortars of
 þo snof of hom dose a-way wax.
 With close sesours, as I ȝow say; He snuffs them
 þe sesours ben schort and rownde y-close, with short
 832 With plate of irne vp-on bosc. scissors.
 In chambur no lyȝt þer shalle be brent, In bed-chambers
 Bot of wax þer-to, yf ȝe take tent; wax lights only
 In halle at soper schalle candel (so) brenne shall be burnt;
 836 Of parys, þer-in þat alle men kenne; [Fol. 27.]
 Iche messe a candelle fro alhalawghe day in hall, Candles of
 To candelmesse, as I ȝou say; Paris,
 Of candel liueray squyers schalle haue, each mess having
 840 So long, if hit is mon wille kraue. one from Nov. 1
 Of brede and ale also þo boteler to Feb. 2 (see l.
 Schalle make lyueré thurgh-out þe ȝere 395), and squires
 To squyers, and also wyn to knyȝt, one too.
 844 Or ellys he dose not his office ryȝt. The Butler shall
 Here endys the thryd speche. give Squires their
 Of alle oure synnes cryst be oure leche, daily bread and
 And bryng vs to his vonyng place! ale all the year,
 848 Amen, sayes ȝe, for hys grete grace! and Knights their
 ¶ Amen, par charite. wine.
 May Christ bring
 us to His dwell-
 ing-place. Amen!

¹ Torche. *Cereus*. P. Parv.

² ? same as *tortayes*, p. 314, note²; p. 326, n.

³ Pryket, of a candylstykke, or other lyke. *Stiga*, P. Parv. Candlesticks (says Mr Way) in ancient times were not fashioned with nozzles, but with long spikes or *prykets*. . . (See wood cut at the end of this book.) In the *Memoriale* of Henry, prior of Canterbury, A.D. 1285, the term *prikett* denotes, not the candlestick, but the candle, formed with a corresponding cavity at one end, whereby it was securely fixed upon the spike. p. 413, n. 1. Henry VIII.'s allowance 'unto our right dere and welbilovede the Lady Lucy,' July 16, 1533, included 'at our Chaundrye barr, in Wynter, every night oon *preket* and foure syses of Waxe, with eight Candells white lights, and oon Torche.' *Orig. Letters*, ed. Ellis, Series I., vol. ii. p. 31.

⁴ See note¹, p. 311.

Bp. Grossetest's Household Statutes.

[Sloane MS. 1986, p. 193, ab. 1450-60. The last page mentions the 19th year of Henry VI.]

INcipiunt statuta familie bone Memorie dompni
Roberti Grossetest, lincolnie episcopi.

All servants
should serve truly
God and their
Master;

primus
uersiculus
doing fully all
that their Master
orders,

without answer-
ing.

2us

The upper serv-
ants must be
honest and
diligent,

3us

and engage no
untrusty or
unfit man.

iv.

Dishonest,

L Et alle men be warned þat seruen 3ou, and warnyng be 3eue to alle men that be of howseholde, to serue god and 3ou trewly & diligently and to performyng, or the wylling of god to be performed and fulfyll- ydde. Fyrst let *seruauntis* doo perfyte in alle thyngis youre wylle, and kepe they 3oure *commaundementis* after god and ry3thwysnesse, and *with-oute* condicioñ and also *with-oute* gref or offense. And sey 3e, that be principalle heuede or prelate to alle 3oure *seruauntis* bothe lesse and more, that they doo fully, reedyly, and treuly, *with-oute* offense or ayenseyng, alle youre wille & *commaundement* that is not ayeynys god. T the secunde ys, that 3e *commaunde* them that kepe and haue kepyng of 3oure howseholde, a-fore 3oure meynye, that bothe *with-in* and *with-oute* the meynye be trewe, honest, diligent, bothe chast and *profitabulle*. ¶ the thrydde: *commaunde* ye that nomañ be admittyd in 3oure howseholde, nother inwarde nother vtwarde, but hit be trustyd and leuyd that 3e be trewe and dili- gent, and namely to that office to the whiche he is admyttyd; Also þat he be of goode maners ¶ The fowrethe: be hit sow3ht and examined ofte tymys yf ther be ony vntrewman, vnkunnyng, vnhonest, lecherous,

stryffulle, drunke*lewe, vnprofitabulle, yf there be ony
 suche yfunde or diffamydde vppon these thyngis, that
 they be caste oute or put fro the howseholde. ¶ The
 fyft: commaunde 3e that in no wyse be in the howse-
 holde men debatefulle or stryffulle, but that alle be of
 oon a-corde, of oon wylle, euen lyke as in them ys oon
 mynde and oon sowle. ¶ The sixte: commaunde 3e
 that alle tho that seruen in ony offyce be obedient, and
 redy, to them that be a-bofe them in thyngis that per-
 teynyn to there office. ¶ The seuenthe: commaunde
 3e that 3oure gentilmen yomen and other, dayly bere
 and were there robis in 3oure presence, and namely at
 the mete, for 3oure worshyppe, and not oolde robis and
 not cordyng to the lyuerey, nother were they oolde
 schoon ne fylyd. ¶ The viij: Commaunde 3e that
 3oure almys be kepyd, & not sende not to boys and
 knafis, nother in the halle nothe oute of þe halle, ne be
 wasted in soperys ne dyners of gromys, but wysely,
 temperatly, with-oute bate or betyng, be hit distribute
 and the[n] departyd to powre meñ, beggers, syke folke
 and febulle. ¶ The ix.: Make 3e 3oure owne howse-
 holde to sytte in the alle, as muche as ye mow or may,
 at the bordis of oon parte and of the other parte, and
 lette them sitte to-gedur as mony as may, not here
 fowre and thre there: and when youre chef maynye be
 sett, then alle gromys may* entre, sitte, And ryse ¶
 The x.: Streytly for-bede 3e that no wyfe¹ be at 3oure
 mete. And sytte 3e euer in the myddul of the hye
 borde, that youre fysegge and chere be schewyd to
 alle meñ of bothe partyes, and that 3e may see ly3htly
 the seruicis and defawtis: and diligently see 3e that
 euery day in 3oure mete seson be two men ordeyned to
 ouer-se youre mayny, and of that they shalle drede 3ou
 ¶ The xi: commaunde 3e, and yeue licence as lytul
 tyme as ye may with honeste to them that be in 3oure
 howseholde, to go home. And whenne 3e yeue licence

[* p. 194]
 quarrelsome, and
 drunken servants
 must be turned
 out.

v. All must be of
 one accord,

vi.

obedient to those
 above them,

vii.

dress in livery,

and not wear old
 shoes.

viii.

Order your Alms
 to be

given to the poor
 and sick.

ix. Make all the
 household dine
 together in the
 Hall.

[* p. 195]

[1 MS. wyse]
 x. Let no woman
 dine with you.

Let the Master
 show himself to
 all.

xi.

Let your servants
 go to their homes.

[¹ t. i. wroth]
Don't allow
grumbling.

xii. Tell your
Panter and
Butler to come to
the table before
grace.

Tell off three
yeomen to wait at
table.

[* p. 196]

xiii.

Tell the Steward
to keep good order
in the Hall,

and serve every
one fairly.
[¹ MS. *affecciori*]

xiv. Have your
dish well filled

that you may help
others to it.

xv. Always admit
your special
friends,

to them, Assigne 3e to them a short day of comyng a yeyne vndur peyne of lesyng there seruice. And yf ony mañ speke ayen or be worthe,¹ say to hym, "what! wille ye be lorde? ye wylle þat y serue you after 3oure wylle." and they that wylle not here that 3e say, effectually be they ywarnyd, and ye shalle prouide other *seruantis* the whiche shalle serue you to youre wylle or plesyng. ¶ The xij is: *command* the panytrere with youre brede, & the botelare with wyne and ale, come to-gedur afore 3ou at the tabulle afore gracys, And let be there thre yomen assigned to serue the hye tabulle and the two syde tabullis in solenne dayes; ¶ And ley they not the vessels deseruyng for ale and wyne vppon the tabulle,* but afore you, But be thay layid vnder þe tabulle. ¶ The 13: *commaunde* ye the stywarde þat he be besy and diligent to kepe the maynye in hys owne persone inwarde and vtwarde, and namely in the halle and at mete, that they be-haue them selfe honestly, with-out stryffe, fowlespekyng, and noyse; And that they that be ordeynyd to sette messys, bryng them be ordre and *continuelly* tyl alle be serued, and not inordinatly, And thorow *affeccion*¹ to personys or by specialte; And take 3e hede to this tyl messys be fully sett in the halle, and after tende ye to 3oure mette. ¶ The xiiij: *commatunde* 3e þat youre dysshe be welle fyllyd and hepid, and namely of entermes, and of pitance with-out fat, carkyng that 3e may parte coureteysly to thoo that sitte beside, bothe of the ryght hande and the left, thorow alle the hie tabulle, and to other as plesythe you, thow3ght they haue of the same that ye haue. At the soper be *seruantis* seruid of oon messe, & by3th metis, & after of chese. ¶ And yf the[r] come gestis, seruice schalle be haued as nedythe. ¶ The xv: *commaunde* ye the officers that they admitte youre knowlechyd men, familiers frendys, and strangers, with mery chere, the

wh[i]che they knowen you to wille for to admitte and receyue, and to them the whiche wylle you worschipe, and* they wylleñ to do that ye wylle to do, that they may know them selfe to haue be welcome to 3ou, and to be welle plesyd that they be come. ¶ And al so muche as 3e may with-outte peril of sykenes & werynys ete 3e in the halle afore 3oure meyny, ¶ For that schalle be to 3ou profyte and worshippe. ¶ The xvj: when youre ballyfs comyn a-fore 3oure, speke to them fayre and gentilly in opyn place, and not in priuey, ¶ And shew them mery chere, & serche and axe of them "how fare owre meñ & tenauntis, & how cornys doon, & cartis, and of owre store how hit ys multiplied." Axe suche thyngis openly, and knowe 3e certeynly that they wille the more drede 3ou. ¶ The xvij: commaunde 3e that dineris and sopers priuely in hid plase be not had, & be thay forbeden that there be no suche dyners nother sopers oute of the halle, For of suche comethe grete destr[u]ccion, and no worshippe therby growythe to the lorde.

[* p. 197]
and show them
you are glad to
see them.

xvi.
Talk familiarly to
your Bailiffs,

ask how your
tenants and store
do.

xvii. Allow no
private meals;
only those in Hall.

¶ Expliciunt Statuta Familie bone Memorie.

Prof. Brewer has, I find, printed these *Statuta* in his most interesting and valuable *Monumenta Franciscana*, 1858, p. 582-6. He differs from Mr Brock and me in reading *drunkelewe* (drunken, in Chaucer, &c.) as 'drunke, lewe,' and *vessels* as 'bossels,' and in adding *e's*¹ to some final *g's*. He says, by way of Introduction, that, "Though entitled Ordinances for the Household of Bishop Grostete, this is evidently a Letter addressed to the Bishop on the management of his Household by some very intimate friend. From the terms used in the Letter, it is clear that the writer must have been on confidential terms with the Prelate. I cannot affirm positively that the writer was Adam de Marisco, although to no other would this document be attributed with greater probability. No one else enjoyed such a degree of Grostete's affection; none would have ventured to address him with so much familiarity. Besides, the references made more than once by Adam de Marisco in his letters to the management of the Bishop's household, greatly strengthen this supposition. See pp. 160, 170 (*Mon. Francisc.*). The MS. is a small quarto on vellum, in the writing of the 15th century. It is in all probability a translation from a Latin original."

¹ In this he is probably right. The general custom of editors justifies it. Our printers want a pig-tailed or curly *g* to correspond with the MS. one.

Stanzas and Complets of Counsel.

[From the Rawlinson MS., C. 86, fol. 31, in the Bodleian Library.]

Never mistrust or
fail your friend.

Vtter thy langage wyth good avisement ;
Reule the by Reasoun in thy termoꝝ alle ;
Mystruste not thy frende for none accusement,
4 Fayle him neuer at nede, what so euer befalle ;
Solace þi selfe when menn to sporte þee calle ;
Largely to speke be wele ware for þat cause ;
Rolle faste this reasoun & thynke wele on þis
clause.

Don't talk too
much.

Spare your
master's goods
as your own.

8 What mann þou seruyst, alle wey him drede ;
His good as þyn owne, euer þou spare.
Lette neuer þy wylle þy witt ouer lede,
But be glad of euery mannys welfare.
12 Folus lade polys ; wisemenn ete þe fysshe ;
Wisemenn hath in þer hondis ofte þat folys
after wysshe.

A lawless youth,
a despised old
age.

Who so in youthe no vertu vsith,
In age alle honour him refusith.

16 Deame þee best in euery doute
Tyl þe trouthe be tryed oute.

A Gentleman says
the best he can of
every one.

It is þe properte of A gentilmann
To say the beste þat he cann.

20 Si vieꝝ dolere tua crimina dic miserere
Permiserere mei frangitur ira dei

[Follows :—Policronica.

Josephus of Iewes þat Nobyl was, the firste Auctour of
the booke of Policronica, &c.]

The schoole of Vertue, and booke of

good Nourture for chyl dren, and
youth to learne theyr dutie by.

Newely perused, corrected,

and augmented by the

fyrst Auctour

F. S.[eager]

With a brieife declaracion of the
dutie of eche degree.

Anno. 1557.

Dispise not counsell, rebuking folly
Esteeme it as, nedefull and holy.

¶ Imprinted at London in Paules
Churchyarde at the signe of
the Hedgehogge by
Wylliam Seares.

¶ THE AUCTOURS NAME IN VERDYT.

S	S	Aye well some wyll	by this my labour
E	E	Euery man yet	Wyll not say the same
A	A	Amonge the good	I doubt not fauour
G	G	God them forgeue	For it me blame
E	E	Eche man I wyshe	It shall offende
R	R	Reade and then iudge	Where faulte is amende.

Face aut Tace.

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[N.B. The even lines (2, 4, &c.) of the original are printed here opposite the odd ones (1, 3, &c.), instead of after them, to save space. The lines must therefore be read right across the page. The sidenotes in large type, 'Cato, Isocra, &c.,' are those of the original. The rest are the editor's, and he has added headlines, some stops, &c.]

The schoole of vertue.

First in the mornynge To God for his grace This prayer folowynge Thy harte lyftyng v p ;	when thou dost awake thy peticion then make ; vse dayly to say, Thus begyn to pray :	[sign. A. ii.] First, say this prayer :
	8	

¶ The mornynge prayer.

“ O God, from whom To thee we re- payre That with thy grace Vertue to folowe Heare this our request, O lorde ! moste humbly This day vs defende, May do the thyng That as we in yeaes So in good vertues To thy honour, Learninge to lyue well, In flyinge from all Applynge our bookes, May fructifye and go for- warde In this vale of miserie That after this lyfe We may attayne The Lordes prayer then So vsynge to do	al good gifts procede ! in tyme of our nede, 12 thou wouldst vs endue and vyce to exhue : 16 and graunt our desyre, we do the requyre ! 20 that we walkynge aryght acceptable in thy syght, And body do growe, . 26 we may lykewyse flowe and ioy of our parentes, and kepe thy commaund- mentes ; 32 Vice, synne, and cryme, not losynge our tyme, 36 here in good doynge vnto oure lyuees endynge, here transitory to greater glory.” 44 se thou recyte, at mornynge and nyght.	“ O God ! enable us to follow virtue. [sign. A. ii. b.] Defend us this day. Let us abound with virtues, flee from vice, and go forward in good doing to our live's end.” [sign. A. iii.] Repeat the Lord's Prayer night and moining.
--	--	--

*How to wash and
dress yourself.*

¶ Howe to order thy selfe when thou rysest,
and in apparelynge thy body.

Capitulo .i.

Cato.

Don't sleep too
long.

Rise early;
[sign. A. iii. b.]

cast up your bed,

and don't let it
lie.

Go down,

salute your
parents,
wash your hands,
comb your head,

brush your cap
and put it on.

[sign. A. iii.]

Cato.

Tie on your shirt-
collar,

fasten your girdle,

rub your
breeches, clean
your shoes,
wipe your nose on
a napkin,

pare your nails,
clean your ears,
wash your teeth.

[A. sign. iii. b.]

Have your torn
clothes mended,

or new ones
obtained.

Get your satchell
and books, and
haste to School,

FLye euer slouth
In health the body
Muche slepe ingendereth

It dulles the the wyt

Early in the mornynge

Thy rayment put on,

To cast vp thy bed

Els may they say

So to departe

It is not semyng

Downe from thy chamber

Thy parentes salute thou,

Thy handes se thou washe;

And of thy rayment

Thy cappe fayre brusht,

Takyng it of

Cato doth counsel thee

Declaryng therby

Thy shyrt coler fast

Comely thy rayment

Thy gyrdell about

Thy hose fayre rubd

A napkyn se that

Thy nose to clense

Thy nayles, yf nede be,

Thyne eares kepe cleane,

If ought about thee

Thy frendes therof shewe

And they wyll newe

Or the olde mende,

This done, thy sethell

And to the scole

and ouer much slepe ; 50

therby thou shalte kepe.

diseases and payne, 54

and hurteth the brayne.

thy bed then forsake, 58

thy selfe redy make.

It shalbe thy parte, 62

that beastly thou art ;

and let the same lye, 66

nor yet manerly.

when thou shalte go, 70

and the famely also ;

and thy hed keame, 74

se torne be no seame ;

thy hed couer than, 78

In speakynge to any man.

thyne elders to reuerence

thy dutye and obedience.

to thy necke knyht ; 86

loke on thy body syt.

thy wast then fasten, 90

thy showes se be cleane.

thou haue in redines 94

from all fylthynes.

se that thou payre ; 98

thy teath washe thou fayre.

chaunce to be torne, 102

howe it is worne,

for thee prouyde, 106

In tyme beinge spyde,

and thy bokes take, 110

haste see thou make.

But ere thou go,	with thy selfe forthynke.	taking too
That thou take with thee	pen, paper, and ynke ; 116	pen, paper, and
For these are thynges	for thy study necessary,	ink,
Forget not then	with thee them to cary.	which are neces-
The souldiar preparynge	hym selfe to the felde 122	sary
Leaues not at home	his sworde and his shielde,	[sign. A. v.]
No more shulde a scoler	forget then truly 126	
what he at scole	shulde nede to occupy.	for use at school.
These thynges thus had,	Take strayght thy way	Then start off.
Vnto the schole	without any stay. 132	

Howe to behaue thy selfe in going by
the streate and in the schoole .ii.

I N goynge by the way	and passynge the strete,	<i>How to behaue</i>
Thy cappe put of,	Salute those ye mete ; 136	<i>going to, and at,</i>
In geuyng the way	to suche as passe by,	<i>School.</i>
It is a poynte	of siuilitie. 140	Take off your cap
And thy way fortune	so for to fall,	to those you
Let it not greue thee	thy felowes to call. 144	meet;
when to the schole	thou shalte resort,	Isocra.
This rule note well	I do the exhort : 148	Cato.
Thy master there beyng,	Salute with all reuerence,	give way to
Declarynge thereby	thy dutye and obedience ;	passers by.
Thy felowes salute	In token of loue, 154	§. [sign. A. v. b.]
Lest of inhumanitie	they shall thee reproue.	Call your play-
Vnto thy place	appoynted for to syt, 158	mates on your
Streight go thou to,	and thy setchel vnknyf,	road.
Thy bokes take out,	thy lesson then learne 162	At School
Humbly ¹ thy selfe	Behaue and gouerne.	
Therein takynge payne,	with all thyne industry	salute your
Learnynge to get	thy boke well applye : 168	master,
All thynges seme harde	when we do begyn,	and the scholars.
But labour and diligence	yet both them wyn ; 172	
we ought not to reckon	and coumpt the thyng harde	
That bryngeth ioye	and pleasure afterwarde ;	
Leaue of then laboure,	and the lacke rue, 178	Go straight

to your place,
undo your
satchell,
take out your
1 [Orig. Huubly]
[sign. A. vi.]
books and learn
your lesson ;
stick well to your
books.

Virgil.

If you don't work,

you'll repent it
when you grow
up.
Who could now
speak of famous

[sign. A. vi. b.]
deeds of old,
had not Letters
preserved them?

Cato.

Cicero.

Cato.

Aristot.

Work hard then,

[sign. A. vii.]

and you'll be
thought
worthy to serve
the state.

[1 Orig. ryme]

Men of low birth
win honour by
Learning,

and then are
doubly happy.
When you doubt,
ask to be told.

[sign. A. vii. b.]

Wish well to
those who warn
you.
On your way
home
walk two and two
orderly
(for which men
will praise you);

Lament and repent
Deades that deserued
Buried had ben,
If letters had not then
The truth of suche thynges
Applye thy minde
For learnynge in nede
Nothings to science
The swetenes wherof
And Cato the wyse
That man wantinge learn-
ynge
The rootes of learnynge
The fruites at last
Then labour for learnynge
The ignoraunt to teache,
So shalte thou be thought
The common welth to serue
Experience doth teache
That many to honour
That were of byrthe
Suche is the goodnes
For he that to honour
Is double happy,
If doubte thou doest,
No shame is to learne,
Ignoraunce doth cause
For wantynge of knowledge
Then learne to discerne
And suche as thee warne,
when from the schoole
Or orderly then go ye,
your selues matchynge
That men it seyng
In commendynge this
whiche must nedes sounde

when age doth insue. 180
Fame and greate prayse,
we se in olde dayes ; 184
brought them to lyght
who coulde nowe resyght?
to learnynge and scyence,
wyll be thy defence. 192
compare we may well,
all thynges doth excell.
this worthy sayinge hath,

is as the image of death.
most bytter we deme ; 202
Moste pleasaunt doth seme.
whyle here thou shalt lyue,
and good example geue ;
A membre most worthy
In tyme¹ of necessitie. 212
And shewe to thee playne
By learninge attayne 216
But symple and bace,—
Of Gods speciall grace,—
by vertue doth ryse, 222
and counted most wyse.
Desyre to be toulde, 226
Beinge neuer so oulde;
Great errors in vs 230
Doubts to discusse ;
the good from the yll, 234
Bere them good will.
ye shall take your waye,
twoo in aray, 240
So equall as ye may,
May well of you saye 244
your laudable wayes,
to your great prayse, 248

Not runnyng on heapes	as a swarme of bees,	don't run in heaps like a swarm of bees
As at this day	Euery man it nowe sees ;	[sign. A. viii.]
Not vsynge, but refusynge,	Suche foolyshe toyes 254	like boys do now.
As commonly are vsed	In these dayes of boyes,	
As hoopynge and halow- ynge	as in huntynge the foxe,	Don't whoop or hallow as in fox-hunting ;
That men it hearynge	Deryde them with mockes.	
This foolyshnes forsake,	this folly exchewynge,	
And learne to followe	this order insuyng. 264	
In goynge by the way	Neyther talke nor iangle,	don't chatter,
Gape not nor gase not	at euery newe fangle, 268	or stare at every new fangle,
But soberly go ye	with countinaunce graue ;	but walk soberly,
Humblye your selues	towarde all men behaue ;	Isocra.
Be free of cappe	and full of curtesye ; 274	[sign. A. viii. b.]
Greate loue of al men	you shall wyn therby.	taking your cap off to all,
Be lowly and gentyll	and of meke moode ; 278	and being gentle.
Then men con not	but of you say good.	
In passynge the strete	Do no man no harme ; 282	Do no man harm ;
Vse thou fewe wordes,	and thy tounge charme,	speake few words.
Then men shal see	that grace in the groweth	
From whom vertues	So abundantly floweth.	
when thou arte come	where thy parentes do	On reaching home
	dwel, 290	
Thy leaue then takynge	Byd thy felowes farewell ;	
The house then entrynge,	In thy parence presence	salute your parents rever- ently.
Humbly salute them	with all reuerence. 296	[sign. B. i.]

¶ Howe to behaue thi selfe in seruyng
the table. Cap. iii.

*How to wait at
table.*

When thy parentes downe	to the table shall syt,	
In place be ready	For the purpose moste fyt:	
With sober countinaunce	Lokynge them in the face,	Look your parents in the face,
Thy handes holdynge vp,	this begyn grace : 304	hold up your hands, and say
“G Eue thanks to God	with one accorde	Grace before
For that shall be	Set on this borde. 308	meate.

Grace before
Meat.

[sign. B. i. b.]

Make a low
curtesy;
wish your
parents' food may
do 'em good.
If you are big
enough,
bring the food to
table.

[sign. B. ii.]

Don't fill dishes
so full as to spill
them

on your parents'
dress, or they'll
be angry.

Have spare
trenchers ready
for guests.

See there's plenty
of everything
wanted.

Empty the
Voiders often.

[sign. B. ii. b.]

Be at hand if any
one calls.

When the meat
is over,
clear the table:

1. cover the salt,

2. have a tray by
you to carry
things off on,

3. put the
trenchers, &c., in
one Voyer,

And be not carefull
To eche thyng lyuynge
For foode he wyll not
But wyll you fede,
Take well in worth
At this tyme be

¶ So treatable speakyng
That the hearers therof
Grace beyng sayde,
Sayinge "much good
Of stature then

It shall become thee
In bringynge to it
For thy parence vpon
Disshes with measure
Els mayste thou happen

On theyr apparell
whiche for to doe
Spare trenchers with nap-
kyns

To serue afterwarde,
Be circumspecte;
Of necessary thynges
As breade and drynke,
The voyders with bones
At hande be ready,
To fetch or take vp,
when they haue done,
The table vp fayre

Fyrste the saulte
Hauynge by thee
thynges from thy handes
That from the table
A voyder vpon
The trenchers and napkyns

what to eate,
the Lorde sends meate;
Se you peryshe, 314
Foster, and cheryshe;
what he hath sent, 318
therwith content,
Praysynge God." 322

as possible thou can,
May thee vnderstan. 326
Lowe cursie make thou,
May it do you." 330

yf thou be able,
to serue the table 334
Suche meate as shall nede
that tyme to fede. 338

thou oughtest to fyll,
thy seruyce to spyll 342
Or els on the cloth,
wolde moue them to wroth.

haue in redynes 348
If there come any gesse.
see nothyng do wante;
that there be no skant, 354

se there be plentie;
Ofte se thou emptie. 358
If any do call,
If ought fortune to fall.

then ready make 364
In order to take:

Se that thou couer, 368
Eyther one or other
then to conuaye 372
thou shalt take awaye.

the table then haue, 376
therein to receaue;

The croomes with a napkyn	together them swepe,	380	4. sweep the crumbs into
It at the tables ende	In a voyder them kepe.		[sign. B. iii.]
Then before eche man	A cleane treanchour lay,		another,
The best fyrste seruynge,	As iudge thou soone may ;		5. set a clean trencher before every one,
Then cheese with fruite	On the table set,	388	6. put on Cheese, Fruit, Biscuits, and
With Bisketes or Carowayes,	As you may get.		
Wyne to them fyll,	Els ale or beare ;	392	7. serve Wine, (Ale or Beer.)
But wyne is metest,	If any there were.		
Then on the table	Attende with all diligence,		When these are finished,
It for to voyde	when done haue thy		clear the table,
	parence :	398	
Eche syde of the clothe	Do thou tourne in,		and fold up the cloth.
Foldynge it vp,	At the hygher ende begin.		
A cleane towell then	On the table sprede, —		[sign. B. iii. b.]
The towell wantynge,	the cloth take in steade,—		Then spread a clean towel,
The bason and ewer	to the table then brynge,		bring bason and jug,
In place conuenient	theyr pleasure abydyng.		and when your parents
when thou shalt see	them redy to washe,	412	are ready to wash,
The ewer take vp,	and be not to rashe		
In powrynge out water	More then wyll suffise.	416	pour out the water.
The table then voyde	that they may ryse.		Clear the table ;
All thynges thus done,	forget not thy dutie,	420	
Before the table	Make thou lowe cursie.		make a low curtsey.

¶ Howe to order thy selfe syttyng at the table.
Capitulo .iiii.

[sign. B. iiii.]
How to behave at your own dinner.

O Chyldren ! geue eare	your duties to learne,	424	
Howe at the table	you may your selues		
	gouerne.		
Presume not to hyghe,	I say, in no case ;	428	Socra. Cato.
In syttyng downe,	to thy betters geue place.		Let your betters sit above you.
Suffer eche man	Fyrste serued to be,	432	See others served first,
For that is a poynte	Of good curtesie.		
when they are serued,	then pause a space,	436	then wait a while before eating.
For that is a sygne	of nourture and grace.		

Take salt with your knife, [sign. B. iiii. b.] cut your bread, don't fill your spoon too full,	Saulte with thy knyfe The breade cut fayre, Thy spone with pottage For fyllynge the cloth, For rudnes it is Or speake to any,	then reache and take, 440 And do not it breake. to full do not fyll, 444 If thou fortune to spyll, thy pottage to sup, 448 his head in the cup.
or sup your pottage.		
Have your knife sharp.	Thy knyfe se be sharpe Thy mouth not to full	to cut fayre thy meate ; when thou dost eate ; 454
Don't smack your lips or gnaw your bones : avoid such beastliness.	Not smackynge thy lyppes, Nor gnawynge the bones Suche rudenes abhorre, At the table behaue Thy fyngers se cleane Hauynge a Napkyn Thy mouth therewith The cup to drynke ; Let not thy tongue And of no matter Temper thy tongue For "measure is treasure," And measure in althynges what is without measure For silence kepynge where as thy speache Bothe speache and silence But sylence is metest And Cato doth saye, The fyrste of vertue Pyke not thy teethe Nor vse at thy meate this rudnes of youth thy selfe manerly If occasion of laughter Beware that thou vse Of good maners learne It wyll thee preferre	As comonly do hogges, As it were dogges ; 458 Suche beastlynnes flie, thy selfe manerly. 462 that thou euer kepe, thereon them to wype ; Cleane do thou make, 468 In hande yf thou take, At the table walke, 472 Neyther reason nor talke. and belly alway, 476 the prouerbe doth say, Is to be vused ; 480 Ought to be refused. thou shalt not be shent, May cause thee repent. are commendable, 488 In a chylde at the table. that "in olde and yonge Is to kepe thy tonge." 494 at the table syttynge, Ouer muche spytynge ; Is to be abhorde ; 500 Behaue at the borde. at the table thou se, 504 the same moderately. So muche as thou can ; when thou art a man. 510
[sign. B. v.] Keep your fingers clean, wipe your mouth before drinking.		
Plato.		
Don't jabber or stuff.		
Cicero.		
Silence hurts no one, [sign. B. v. b.]		
Isocra.		
and is fitted for a child at table.		
Cato.		
Don't pick your teeth, or spit too much.		
Behave properly.		
Don't laugh too much.		
[sign. B. vi.] Learn all the good manners you can.		

Aristotle the Philosopher	this worthy sayinge writ,	Aristot.
That "maners in a chylde	are more requisit	514 They are better
then playnge on instru-		than playing the
mentes		fiddle,
For vertuous maners	and other vayne pleasure ;	
Let not this saynge	Is a most precious treasure."	
For playnge of instrumentes	In no wyse thee offende,	though that's
But doth graunt them	He doth not discommende,	no harm,
Yet maners muche more	for a chylde necessary,	but necessary ;
Refuse not his counsell,	see here he doth vary. 526	yet manners
To vertue and knowledge	Nor his wordes dispise ;	are more
	By them mayste thou ryse.	important.
		[sign. B. vi. b.]

¶ Howe to order thy selfe in the Church.

How to behaue at Church.

Cap. .v.

V hen to the Church	thou shalt repayer,	532
Knelynge or standynge,	to God make thy prayer ;	Pray kneeling or
All worldely matters	From thy mynde set apart,	standing.
Earnestly prayinge,	to God lyfte vp thy hart.	
A contrite harte	He wyll not dispyse,	540 Psal. l.
whiche he doth coumpt	A sweete sacrifice.	
To hym thy sinnes	shewe and confesse,	544 Confess your sins
Askyng for them	Grace and forgyuenes ;	to God.
He is the Phisition	that knoweth thy sore,	[sign. B. vii.]
And can to health	A-gayne thee restore. 550	He knows your
Aske then in fayth,	Not doubtyng to haue ;	disease.
The thynges ye desyre	ye shall then receaue ; 554	Iames the .i.
So they be lawfull	Of God to requyre,	Ask in faith,
He wyll the heare	and graunt thy desyre ;	and what you
More mercifull he is	then pen can expresse, 560	ask you shall
The auctor and geuer	here of all goodnesse.	have ;
"All ye that laboure	and burdened be,	564 Math. x.
I wyll you refreshe	In commynge to me."	
These are Chrystes wordes,	the scripture is playne,	
Spoken to all suche	as here suffre payne ; 570	[sign. B. vii. b.]
Our wylles to his worde	then let vs frame,	
The heauenly habytacion	therby we may clame. 574	

Behave nicely in church,	In the church comly	thy selfe do behaue,
and don't talk or chatter.	In vsage sober,	thy countinaunce graue.
Behave reverently ;	whyle you be there,	taulke of no matter, 580
	Nor one with an other	whisper nor chatter.
	Reuerently thy selfe	Order alwaye 584
	when to the Church	thou shalt come to pray :
the House of Prayer	Eche thyng hath his tyme,	Consyder the place, 588
Luke .xix.	For that is a token	of vertue and grace,
[sign. B. viii.]	The Lorde doth call it	the house of prayer 592
is not to be made a fair.	And not to be vsed	As is a fayer.

¶ The fruites of gamynge, vertue and learnynge.

Capitulo .vi.

Avoid	O Lytle chylde,	Eschewe thou euer game,—
	For that hath brought	Many one to shame,—598
dicing and carding.	As dysynge, and cardynge,	And suche other playes,
	which many vndoeth	as we se nowe a dayes. 602
Cicero.	But yf thou delyght	In any earthly thyng,
Delight in Knowledge, Virtue, and Learning.	Delyght in knowledge,	Vertue, and learnynge, 606
	For learnynge wyll leade thee	to the schoole of vertue,
[sign. B. viii. b.]	And vertue wyll teache thee	Vice to subdue. 610
	Vice beyng subdued,	thou canst not but floryshe;
Happy is he who cultivates Virtue.	Happy is the man	that vertue doth norysh.
	By knowledge lykewyse	thou shalt doubtles discern,
	By vertue agayne	thy lyfe well gouerne. 618
	These be the frutes	By them we do take,
Cursed is he who forsakes it.	Cursed is he then	that doth them forsake.
	But we erre in wyt	In folowynge our wyll,
	In iudgynge that good	which playnly is yll. 626
Let reason rule you,	Let reason thee rule,	and not will thee leade
	To folowe thy fansie,	A wronge trace to treade.
[sign. C. i.]	But subdue thy luste,	and conqueur thy wyll 632
and subdue your lusts.	If it shall moue thee	to doe that is yll ;
These ills come from gambling :	For what hurte by game	to many doth growe, 636
	No wyse man I thynke	but doth it well knowe.

Experience doth shewe	and make it manifeste 640	
That all good men	can it but deteste,	
As strife and debate,	murder and thefte, 644	strife, murder, theft,
whiche amonge christians,	wolde god were lefte,	
with cursynge and bann-		
ynges,	with swearyng and tearyng,	cursing and swearing.
That no honest harte	can abyde the hearyng :	
These be the fruites	that of them doth sprynge,	
with many more as euill	that cometh of gamynge. [sign. C. i. b.]	

¶ How to behaue thy selfe in taulkynges
with any man. Capitulo .vii.

*How to behaue
when conversing.*

I F a man demaunde	a question of thee, 656	
In thine aunswere mak-		
ynges	be not to hastie ;	Isocra.
waie well his wordes,	the case vnderstande 660	Understand a question before you answer it ;
Eare an answer to make	thou take in hande,	
Els may he iudge	in thee little wit, 664	
To answer to a thynges	and not heare it.	
Suffer his tale	whole out to be toulde,	let a man tell all his tale.
Then speake thou mayst,	and not be controulde ;	
Low obeisaunce makynge,	lokinge him in the face,	[sign. C. ii.]
Tretably speaking,	thy wordes see thou place.	Then bow to him, look him in the face,
with countinaunce sober	thy bodie vprighte 676	and answer sensibly,
Thy fete iuste to-gether,	thy handes in lyke plight ;	
Caste not thyne eies	on neither syde. 680	not staring about
when thou arte praised,	therin take no pryde.	
In tellynge thy tale,	neither laugh nor smyle,	or laughing,
Such folly forsake thou,	banish and exyle ; 686	
In audible voice	thy wordes do thou vtter,	but audibly
Not hie nor lowe,	but vsynge a measure. 690	
Thy wordes se that	thou pronounce plaine,	and distinctly,
And that ¹ they spoken	Be not in vayne ; 694	sign. C. ii. b.]
In vttryng wherof	Kepe thou an order,	your words in due order,
Thy matter therby	thou shalte much forder ;	[¹ orig. thal]
whiche order yf thou	Do not obserue, 700	
From the purpose	nedes must thou swarue,	or you'll straggle off,

or stutter, or
 stammer, which is
 a foul crime.

And hastines of speche
 Or wyll thee teache
 To stut or stammer
 Learne then to leaue it,
 How euyll a chylde
 Thy selfe beyng iudge,
 [sign. C. iii.] And sure it is taken
 whyle yonge you be
 This generall rule
 Always keep your
 head uncovered.
 In speakynge to any man
 The common prouerbe
 Better vnfed
 than untaught.
 " Better vnfedde

wyll cause thee to erre, 704
 to stut or stammer.
 is a foule crime, 708
 take warnyng in tyme ;
 it doth become, 712
 hauinge wisdomes ;
 by custome and vre, 716
 there is helpe and cure.
 yet take with the, 720
 Thy head vn-couered be.
 remember ye oughte, 724
 then vn-taughte."

How to take a
Message.

¶ How to order thy selfe being sente of message.

Cap. viii.

Listen to it well ;
 don't go away not
 knowing it.

IF of message
 Take hede to the same,
 Depart not away
 [sign. C. iii. b.] Know wel thy message
 Then hurry away, with possible spede
 If nede shall requirr it
 give the message ; After humble obeisaunce,
 Thy wordes well placinge
 As shall thy matter
 Thine answer made,
 And to thy master
 As then the answer
 Socra. Neither adde nor deminish
 Lest after it proue
 [sign. C. iiiii.] But the same vtter
 exactly as it was
 told to you. No faulte they shall fynde
 In most humble wyse
 As shall become beste

forthe thou be sente, 728
 Geue eare diligente ;
 and beyng in doute, 732
 before thou passe out ;
 then hast thee right sone ;
 so to be done. 738
 the message forth shewe
 in vttringe but fewe 742
 serue to declare.
 then home againe repare,
 therof make relacion 748
 shall geue thee occasion.
 any thyng to the same,
 to thy rebuke and shame,
 so nere as thou can ; 756
 to charge thee with than,
 loke done that it be, 760
 a seruantes degre.

Against Anger,
&c.

¶ A-gainste Anger, Enuie, and malice.

Cap. ix.

The slave of
Anger must fall.

IF thou be subiecte
 And reason the rule not,

and to anger thrall, 764
 nedes must thou fall.

Conquer thy wyll
Thy fansy not folowing,
For anger and furie
That thy doynges to wise
men

Thine anger and wrath
For wrath, saith Plato,
The hastie man
His mad moody mynde
And malyce thee moue
Dread euer god,
Do not reuenge,
Forgeue the offender
He is perfectly pacient,
[That] From wrath and
furye

Disdayne nor enuie
In worde nor dede
Debate and disceate,
Are the chiefe frutes
And Salomon saithe
Of him selfe hath

and subdue thy luste, 768 Pericles.

thy cause though be iuste ;

wyll thee so chaunge 772 Anger's deeds are

[sign. C. liii. b.]
strange to wise
men.

wyll appeare straunge.

seke then to appeace, 776

Leades shame in a leace. Plato.

wantes neuer trouble, 780 Isocra.

his care doth double.

A hasty man is
always in trouble.

to reuenge thy cause, 784

and daunger of the lawes.

though in thy power it be, Take no revenge,
being thine enemy. 790 but forgive.

we may repute plaine,

Plato.

himselſe can refrayne. 794

The state of thy brother,

[sign. C. v.]
Envy no one.

not hurtyng one an other.

Seneca.

contencion and enuie, 800

An ill body breeds
debate.

of an euill bodie.

"The harte full of enuie, Salomon.

no pleasure nor commo-

ditie." 806

¶ The fruites of charitie, loue, and pacience.

*The Fruits of
Charity, &c.*

Cap. x.

Charitie seketh not
But paciently a-bydinge,
Not enuiynge, but bearinge
So noble is her nature,—
And loue doth moue
But malice againe
whiche in the wicked
Pacience thee teacheth
where pacience and loue
All hate and debate,

that to her doth belonge,
sustainynge rather wronge ;

Charity seeketh
not her own,

with loue and pacience,—

but bears
patiently.

forgeuing all offence. 814

[sign. C. v. b.]

the mynde to mercie,

Love incites to
Mercy.

doth worke the contrarie.

wyll euer beare stroke, 820

therof to beare the yoke.

Patience teaches
forbearance.

to-gether do dwell 824

with malice, they expell.

Pithagoras.	Loue constant and faithfull,	Pithagoras doth call	828
	To be a vertue	most principall.	
Plato.	Plato doth speake	almoste in effecte	832
	' where loue is not,	no vertue is perfecte.'	
[sign. C. vi.] Pray God to give thee Charity and Patience, to lead thee to Virtue's School,	Desire then god	to assiste thee with his grace	
	Charitie to vse	and pacience to imbrace ;	
	These three folowinge	will thee instructe,	840
	That to vertues schoole	they wyll thee conducte,	
and thence to Eternal Bliss.	And from vertues schoole	to eternall blisse	844
	where incessaunt ioie	continually is.	

*Against Swear-
ing.*

¶ A-gaing (so) the horrible vice of swearynge.

Cap. xi.

Take not God's name in vain,	I N vaine take not	the name of god ;	848
	Swere not at all	for feare of his rod.	
or He will plague thee.	The house with plagues	he threteneth to visit	852
[sign. C. vi. b.]	where othes are vsed :	they shall not escape it.	
	Iuste are his iudgementes,	and true is his worde,	856
	And sharper then is	a two edged sworde ;	
Beware of His wrath, and live well in thy vocation.	wherfore beware thou	his heauy indignacion,	860
	And learne to lyue well	in thy vocation	
	wherin that god	shall thee set or call ;	864
	Rysinge againe—	if it fortune to fall—	
	By prayer and repentance,	whiche is the onely waie.	
	Christ wolde not the death	of a sinner, I saye,	870
	But rather he turne	From his wickednesse,	
	And so to lyue	in vertue and goodnesse.	
[sign. C. vii.] What is the good of swearing ?	what better art thou	for this thy swearyng	876
	Blasfamouslye,	the name of god tearyng ?	
It kindles God's wrath against thee.	Prouokynge his yre	and kyndlinge his wrath	
	Thee for to plauge,	that geuinge the hath	
	Knowlage and reason	thy selfe for to rule,	884
	And for to flee	the thyng that is euyl.	
Seneca.	Seneca doth counsell thee	all swerynge to refrayne,	
	Although great profite	by it thou mighte gaine :	
Pericles.	Pericles, whose wordes	are manifeste and playne,	
	From sweryng admonisheth	thee to obstaine ;	894

The lawe of god,	and commaundement	he God's law forbids
	gaue,	[sign. C. vii. b.]
Swearynge amongst vs	in no wyse wolde haue.	swearing,
The councell of philoso-		and so does the
ph[ers]	I haue here expreste,	counsel of
Amongest whom sweryng	900	Philosophers,
Much lesse amongst chris-	was vtterly deteste ;	
tians	ought it to be vsed,	904
But vtterly of them	cleane to be refused.	

¶ A-gainste the vice of filthy talkynge.
Cap. xii.

*Against filthy
talking.*

N O filthy taulke	in no wise vse,	908	Never talk dirt.
Thy tonge therby	for to abuse.		
Of euery idell worde	an accumpte we shall		For every word
	render ;—	912	we shall give account
All men I woulde	this sayinge to remember ;—		at the Day of
To god for it	at the generall daie	916	Doom, [sign. C. viii.]
In earnest or sporte	we shall speake or saie ;		
whiche daye to the iuste	shalbe most ioyfull,	920	
And to the wicked	againe as wofull.		
As we here doe,	so shall we receaue,	924	and be judged according to our deeds.
Vnles we repente	and mercy of god craue.		
If god wyll deale	with vs so straight	928	
For thinges that be	of so small waight,		
Then haue we cause	to feare and dreade,	932	Let lewd liuers then fear.
Our lyues lewdly	if we haue leade.		
Thy tonge take hede	thou doe refrayne	936	Keep your tongue from vain talking. [sign. C. viii. b.]
From speakyng wordes	that are moste vayne ;		
Thy wyll and witte	to goodnes applie,	940	Aristot.
Thy mynde exercise	in vertuous studie.		

¶ A-gainste the vice of lyinge.
Capitulo .xiii.

Against Lying.

T O forge, to fayne,	to flater and lye,	944	Plato.
Requiere diuers collours	with wordes fayre and slye,		
But the vtteraunce of truthe	is so simple and playne		To speak the

truth needs no study, therefore always	That it nedeth no studie wherfore saye truth, So shalte thou fynde	to forge or to fayne ; 950 how euer stand the case, more fauour and grace. 954
practise it and speak it.	Vse truthe, and say truth, For tyme of althinges	in that thou goest aboute, the truthe wyll bringe out.
[sign. D. i.] Shame is the reward of lying.	Shame is the rewarde Then auoyde shame, A lyar by his lying	For lying dewe ; 960 and vtter wordes trewe. this profet doth get, 964
Always speak the truth.	That whan he saith truth Then let thy talke And blamed for it	no man wyll him credet ; with the truth agree, 968 thou shalte neuer bee.
Who can trust a liar ?	Howe maie a man But doubtte his dedes, In tellyng of truth	a lyer ought truste ? 972 his woordes being vniuste. there lougeth no shame,
If a lie saves you once, [sign. D. i. b.] it deceives you thrice.	Where vttring of lyes And though a lye Thrise for that once Truste then to truth, And followe these pre- ceptes :	deserueth much blame ; from stripes ye once saue, it wyll the desceue ; 982 and neither forge nor fayne, from liyng do refraine. 986

*A bedward
Prayer.*

¶ A praier to be saide when thou
goest to bedde.

God of mercy,	O Mercifull god ! And graunte vnto vs	heare this our requeste, this nighte quiet reste. 990
take us into Thy care.	Into thy tuicoin, Our bodies slepynge,	oh lorde, do vs take ! our myndes yet maie wake.
Forgive us our sins.	Forgeue the offences A-gainste thee and our neighbour	this daye we haue wroughte in worde, dede, and thoughte ! 998
[sign. D. ii.]	And graunte vs thy grace And that a newe lyfe	hense forth to flie sinne, we maie nowe beginne !
Deliver us from evil, and our enemy the Devil.	Deliuier and defende vs And from the daunger whiche goeth a-boute And by his crafte	this night from all euell, of our enemye, the diuell, sekyng his praie, 1008 whom we maie betraie.

Assiste vs, oh lorde,	with thy holy sprite, 1012	Assist us
That valiantly against him	we maie euer fighte ;	
And winning the victorie,	maie lifte vp our voice,	to conquer him
And in his strength	faithfully reioice, 1018	
Saying, "to the lorde	be all honour and praise	and ascribe all
For his defence	bothe now and alwaies !"	honour to Thee.

¶ the dutie of eche degred. (so)
brefely declared.

[sign. D. ii. b.]
Each one's Duty.

- | | | | |
|---|---|--|-------------------------------|
| 1 | YE princes, that the
earth
Seke ye for knowledge | rule and gouerne, 1024
doubtes to discern. | The Duty of
Princes, |
| 2 | Ye iudges, geue iudge-
ment
As may be founde | according to righte 1028
acceptable in the lordes
sight. | Judges, |
| 3 | Ye prelates, preache
purely
That your liuings &
prechinges | the worde of our lorde,
in one maie accorde. 1034 | Prelates, |
| 4 | Ye fathers and mothers,
As maye them to grace | so your children instructe
and uertue conducte. 1038 | Parents, |
| 5 | Ye chyl dren, lykewyse
In all godlinesse | obey your parentes here ;
see that ye them feare. | '[sign. D. iii.]
Children, |
| 6 | Ye maisters, do you
Not lokynge what | the thyng that is righte
ye may do by mighte. | Masters, |
| 7 | Ye seruauntes, applie
Doinge the same | your busines and arte,
in singlenesse of harte. | Servants, |
| 8 | Ye husbandes, loue
your wyues,
All bitternesse set
aparte, | and with them dwell,
vsing wordes gentell. 1054 | Husbands. |

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|--|---|
| The Duty of
Wives, | 9 Ye wyues, to your hus-
bandes
For they are your
heades, | be obedient alwaie,

and ye bounde to obeie. |
| [sign. D. iii. b.] | | |
| Parsons and
Vicars, | 10 Ye persons and vickers
Take hede to the same, | that haue cure and charge,
and roue not at large. 1062 |
| Men of Law, | 11 Ye men of lawe,
The cause of the poore, | in no wyse delaie
but helpe what ye maie. |
| Craftsmen, | 12 Ye that be craftes men,
Geuing to all men | vse no disceite, 1068
tale, measure, and weighte. |
| Landlords, | 13 Ye that be landlordes
At reasonable rentes | and haue housen to let,
do them forth set. 1074 |
| [sign. D. iiii.]
Merchants, | 14 Ye merchauntes that
vse
Vse lawfull wares | the trade of merchandise,
and reasonable prise. 1078 |
| Subjects, | 15 Ye subiectes, lyue ye
Fearyng gods stroke, | in obedience and awe,
and daunger of the lawe. |
| Rich Men, | 16 Ye rych, whom god
Releue the poore | hath goods vnto sente,
and helpe the indigente. |
| Poor Men, | 17 Ye that are poore,
Not hauinge wherwith | with your state be contente,
to lyue competente. 1090 |
| Magistrates, | 18 Ye magestrates, the
cause
Defende againste suche | of the widdow and fatherles
as shall them opresse. |
| [sign. D. iiii. b.] | | |
| Officers, | 19 All ye that are called
Execute the same | to any other office, 1096
acordinge to iustice. |

- 20 Let eche here so liue in his vocacion, 1100 The Duty of
As maie his soule saue, and profet his nacion. all Men.
- 21 This graunting god, that sitteth on hie, 1102 God grant us all
we shall here well lyue and after well die. to live and die
well!

Famam virtutis mors
 Abolire nequit quod. F. S.

¶ Imprinted at London in Paules
Churchyearde. By william
Seares.

Whate-ever thow sey, abyse thee welle!

[MS. O. 9. 38. Trinity College, Cambridge.]

A man must
mind what he
says;

hearts are fickle
and fell.

Take care what
you say.

A false friend may
hear it,

and after a year
or two will repeat
it.

Hasty speech
hurts hearer and
speaker.

In the beginning,
think on the end.

- Almyȝty godde, conserue vs fram care!
Where ys thys worle A-vey y-wente?
A man that schold speke, had nede to be ware,
4 ffor lytyl thyng he may be schente;
Tonggys beth y-turne to lyther entente;
Hertys, they beth bothe fykel and felle;
Man, be ware leste thow repente!
8 Whate euer thow sey, A-vyse the welle!
- A-vyse the, man, yn whate place and whare
A woord of conseyl thow doyst seyne;
Sum man may ley ther-to hys ere;
12 Thow wenyst he be thy frend; he ys thy foo
certeyne;
Peraventor aftyr A ȝere or tweyne—
Thow trowyst as tru as eny stele,—
Thys woord yn wreth thow schalt hyre A-gayne!
16 Whate euer thow sey, A-vyse the welle!
- Meny man spekyth yn hastenys:
hyt hyndryth hym and eke hys frende;
hym were welle beter his tonge to sese
20 Than they both ther-for be schende.
Suche wordys beth not to be had yn meynde,
hyt makyȝt comforte *with* care to kele:
Man, yn the begynnyng thenk on þe eynde!
24 Whate euer thow sey, A-vyse the welle!

- To sum man thow mayste tel a pryuy tale :
 Whan he fro the ys wente A-way,
 ffor a draw3t of wyne other ale
 28 he wolle the wrey, by my fay,
 And make hyt worse (hyt ys noo nay)
 Than euer hyt was, A thowsend dele.
 Thys ys my songe both ny3t & day,
 32 Whate euer thow sey, A-vyse the welle !
- Be ware of bagbytynge, y the rede ;
 ley flaterynge vndyr thy foote, loke ;
 Deme the beste of euery dede
 36 Tylle trowth haue serchyd truly þe roote ;
 Rrefrayne malyce cruelle & hoot ;
 Dyscretly and wysly speende thy spelle ;
 Boost ne brage ys worth A Iote ;
 40 Whate euer thow sey, A-vyse the welle !
- Dysese, wharre, sorowe and debate,
 ys caused ofte by venemys tonge ;
 haddywyst cometh euer to late
 44 Whan lewyd woordis beth owte y-spronge.
 The kocke seyth wysly on his songe
 'hyre and see, and hold the styлле,'
 And euer kepe thys lesson A-monge,
 48 Whate euer thow sey, A-vyse the welle !
- y dere welle swery by the sonne,
 yf euery man had thys woord yn thow3t
 Meny thynggis had neuer be by-gunne
 52 That ofte yn Ingelond hath be y-wro3t.
 The wyse man hath hys sone y-taw3tte
 yn ryches, poorte, woo, and welle ;
 Thys worthy reson for3ete thow no3t,
 56 Whate euer thow sey, A-vyse the welle !

You tell a man a
secret, and he'll
betray it for a
drink of wine.

Mind what you
say.

Avoid backbiting
and flattering ;

refrain from
malice,

and bragging.

A venomous
tongue causes
sorrow.
When words are
said, regret is too
late.

Mind what you
say.

Had men thought
of this, many
things done in
England would
never have been
begun.

See *The Wise
Man*, p. 48.

To speak aright
observe six
things :

1. what; 2. of
whom; 3. where;
4. to whom;
5. why; 6. when.

In every place
mind what you
say.

Almighty God,

grant me grace
to serve Thee !

Mary, mother,

send me grace
night and day !

- yf that thow wolte speke A-ryzt,
Ssyx thynggys thow moste obserue then :
What thow spekyst, & of what wyzt,
60 Whare, to wham, whye, and whenne.
Thow noost how soone thow schalt go henne ;
As lome be meke, as serpent felle ;
yn euery place, A-monge alle men,
64 Whate euer thow sey, A-vyse the welle !
- “ Almyzt god yn personys thre,
With herte mylde mekly y praye,
Graunte me grace thy seruant to be
68 Yn woorde and dede euer and aye !
Mary, moder, blessyd maye,
Quene of hevyn, Imperes of helle,
Sende me grace both nyzt and daye !”
72 Whate euer thow sey, A-vyse the welle !

EXPLICIT &c.

A Dogg Lardynner, & a Sowwe Gardynner.

[MS. O. 9. 38. Trinity College, Cambridge.]

*Printed in Reliquiæ Antiquiæ, v. i. p. 233, from MS. Lansdowne
No. 762, fol. 16 vo.*

A dog in a larder,
a sow in a garden,
a fool with wise
men, are ill
matcht.

hoo so makyzt at crystysmas A dogge lardynner,
And yn march A sowwe gardynner, And yn may A foole
of every wysmanys counsaylle, he schalle neuer haue
goode larder, ne fayre gardyn, nother counsaylle welle y-
keptt.

Maxims in -ly.

[MS. Lansdowne 762, fol. 16 b, written as prose.

Printed in Reliquiæ Antiquiæ, v. i. p. 233.]

Aryse erly,
 serue God devowtely
 and the worlde besely,
 doo thy werk wisely
 yeue thyne almes secretely,
 goo by the waye sadly,
 answer the people demuerly,
 goo to thy mete apetitely,
 sit therat discretely,
 of thy tunge be not to liberally,
 arise therfrom temperally,
 go to thy supper soberly
 and to thy bed merely,
 be in thyn Inne iocundely,
 please thy loue duely,
 and Slepe suerly.

Roger Ascham's Advice to Lord Warwick's Servant.

With the different counsels to babes, pages, and servants, throughout this volume, may be compared Roger Ascham's advice to his brother-in-law, Mr C. H., when he put him to service with the Earl of Warwick, A.D. 1559. Here follows part of it, from Whitaker's Hist. of Richmondshire, p. 282.

Fear God, serve your lord faithfully, be courteous to your fellows. Despise no poor man. Carry no tales. Tell no lies. Don't play at dice or cards.	First and foremost, in all your thoughts, words, and deeds, have before your eyes the feare of God. love and serve your lord willingly, faithfullie, and secretlye ; love and live with your fellowes honestly, quiettlye, curteouslye, that noe man have cause either to hate yow for your stubborne frowardnes, or to malice yow for your proud ungentlenes, two faults which commonly yonge men soones[t] fall into in great men's service. Contemne noe poore man, mocke noe simple man, <i>which</i> proud fooles in cort like and love to doe ; find fault with your selfe and with none other, the best waye to live honestlye and quiettly in the court. Carrye noe tales, be noe common teller of newes, be not inquisitive of other menn's talke, for those that are desirous to heare what they need not, commonly be readye to babble what they shold not. Vse not to lye, for that is vnhonest ; speake not everye truth, for that is vnneedfull ; yea, in tyme and place a harmlesse lye is a greate deale better then a hurtfull truth. Use not dyceing nor carding ; the more yow use them the lesse yow wilbe esteemed ; the cunninger yow be at them
--	---

the worse man yow wilbe counted. for pastime, love and learne that *which* your lord liketh and vseth most, whether itt be rydeing, shooteing, hunting, hawkeing, fishing, or any such exercise. Beware of secrett corners and night sitting vp, the two nurses of mischiefe, unthriftnes, losse, and sicknes. Beware cheifely of ydlenes, the great pathway that leadeth directly to all evils; be diligent alwayes, be present every where in your lord's service, be at hand to call others, and be not ofte sent for yourselfe; for marke this as part of your creed, that the good service of one whole yeare shall never gett soe much as the absence of one howre may lose, when your lord shall stand in need of yow to send. if yow consider alwayes that absence and negligence must needes be cause of greife and sorrowe to your selfe, of chideing and rueing to your lord, and that dutye done diligently and presently shall gaine yow profitt, and purchase yow great praise and your lord's good countenance, yow shall ridd me of care, and wynne your selfe creditt, make me a gladd man, and your aged mother a ioyfull woman, and breed your freinds great comforth. Soe I comitt and commend yow to God's mercifull proteccion and good guidance, who long preserve Your ever loving and affectionate brother in lawe.

Take to your
lord's favourite
sport.

Beware of
idleness.

Always be at
hand when you're
wanted.

Diligence will get
you praise.

God be with you!

R. ASKAM.

To my loveing Brother in Lawe, Mr C. H., Servant to the Rt. Hon. the Earle of Warwick, these.

NOTES TO THE BOOK OF CURTASYE.

p. 310, l. 377-8, *Statut.* The only Statute about horse-hire that I can find, is 20 Ric. II. cap. 5, A.D. 1396-7, given below. I suppose the *Foure pens* of l. 376 of the *Boke of Curtasye* was the price fixed by "the kyngis crye" or Proclamation, l. 378, or by the sheriff or magistrates in accordance with it as the "due Agreement to the party" required by the Statute.

"*Item.* Forasmuch as the Commons have made Complaint, that many great Mischiefs Extortions & Oppressions be done by divers people of evil Condition, which of their own Authority take & cause to be taken royally Horses and other Things, and Beasts out of their Wains Carts and Houses, saying & devising that they be to ride on hasty Messages & Business, where of Truth they be in no wise privy of any Business or Message, but only in Deceit & Subtilty, by such Colour and Device to take Horses, and the said Horses hastily to ride & evil entreat, having no Manner of Conscience or Compassion in this Behalf, so that the said Horses become all spoiled and foundered, paying no manner of Thing nor penny for the same, nor giving them any manner of sustenance; and also that some such manner of people, changing & altering their Names, do take and ride such Horses, and carry them far from thence to another Place, so that they to whom they belong, can never after by any mean see, have again, nor know their said Horses where they be, to the great Mischief Loss Impoverishment & Hindrance of the King's poor People, their Husbandry, and of their Living: Our Lord the King willing, for the Quietness and Ease of his People, to provide Remedy thereof, will & hath ordained, That none from henceforth shall take any such Horse or Beast in Such Manner, against the Consent of them to whom they be; and if any that do, and have no sufficient Warrant nor Authority of the King, he shall be taken and imprisoned till he hath made due Agreement to the Party."

That this seizing of horses for the pretended use of the king was no fancied grievance, even in much later times, is testified by Roger Ascham's letter to Lord Chancellor Wriothesley (? in 1546 A.D.) complaining of an audacious seizure of the horse of the invalid Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, on the plea that it was to carry the king's fish, whereas the seizer's own servant was the nag's real burden: "tentatum est per hominem apud nos valde turbulentum, nomine Maxwellum." *Ascham's Works*, ed. Giles, v. 1, p. 99. In vols. ix., x., and xi. of Rymer, I find no Proclamation or Edict about horse-hire. In 1413 Henry V.'s *Herbergeator* is to pro-

vide Henry le Scrop, knight, with all that he wants "Proviso semper quòd idem Henricus pro hujusmodi Fœnis, Equis, Carectis, Cariagiis, & aliis necessariis, per se, seu Homines & Servientes suos prædictos, ibidem capiendis, fideliter solvat & satisfaciat, ut est justum." *Rymer*, ix. 13.

The general rule shown by the documents in *Rymer* is that reasonable payments be made.

De Equis pro Cariagio Gunnorum Regis capiendis.

A.D. 1413 (1 Sept.), An. 1. Hen. V. Pat. 1, Hen. V. p. 3, m. 19. Rex, Dilectis sibi, *Johanni Sprong*, Armigero, & *Johanni Louth* Clerico, Salutem.

Sciatis quod Assignavimus vos, conjunctim & divisim, ad tot Equos, Boves, Plaustra, & Carectas, quot pro Cariagio certorum Gunnorum nostrorum, ac aliarum Rerum pro eisdem Gunnis necessarium, a Villa Bristolliaë usque Civitatem nostram Londoniaë, indiguerint, tam infra Libertates, quàm extea (Feodo Ecclesiaë dumtaxat excepto) pro Denariis nostris, in hac parte rationabiliter solvendis Capiendum & Providendum. *Rymer*, ix. p. 49.

So in 1417 the order to have six wings plucked from the wing of every goose (except those commonly called *Brodoges*—? brood geese—) to make arrows for our archers, says that the feathers are *rationabiliter solvendis*. See also p. 653.

p. 310, l. 358. *The stuarde* and his *stafe*. Cp. Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* (ed. Singer, i. 34), "he had in his hall, daily, three especial tables furnished with three principal officers; that is to say, a Steward, which was always a dean or a priest; a Treasurer, a knight; and a Comptroller, an esquire; *which bare always within his house their white staves*."

"Then had he a cofferer, three marshals, two yeomen ushers, two grooms, and an almoner. He had in the hall-kitchen two clerks of his kitchen, a clerk comptroller, a surveyor of the dresser, a clerk of his spicery." See the rest of Wolsey's household officers, p. 34-9.

p. 312, l. 409. *Ale*. See in *Notes on the Months*, p. 418, the Song "Bryng us in good ale," copied from the MS. song-book of an Ipswich Minstrel of the 15th century, read by Mr Thomas Wright before the British Archaeological Association, August, 1864, and afterwards published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*. P.S.—The song was first printed complete in Mr Wright's edition of *Songs & Carols* for the Percy Society, 1847, p. 63. He gives Ritson's incomplete copy from Harl. MS. 541, at p. 102.

Bryng us in good ale, and bryng us in good ale;
For ovr blyssyd lady sak, bryng us in good ale.

Bryng us in no browne bred, fore that is made of brane,
Nor bryng us in no whyt bred, for therin is no game;
But bryng us in good ale.

Bryng us in no befe, for there is many bonys;
But bryng us in good ale, for that goth downe at onys,
And bryng us in good ale.

Bryng us in no bacon, for that is passing fate ;
 But bryng us in good ale, and gyfe us i-nought of that,
 And bryng us in good ale.

Bryng us in no mutton, for that is often lene,
 Nor bryng us in no tryfes, for thei be sylldom clene ;
 But bryng us in good ale.

Bryng us in no eggys, for ther ar many schelles ;
 But bryng us in good ale, and gyfe us no[th]yng ellys,
 And bryng us in good ale.

Bryng vs in no butter, for therin ar many herys,
 Nor bryng us in no pygges flesch, for that will make us borys ;
 But bryng us in good ale.

Bryng us in no podynges, for therin is al Godes-good ;
 Nor bryng us in no venesen, for that is not for owr blood ;
 But bryng us in good ale.

Bryng us in no capons flesch, for that is ofte der ;
 Nor bryng us in no dokes flesche, for thei slober in the mer ;
 But bryng us in good ale.

See also the other ale song at p. 81 of the same volume, with the burden

Doll thi ale, doll ; doll thi ale, doll ;
 Ale mak many a mane to have a doty poll.

p. 313, l. 435, *Gromes*. "the said four groomes, or two of them at the least, shall repaire and be in the King's privy chamber, at the farthest between six and seven of the clock in the morning, or sooner, as they shall have knowledge that the King's highnesse intendeth to be up early in the morning ; which groomes so comen to the said chamber, shall not onely avoyde the pallets, but also make ready the fire, dresse and straw the chamber, purgeing and makeing cleane of the same of all manner of filthy-nesse, in such manner and wise as the King's highnesse, at his upriseing and comeing thereunto, may finde the said chamber pure, cleane, whollsome, and meete, without any displeasent aire or thing, as the health, commodity, and pleasure of his most noble person doth require." *Household Ordinances*, p. 155, cap. 56, A.D. 1526.

[*Postscript, added after the Index had been printed.*]

How to serbe a lord.

[*From the Rev. Walter Sneyd's copy of Mr Davenport Bromley's MS.*]

MR SNEYD has just told me that Mr Arthur Davenport's MS. *How to serve a Lord*, referred to in my Preface to Russell, p. cvii, is in fact the one from Mr Sneyd's copy of which his sister quoted in her edition of the 'Italian Relation of England' mentioned on pp. xiv, xv of my *Forewords*. Mr Sneyd says: 'I made my copy nearly forty years ago, during the lifetime of the late Mr A. Davenport's grandfather, who was my uncle by marriage. I recollect that the MS. contains a miscellaneous collection of old writings on various subjects, old recipes, local and family memoranda, &c., all of the 15th century; and, bound up with them in the old vellum wrapper, is an imperfect copy of the first edition of the Book of St Alban's. On Mr Arthur Davenport's death, last September, the MS. (with the estates) came into the possession of Mr Davenport Bromley, M.P., but a long time must elapse before it can be brought to light, as the house you mention is still unfinished, and the boxes of books stowed away in confusion.' On my asking Mr Sneyd for a sight of his copy, he at once sent it to me, and it proved so interesting—especially the Feast for a Bride, at the end—that I copied it out directly, put a few notes to it, and here it is.¹ For more notes and explanations the reader must look the words he wants them for, out in the Index at the end of Part II. The date of the Treatise seems to me quite the end of the 15th century, if not the beginning of the 16th. The introduction of the Chamber, p. 373, the confusion of the terms of a Carver, 'unlose *or* tire *or* display', p. 377—enough to make a well-bred Carver faint: even Wynkyn de Worde in 1508 and 1513 doesn't think of such a thing—the cheese shred with sugar and sage-leaves,

¹ Though it goes against one's ideas of propriety to print from a copy, yet when one wants the substance of a MS., it's better to take it from a copy, when you can get it, than fret for five years till the MS. turns up. When it does so, we can print it if necessary, its owner permitting.

p. 372, the 'Trenchours of *tree or brede*,' l. 16, below, &c., as well as the language, all point to a late date. The treatise is one for a less grand household than Russell, de Worde, and the author of the *Boke of Curtasye* prescribed rules for. But it yields to none of the books in interest: so in the words of its pretty 'scriptur' let it welcome all its readers:

"Welcombe you bretheren godely in this hall!
 Joy be unto you all
 that en¹ this day it is now fall!
 that worthy lorde that lay in an Oxe stalle
 mayntayne your husbonde and you, *with* your gystys all!"

[I. *Of laying the Cloth and setting out the Table.*]

Ffirst, in servise of all thyngys in pantery and botery, and also for the ewery. ffirst, table-clothis, towelles longe and shorte, covertours² and napkyns, be ordeyned clenly, clene and redy accordyng to the tyme. Also basyns, ewers, Trenchours of tree or brede, sponys, salte, and kervyng knyves.

1. Have your table-cloths and napkins ready,

also trenchers, salts, &c.

Thenne ayenst tyme of mete, the boteler or the ewer shall brynge forthe clenly dressed and fayre applyed³ Tabill-clothis, and the cubbord-clothe, cowched uppon his lefte shulder, laying them uppon the tabill ende, close applied³ unto the tyme that he have firste coverd the cubbord; and thenne cover the syde-tabillis, and laste the principall tabill with dobell clothe draun, cowched, and spradde unto the degre, as longeth therto in festis.

2. Bring your cloths folded,

lay them on the table,

then cover the cupboard, the side-table, and the chief table.

Thenne here-uppon the boteler or panter shall bring forthe his pryncipall salte, and iiij or v loves of paryd brede, havyng a towaile aboute his nekke, the tone half honge or lying uppon his lefte arme unto his hande, and the kervyng knyves holdyng in the ryght hande, iuste unto the salte-seler beryng.

3. Bring out the chief saltcellar, and pared loaves,

and hold the carving knives in your right hand.

¹ on.

² For bread, see § III., p. 369.

³ Folded. Cf. 'a towaile applyed dowble' below. Fr. *plier*, to fould, plait, plie. Cotgrave.

4. Put your chief saltcellar before the chief person's seat, his bread by it,

and his trenchers before it.

5. Put the second saltcellar at the lower end.

If wooden trenchers are used, bring them on.

6. Put saltcellars¹ on the side-tables.

7. Bring out your basins, &c., and set all your plate on the cupboard.

8. Let the chief servants have basins, &c., ready,

and after Grace, hold the best

Thenne the boteler or panter shall sette the seler in the myddys of the tabull accordyng to the place where the principall soverain shalle sette, and sette his brede iuste couched unto the salte-seler; and yf ther be trenchours of brede, sette them iuste before the seler, and lay downe faire the kervyng knyves, the poynts to the seler benethe the trenchours.

Thenne the seconde seler att the lower ende, with ij paryd loves¹ therby, and trenchours of brede yf they be ordeyned; and in case be that trenchours of tree shalbe ordeyned, the panter shall bryng them with nappekyns and sponys whenne the soverayne is sette att tabill.

Thenne after the high principall tabill sette with brede & salte, thenne salte-selers shall be sette uppon the syde-tablys, but no brede unto the tyme such people be sette that fallith to come to mete. Thenne the boteler shall bryng forth basyns, ewers, and cuppis, Pecys,² sponys sette into a pece, redressing all his silver plate, upon the cubbord, the largest firste, the richest in the myddis, the lighteste before.

[II. Of Washing after Grace is said.]

Thenne the principall servitours moste take in ij handys, basyns and ewers, and towell, and therwith to awayte and attende unto the tyme that the grace be fully saide; and thenne incontynent after grace saide, to serve water with the principall basyn and ewer unto the principall soverayne, and ij principall servitours to

¹ What is done with these loaves does not appear. The carver in Motion 12, Section IV., pares the loaves wherewith he serves the guests.

² Goblets or cups: ? also ornamental pieces of plate. 'A peece of wyne' occurs in *Ladye Bessye*, Percy Folio, Ballads & Romances, vol. iii., and in the Percy Society's edition. John Lord Nevill of Raby, in 1383, bequeaths 48 silver salt-cellars . . 32 peces, 48 spoons, 8 chargers, 27 jugs, &c. *Domestic Architecture*, ii. 66. 'Diota. Horat. Any drinking peece having two eares, a two-eared drinking cup.' *Nomenclator* in Nares.

holde the towell under the basyn in lenght before the sovrayne ; and after that the sovrayne hath wasshe, to yeve thenne water unto such as ben ordeyned to sytte at the sovrayne-is messe.

basin to the chief lord, with the towel under ;

and then let his messmates wash.

[III. *Of the Lord & Guests taking their Seats, & getting their Trenchers, Spoons, Napkins, & Bread.*]

Thenne after the wesshing servid, the sovrayne will take his place to sitte, and to hym such persons as hit pleaseth hym to have. uppon which tyme of sitting, the servitorys moste diligently a-wayte to serve them of quessons, and after that done, to make such personys to be sette at the lower messe as the principall soverayne agrees that be convenyent.

9. The chief lord takes his seat, then his messmates theirs ;

then the lower mess people theirs.

Be it remembrid that evermore at the begynnyng of grace the covertour of brede shalbe avoyded and take away. thenne the karver, havynge his napkyn at all tymes uppon his left hand, and the kervynge knyfe in his right hande, and he shall take uppon the poynte of his knyfe iiij trenchours, and so cowche them iustely before the principall, iiij lying iustely to-geder, ij under, and one uppon, and the fowerth before, iustely for to lay uppon salte. and the next, lay iiij trenchours ; and soo iiij or ij after her degree. therto the boteler most be redy with sponys and napkyns, that ther as the trenchours be cowched, lay the spone and the napkyn therto, and soo thorowe the borde.

(When Grace begins, the bread cover is to be taken away.)

10. The Carver takes 4 trenchers on his knife-point,

and lays them before the chief lord,

(one to put his salt on,)

and 3 or 2 before the less people.

11. The Butler gives each man a spoon and a napkin.

Thenne the kerver shall take into his hande on or ij loaves, and bere hem to the syde-tabill ende, and ther pare hem quarter on first, and bring hym hole to-geder, and cowche ij of the beste before the sovrayne, and to others by ij or on after ther degree.

12. The Carver pares 2 loaves,

lays 2 before his lord, and 2 or 1 to the rest.

[IV. *Of the Courses of the Dinner.*]

[*First Course.*]

Thenne the kerver or sewer most asserve¹ every

¹ ? Assewe.

13. Serve Brawn, disshe in his degre, after order and course of servise as folowith : first, mustard and brawne, swete wyne shewed therto.¹

POTAGE.

beef, swan,
pheasant, fritters.

As a change for
beef,

have legs or
chines of pork, or
tongue of ox or
hart.

Befe and moton. swan or gese. grete pies, capon or fesaunt ; leche or fretours. Thenne yef potage be chaungeabill after tyme and season of the yere as fallith, as here is rehersed : by example, ffor befe and moton ye shall take

Pestelles or chynys of porke,
or els tonge of befe,
or tonge of the harte powderd ;²
Befe stewed,
chekyns boylyd, and bacon.

[The Second Course.]

14. Clear away
the 1st course,

crumbs, bones,
and used
trenchers.

15. Serve the
Second Course :

Small birds,
lamb,
kid, venison,

rabbits

meat pie,

teal, woodcock.

Great birds.

Thenne ayenste the secunde cours, be redy, and come in-to the place. the kerver muste avoyde and take uppe the service of the first cours,—begynnyng at the lowest mete first,—and all broke cromys, bonys, & trenchours, before the secunde cours and servise be served. thenne the seconde cours shall be served in manner and fourme as ensample thereof here-after folowyng :

Potage. pigge

Conye

Crane

heronsewe

betoure

Egrete

Corlewe

wodecok

Pert[r]igge

Plover

Snytys

quaylys

ffretours

leche

lamme stewed

Kidde rosted

Veneson rosted

heronsewe

betoure

pigeons

Rabetts

a bake mete

Stokke-dovys stewed

cony

malard

telys

wodecok

grete byrdys

¹ Sewed or served therewith.

² salted or pickled.

[V. *How to clear the Table.*]

After the seconde cours served, kerved, and spent, hit must be sene, cuppys to be fillid, trenchours to be voyded. thenne by goode avysement the tabill muste be take uppe in manner as folowith:—first, when tyme foloweth¹, the panter or boteler muste gader uppe the sponys; after that done by leyser, the sewer or carver shall be-gynne at the loweste ende, and in order take uppe the lowest messe; after the syde-tabill be avoyded and take uppe, and thenne to procede to the Principall tabill, and ther honestly and clenly avoyde and withdrawe all the servise of the high table. ther-to the kerver muste be redy, and redely have a voyder to geder in all the broke brede, trenchours, cromys lying upon the tabill; levyng none other thyng save the salteseler, hole brede (yf any be lefte), and cuppys.

16. Fill men's cups and remove their trenchers.

17. Collect the spoons.

18. Take up the lowest dishes at the side-tables, and then clear the high table.

19. Sweep all the bits of bread, trenchers, &c., into a voyder.

[VI. *How to serve Dessert.*]

After this done by goode delyberacion and avysement, the kerver shall take the servise of the principall messe in order and rule, begynnyng at the lowest, and so procede in rule unto the laste,² and theruppon the kerver to have redy a voyder, and to avoyde all maner trenchours [&] broke brede in a-nother clene disshe voyder, and cromys, which with the kervyng-knyf³ shall be avoyded from the tabill, and thus procede unto the tabill be voyded. Thenne the kerver shall goo unto the cuppebord, and redresse and ordeyne wafers in to towayles of raynes or fyne napkyns which moste be cowched fayre and honestly uppon the tabill, and thenne serve the principall messe first, and so thorowe the

20. Take away the cups, &c., from all the messes, putting the trenchers, &c., in a voyder,

and scraping the crumbs off with a carving-knife.

21. Serve wafers in towels laid on the table,

¹ ? aloweth

² ? firste. The directions for taking-away seem repeated here, unless these second ones apply only to the spoons, napkins, &c. The cups are wanted for dessert.

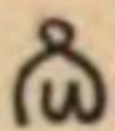
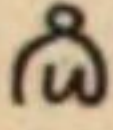
³ crumb-brushes were not then invented.

and sweet wine.
In holiday
time serve cheese,
or fruit ;

in winter, roast
apples.

22. Clear away
all except the
chief salt cellar,
whole bread, and
carving-knives ;

take these to the
pantry.

tabill .j or ij yf hit so requere : therto moste be servid swete wyne  and in feriall¹ tyme serve chese shraped with sugur and sauge-levis,² or ellis that hit be faire kervid hole, or frute as the yere yeveth, strawberys, cherys, perys, appulis ; and in winter, wardens,³ costardys roste, rosted on fisshe-dayes with blanche powder, and so serve hit forth  Thenne aftur wafers and frute spended, all maner thinge shalbe take uppe and avoyded, except the principall salt-seler, hole brede, and kervyng-knyves, the which shalbe redressed in maner and fourme as they were first sette on the table ; the which, principall servitours of the pantre or botery, havynge his towaile, shall take uppe, and bere hit into his office in like wyse as he first brought hit unto the Tabill.

[VII. *How the Diners shall wash after Dessert.*]

23. Lay a fresh
cloth all along the
chief table.

24. Have ready
basons and jugs
with hot or cold
water ;
and after Grace,
hand basins and
water to the first
mess,

then the second.

Thenne the principall servitours, as kerver and sewer, moste have redy a longe towaile applyed dowble, to be cowched uppon the principall ende of the table ; and that towell must be iustely drawen thorowe the tabill unto the lower ende, and ij servitours to awayte theruppon that hit be iustely cowched and sprad. after that done, ther muste be ordeyned basyns, and ewers with water hote or colde as tyme of the yere requerith, and to be sette uppon the tabill, and to stonde unto the grace be saide ; and incontynent after grace seide, the servitours to be redy to awayte and attende to yeve water, first to the principall messe, and after that to the

¹ Fr. *ferial*, of or belonging to a holyday. *Vn ferial beuveur*, a square drinker, a faithfull drunkard ; one that will take his liquor soundly. Cotgrave. *Feries*, Holydaies, feastiuall daies, properly such holydaies as Monday and Tuesday in Easter week, &c. Cot.

² So "Apples and Cheese scraped with Sugar and Sage" at the end of the Second Course of the Dinner at the Marriage of Roger Rockley & Elizabeth Nevile, daughter of Sir John Nevile, the 14th of January in the 17th year of Henry the VIIIth. (A.D. 1526.) *Forme of Cury*, p. 174.

³ Wardens are baking pears ; costards, apples.

seconde. incontynent after this done, the towayle and tabill-clothis most be drawen, cowched, and sprad, and so by litill space taken uppe in the myddis of the tabill, and so to be delyvered to the officer of pantery or botery.

25. Take off and fold up the towels and cloth, and give 'em to the Panter.

[VIII. *Of the Removal of the Table, and the separate Service to grand Guests in the Chamber.*]

Thenne uprysyng, servitours muste attende to avoyde tabills, trestellis, formys and stolys, and to redresse bankers and quyssyons. then the boteler shall avoyde the cupborde, begynnyng at the lowest, procede in rule to the hieste, and bere hit in-to his office. Thenne after mete, hit moste be awayted and well entended by servitours yf drinke be asked. and yf ther be knyght or lady or grete gentil-woman, they shall be servid uppon kne with brede and wyne. Thenne it moste be sene yf strangers shalbe brought to chamber, and that the chamber be clenly appareld and dressed according to the tyme of the yere, as in wynter-tyme, fyer, in somur tyme the bedd couerd with pylawes and hedde-shetys in case that they woll reste. and after this done, they moste have chere of neweltees in the chamber.¹ as Iuncate,² cheryes, pepyns, and such neweltees as the tyme of the yere requereth; or ellis grene ginger com-fetts,³ with such thyng as wynter requereth; and swete wyne, as ypocrasse, Tyre, muscadell, bastard

26. Clear away tables, trestles, forms; and put cushions on other seats.

27. Butler, put the cups, &c., back into your office.

28. Serve knights and ladies with bread and wine, kneeling.

29. Conduct strangers to the Chamber.

30. Serve them with dainties:

junket, pippins,

or green ginger;

and sweet wines.

¹ I do not suppose that each guest retired to his own bed-room, but to the general withdrawing-room, — possibly used as a general bed-room also, when the Hall had ceased to be it. "The *camera* usually contained a bed, and the ordinary furniture of a bed-chamber; but it must be remembered that it still answered the purpose of a parlour or sitting-room, the bed being covered over during the daytime with a handsome coverlid, as is still the custom in France & other foreign countries to this day." — *Domestic Architecture*, iii. 94-5.

² See *Iuncate* in Index, and Russell, l. 82.

³ See Russell, l. 75, and, for wines, l. 117.

vernage, of the beste that may be had, to the honor and lawde of the principall of the house.

[XI. *How to Carve.*]

How to carve a
Swan, Goose,

Wild-fowl, Crane,

Heronsew,

Bittern,

Egret,

to lose and t[i]re or sawse a capon:¹ begynne at the lifte legge first of a Swan²; & lyfte a gose y-reared at the right legge first, and soo a wilde fowle. To unlose, tire, or display a crane³: cutte away the nekke in a voyde plate, rere legge and whyngge as of a capon; take of ij leches of the briste, and cowche legge and whyngge and lechis into a faire voyde plater; mynse the legge, and poyntes of whinge; sawse hym with mustard, vinager, and poudre gynger, and serve hit before the sovrayne, and the carcas in a charger besyde: serve it hole before the sovrayne. and he⁴ may be served and dressed as a capon, save one thyng, his breste bone.⁵ To tyre or ellis to dismember an heronsew⁶: rere legge and whinge as of a crane; cowche them aboute the body on bothe sydes, the hedde and the nekke being upon the golet: serve him forth, and yf he be mynsed, sawse hym with mustard, burage,⁷ suger, and powder of gynger.

To lose or untache a bitorn⁸: kitte his nekke, and lay hit by the hedde in the golette; kitte his whynge by the joynte; rere hym legge and whynge, as the heron; serve him fourth; no sawse unto hym but only salte.

To lose or spoyle an Egrete⁹: rere uppe his legge

¹ There must be some omission here. See Russell, l. 409, and W. de Worde, p. 275.

² See Russell, l. 403. Wynkyn de Worde, p. 275, directs the swan to be carved like the goose is, p. 277.

³ See Russell, l. 427-32; Wynkyn de Worde, p. 276. *Rere* is cut off.

⁴ that is, the crane.

⁵ See Russell, l. 431 and note; W. de Worde, p. 273, l. 5; p. 276.

⁶ Russell, l. 422; Wynkyn de Worde, p. 276, p. 278, l. 20.

⁷ Borage is a favourite flavouring for cups and other drinks.

⁸ Russell, l. 421; Wynkyn de Worde, p. 276.

⁹ Russell, l. 421; Wynkyn de Worde, p. 276.

and whynge, as of a henne, aboute the carcas: no sawse to him but salte.

To tyre or to ele¹ a partorich² or a quayle³ Partridge, Quall,
y-whyngged: rere uppe whynge and legge, as of an
henne; cowche them aboute the carcas; no sawse save
salte, or mustard and sugar. To lose or unlase a
fesaunt⁴: rere uppe legge and whynge as an henne Pheasant.
cowche legge and whynge aboute the carcas; serve
hym fourth; no sawse but salte: but and yf he be
mynsed, take whyte wyne, sugur, mustard, and a lyttell
of powder gynger.

ffor to make a feste for a bryde.

*A Bridal Feast.
First Course.*

The ffirst cours: brawne, with the borys hed,⁵ Boar's head, and
lying in a felde, hegge⁶ about with a scriptur, sayng a Device
on this wyse;

"Welcombe you bretheren godely in this hall!⁷ of Welcome.
Joy be unto you all
that en⁸ this day it is now fall!
that worthy lorde that lay in an Oxe stalle
mayntayne your husbonde and you, with your gystys,
alle!"

Ffurmente with veneson, swanne, pigge.
Ffesaunte, with a grete custard, with a
sotelte,

Venison and
Custard, with a
Device of

A lambe stondyng in scriptour, sayng on this wyse: Meekness.
"I mekely unto you, sovrayne, am sente,
to dwell with you, and ever be present."⁷

¹ Fr. *aile*, wing; but *ailer*, to give wings unto. Cotgrave.

² Russell, l. 397, l. 417; W. de Worde, p. 275.

³ Russell, l. 437; W. de Worde, p. 276.

⁴ Russell, l. 417; Wynkyn de Worde, p. 275, p. 278.

⁵ See the carol from the Porkington MS., "The Boris hede furste," in *Reliq. Ant.* vol. ii., and below.

⁶ hedged or edged.

⁷ The verse is written as prose.

⁸ on

Second Course.

The second course.

Venison,
Crane, &c.,
and a Device of

Veneson in broth, viaunde Ryalle¹, veneson roasted, crane, cony, a bake mete, leche damaske², with a sotelte: An antelope sayng³ on a sele that saith with scriptour

Gladness and
Loyalty.

"beith all gladd & mery that sitteth at this messe,
and prayeth for the kyng and all his."⁴

Third Course.

The thirde course.

Sweets, &c.,
Game, with a

Creme of Almondys, losynge in syruppe, betoure, partrich, plover, snyte, poudre veal, leche veal, wellis⁵ in sotelte, Roches in sotelte,⁶ Playce in sotelte; a bake mete with a sotelte: an angell with a scriptour, "thanke all, god, of this feste."

Device of
Thankfulness.

Fourth Course.

The iiij cours.

Cheese and a cake
with a Device of
Child-bearing

Payne puff,⁷ chese, freynes,⁸ brede hote, with a cake,⁹ and a wif lying in childe-bed, with a scriptour

¹ Here is the Recipe in *Household Ordinances*, &c., p. 455, for "Viande Riall for xl. Mess:":

Take a galone of vernage, and sethe hit into iij. quartes, and take a pynte therto, and two pounce of sugre, ii lb. of chardekoynes [quinces? 'Quynce, a frute, *pomme de quoyne*, Palsgrave] a pounce of paste-roiale, and let hit sethe untyl a galone of vernage. Take the yolkes of 60 eyren, and bete hom togeder, and drawe hom thurgh a straynour, and in the settinge doune of the fyre putte the yolkes therto, and a pynte of water of ewrose, and a quartrone of poudre of gynger, and dresse hit in dysshes plate, and take a barre of golde foyle, and another of sylver foyle, and laye hom on Seint Andrews crosse wyse above the potage; and then take sugre plate or gynger plate, or paste royale, and kutte hom of losenges, and plante hom in the voide places betweene the barres: and serve hit forthe.

² Leyse Damask. Leland, Coll. iv. p. 226; Leche Damaske, *ibid.* vi. p. 5; in *Forme of Cury*, p. 141.

³ ? Fr. *seoir*, to sit.

⁴ Written as prose, which it is.

⁵ ? welkis.

⁶ Roches or Loches in Egurdouce. *H. Ord.* p. 469.

⁷ See the Recipe for it, p. 148, note ²; and in *Household Ordinances*, p. 450.

⁸ flaunes ? see p. 287; or *chese-freynes* for cheesecakes.

⁹ Were the cheese and cake meant as a symbol of the Groaning

saing in this wyse, "I am comyng toward your bryde. and a promise of
yf ye dirste onys loke to me ward, I wene ye nedys babies.
muste."¹

Another course or servise.

Brawne with mustard, umblys of a dere or of a
sepe²; swanne, capon, lambe.

Cake & Cheese (so called in allusion to the mother's complaints
at her delivery) mentioned by Brand, *Pop. Ant.* ii. 44, ed. 1841,
or was the cake the wedding-cake?

¹ ? must get a baby : or is *ye* = *I*?

² sheep.

The Houshold Stuff occupied at the Lord Mayor's Feast, a.d. 1505.

[*Balliol MS. 354, fol C iii. All the final ll's are
crossed in the MS.*]

here ffolowith suche howshold stuff as must
nedis be ocupied at *the* mayres fest yerely
kepte at *the* yelde hall.

ffirst, v diaper table clothes // iiij Cowchers¹ of
playn clothe // iiij longe towellis of dyaper // Item x
doz napkyns / Item ij doz Ewry towellis. Item viij
shetis for coberde clothes // Item a doz couer-payns²
ffor wafere.

¶ Receyte for ypocras.

¶ Item Cynamon x ll / Gynger iiij ll / Grayns j ll /
Suger iiij ll //

¶ Butlers towellis.

¶ xxxvj butlers towellis, *the* length of a towell an
ell & a half³ // & quarter brode / *that* is, iiij towellis
of an ell & a half,³ of ell brode clothe.

¶ ffor *the* mayres offessers.

¶ ffirst ffor sewers & carwers / iiij towellis of fyne
clothe, ij ellis longe, & half a yarde brode, *summa* iiij
ellis.

¹ Cp. Russell, l. 187, p. 129.

² See Russell's *portpayne*, l. 262, p. 138.

³ MS. ell d.

ffor drawers of ale & wyne.

[ffl C iij back.]

viiij apurns, *summa* viij ellis ¶ Item x portpayns
to bere in brede / ¶ *summa* xxxviiij ellis.

¶ wyne.

Rede wyne, a tonne / Claret wyne, a pipe; whit
wyne, a hoggishede / ypocras xl. galons.

¶ Brede.

viiij quarters of chet brede / In manchettis vijs¹ In
trenchar brede viijs / In ob² brede iiij ; Item in wafers
ix^{xx} messe³ / & the waferer must brynge Couerpayns for
to serue owt his wafers.

¶ Ale pottis & Tappis.

xxviiij barrellis ale / Ertheñ pottis for wyne & ale
lx doz // pychars xij doz / ij doz stenys⁴ Item viij C
assheñ cuppis / iiij doz tappis.

¶ plate.

Item iiij doz stondyng Cuppis / xxiiij doz bollis
Item v doz saltis : xl doz spones / ij doz gilt sponys /

¹ I suppose this and the following s'es to mean *shillings*.

² *ob* bred is ha'penny bread. On ffl C xviiij of the MS. is

The Assise of Bred with-in London.

The quarter whet at iijs // after vs.

The fferdyng whit loff coket /	xvij oz & d [=½] & ob weight *
The ob [ha'penny] whit loff	xxxv vncis & j d weight
The q ^a † symnell	xv oz ij d ob in weight
The ob whet loff	lij oz d. & j d ob weight
The peny whet loff	Cv oz d & quarter & ob weight
The ob lof of all graynes	lxx oz & ij d weight

³ ix xx = 9 × 20, = 180. *messe* may be *in effe* : the long s'es are crossed like f's.

⁴ *Stean*, a stone vessel. 'A great pot or *stean*,' Hollyband's Dictionarie, 1593. Halliwell.

* Half a pennyweight.

+ ? *quadranta*, farthing.

xviij basons *with ewers* / a payyer of gilt basons // xx
siluer pottis.

Explicit *the butlers charge*
that he must speke ffor.

pewter at the feste
ffirst in platters gret & small xij^{xx} x dozen ¹
Item dyshis gret & small—xij^{xx} x dozen ¹
Item in sawsers gret & small xij^{xx} x dozen ¹
Item in chargers gret & small x dozen

At *the gyvyng vp of the verder of the wardmot*
Inquestis after xijth day.

In dishis xx dozen // In platers x dozen //
In sawsers iij dozen // In chargers j dozen

ffor the wacche at mydsomer
In platters xij dozen // In dysches xxiiij dozen

all this was in *the tyme of Iohn wyngar, mayre*
of london.

for *the hire viij^d the garnyshe of pewter*

Lord Mayor Whyngar was Richard Hill's master.
On ffl C lxxvj of the MS. is the entry, "*Iste liber per-*
tineth Rycardo Hill, seruant with Master Wynger
alderman of london."

At the back of ffl ijC xx of the MS., in the list of
Mayres & Sheryffis, is this entry:

[1]505 Johā Wyngar	Roger Acheley	} A ^o xx ^o
	William brown	
(Kyng Henry the vij th).		

¹ ? (12 × 20 + 10) 12 = 3000.

The ordre of goyng or sittynge.¹

[*Balliol MS. 354, ffl C lxxxxi, or leaf 203, back.*]

A pope hath no pere ²	A dea ⁿ e
An emprowre A-lone	An Arche-deko ⁿ
A kyng A-lone	<i>the Master of the rollis</i>
An high cardynall	<i>the vnder Iugis</i>
A prince, A kyngis son	<i>the vnder barons of the</i>
A duke of blod Royall	<i>cheker</i>
A busshop	<i>the mayre of caleis</i>
A markes	A provynceyall
An erle	A doctur of diuinite
A vycownt	A prothonotory ys boue ³
A legate	<i>the popes colectour⁴</i>
A baro ⁿ	A doctur of both lawes
An abbot mytered	A sergeant of lawe
<i>the ij cheff Iugys</i>	<i>the Masters of channsery</i>
<i>the mayre of london</i>	A perso ⁿ of Chyrche
<i>the chif baroⁿ of the</i>	A seculer prest
<i>cheker //</i>	A marcha ⁿ t
An Abbot without myter	A gentylma ⁿ
A knyght	An Artificer
A pryoure	A yeman of good name

¹ Compare with Russell, p. 186-7, and Wynkyn de Worde, p. 284-5. It differs little from them.

² This is struck through with a heavy black-line.

³ Last letter blotched.

⁴ Struck through with several thin lines.

Latin Graces.

(From the Balliol MS. 354, leaf 2.)

[“These graces are the usual ones still said in all colleges and religious communities abroad, and are for some part those given at the end of each of the four volumes into which our Roman Breviaries for the year are divided. As a youth, while studying at Rome, I used to hear them in our hall; and, knowing them by heart, never found them too long.”—Daniel Rock, D.D.]

A general Grace.

The grace *that* shuld be said affore mete & after mete / aH the tymes in the yere.

The eyes of all wait upon thee, O Lord.

Benedicite; dominus. Oculi omnium in te sperant, domine / et tu das escam illorum in tempore oportuno. Aperis tu manum tuam / & Imples omne Animal benedictione.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

Gloria patri & filio: & spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in principio, & nunc, et semper: & in secula seculorum.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Amen. kyrieleyson, christeleyson, kyrieleyson: pater noster. Et ne nos: Sed libera nos: Oremus.

Lord, bless us.

Benedic, domine, nos, & dona tua que de tua largitate sumus sumpturi / per / Iube domine benedicere.

Make us partakers of the heavenly table.

Mense celestis participes faciat nos Rex eterne glorie / Amen / Deus caritas est: & qui manet in caritate, in deo manet, & deus in eo: Sit deus in nobis, & nos maneamus in ipso. Amen.

Grace after Dinner.

post prandium.

May the God of peace be with us!

Deus pacis & dilectionis maneat semper nobiscum: Tu autem, domine, miserere nostri: Deo gracias / Confiteantur tibi, domine, omnia tua. Et sancti tui benedicant tibi / Gloria: Agimus tibi gracias, omnipotens deus, pro vniuersis beneficijs tuis. Qui viuis & regnas deus: Per omnia secula seculorum: Amen.

We thank thee, O Lord, for thy benefits.

Laudate dominum, omnes gentes : laudate eum, omnes populi. Quoniam confirmata est super nos misericordia eius : & veritas domini manet in eternum. Gloria patri : Sicut erat : kyrieleyson, christeleyson, kyrieleyson / Pater noster / Et ne nos. Sed libera.

Lord, have mercy upon us !
Christ, have mercy upon us !

Dispersit, dedit pauperibus : Iusticia eius manet in seculum seculi : Benedicam dominum in omni tempore : Semper laus eius in ore meo : In domino laudabitur anima mea : Audiant mansueti, & letentur : Magnificate dominum mecum. Et exaltemus¹ nomen eius in id ipsum : Sit nomen domini benedictum : Ex hoc nunc & vsque in seculum : Oremus : Retribuere dignare, domine deus, omnibus nobis bona fficientibus propter nomen sanctum tuum, vitam eternam : Amen : Benedicamus domino : Deo gracias. Ave regina celorum, mater regis angelorum : O maria, flos virginum, velut rosa vel lilium, funde preces ad filium pro salute fidelium. Ave maria. Meritis & precibus sue pie matris, benedicat nos filius dei patris / Amen.

I will bless the Lord alway.

May the name of the Lord be blessed for ever !

Hail, Queen of Heaven,
flower of virgins !
pray thy Son to save the faithful !

On ffisshe days.

Grace on Fish-Days.

Benedicite ; dominus. Edent pauperes, & saturebuntur : et laudabunt dominum qui requirunt eum ; viuent corda eorum in seculum seculi : Gloria patri. Sicut erat &c. kyrieleyson. christeleyson / kyrieleyson / pater noster. Et ne nos : Sed libera : Oremus : Benedic domine : Iube domine : Cibo spiritualis alimonie reficiat nos rex eterne glorie / Amen. Gracia domini nostri Ihesu christi, & caritas dei, & communicacio sancti spiritus sit semper cum omnibus nobis. Amen / & in lent leve / Gracia domini // & say // Frange esurienti panem tuum, & egenos vagosque induc in domum tuam : cum videris nudum operi eum. [et c]arnem tuam ne despexeris : ait dominus omnipote[ns].

The poor shall eat and be satisfied.

Glorify be to the Father, &c.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ

be with us all.

In Lent.
Break thy bread to the hungry, and take the wanderer to thy home.

Grace after dynere.

Grace after Dinner.

Deus paci[s &c. Memori]am² fecit mirabilium suorum

¹ MS. exultemus.

² Only half the *ā* is left.

misericors & [miserator *dominu*]^s; *escam* dedit timentibus se. Gloria. Sic[ut erat, &c.]

Four Short
Graces.

Short grace affore dyner.

1. Before Dinner.

Benedicite; *dominu*[^s].¹ Apponenda benedicat dei dextera. [In nomine patris &] filii & *spiritus sancti* / amen.

[leaf 2, back.]
2. After Meals.

Shorte grace after dyner / & after soper / bothe.

Bless the Lord
for this meal.

Pro tali conuiuio benedicamus domino: Deo *gracias*. **M**ater, ora filium vt post hoc exilium nobis donet gaudium sine fine. **A**ue maria: / Oremus. Meritis & precibus.

Mary, pray for us!

3. Before Supper.

Grace affore soper.

Giver of all,
sanctify this
supper.

Benedicite²; *dominus*: *Cenam* sanctificet qui nobis omnia prebet: **I**n nomine patris.

4. After Supper.

¶ Grace after soper.

The Lord is holy
in all his works.

Benedictus deus in donis suis: Et *sanctus* in omnibus operibus suis / **A**diutorium nostrum in nomine domini: Qui fecit celum et terram. Sit nomen domini benedictum / Ex hoc nunc, et vsque in seculum / Oremus: Meritis et precibus sue pie matris benedicat nos filius dei patris.

Blessed be the
name of the Lord.

On Easter-Eve.

¶ In vigilia pasche.

Christ, have mercy
upon us!

Benedicite; *dominus*. **E**dent pauperes &c. **G**loria patri, Sicut erat: *kirieleyson. christeleyson. kyrieleyson. Pater noster*: Et ne nos. Set libera. Oremus / **B**enedic domine: **I**ube domine benedicere / **C**ibo spiritualis alimonie & cetera / leccio / Si consurrexistis cum christo, que sursum sunt, querite vbi *christus* est in dextera dei sedens.

Seek those things
that are above.

Grace after
Dinner.

post prandium.

God of Peace,

Deus pacis & dileccionis: **M**emoriam fecit / Gloria

¹ An inch of the MS. broken away.

² MS. *Benedictus*, altered to *Benedicte*.

patri Sicut erat; **A**gimus tibi gracias. **L**audate dominum omnes gentes: **Q**uoniam confirma[ta]: Gloria patri: Sicut erat. Dominus vobiscum: Et cum spiritu tuo. Oremus / Spiritum in nobis, domine, tue caritatis infunde, vt quos sacramentis paschalibus saciasti: tua facias pietate concordem // Per eundem dominum nostrum ihesum christum, filium tuum: qui tecum viuit & regnat in vnitate eiusdem spiritussancti, deus / per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

We give thee thanks, O Lord.

Pour into us thy Spirit,

through Jesus Christ our Lord.

¶ In die pasche.

On Easter-Day.

Benedicite. dominus. Hec dies quam fecit dominus, exulemus & letemur in ea. Gloria patri. Sicut: kirieleyson. christeleyson. kyrieleyson: Pater noster / Et ne / Oremus. Benedic domine: Iube domine benedicere / Mense celestis **E**xpurgate vetus fermentum¹ vt sitis noua conspersio, sicut estis asimi: Etenim pascha nostrum immolatus est christus, itaque epulemur in domino.

This is the day which the Lord hath made: Let us rejoice and be glad in it.

Bless us, O Lord!

Our passover is slain, even Christ.

¶ post prandium.

After Dinner.

Qui dat escam omni carni, confitemini deo celi. Tu autem: **L**audate dominum. Quoniam confirmata / Gloria patri. In resurrectione tua, christe. Celi & terra letentur / alleluia. Oremus. Spiritum in nobis &cetera. Per eundem: In vnitate eiusdem. Benedicamus domino, deo gracias / ¶ Eodem modo dicitur per totam ebdomadam. **R**etribuere.

Of thy resurrection, Christ, the heavens and the earth are glad.

Thanks be to God!

Ante cenam.

Before Supper.

Benedicite. dominus. cenam sanctificet qui nobis omnia prebet / In nomine patris & filii & spiritussancti: Amen.

¶ post cenam.

After Supper.

Hec dies / : / v'sq. In resurrectione tua, christe / Celi & terra letentur. alleluia. Dominus vobiscum: Et cum spiritu tuo. Spiritum in nobis: Benedicamus domino: Deo gracias.

This is the day, &c. Hallelujah.

Let us bless the Lord!

Explicit.

¹ MS. sermentum.

Having thus given the Graces as they stand in the Manuscript, I add the scheme of them which Mr Bradshaw has had the kindness to draw out. He says, "Here is a case in which nothing but parallel arrangement can afford a clue to the apparent confusion. The people who used these services were so thoroughly accustomed to them, that a word or two was enough to remind them of what was to follow—sometimes a whole series of prayers, or verses and responds, or suffrages. If your

THE GRACE THAT SHULD BE SAID
AFFORE METE AND AFTER METE ALL
THE TYMES IN THE YERE.

1.1

(*Sacerdos*) Benedicite.
(*Resp.*) Dominus.
(*Psalm*) Oculi omnium in te
sperant, domine: et tu das escam
illorum in tempore opportuno.

Aperis tu manum tuam: et im-
ples omne animal benediccione.

Gloria patri et filio: et spiritui
sancto.

Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et
semper: in secula seculorum. Amen.

Kyrieleyson.

Christeleyson.

Kyrieleyson.

Pater noster . . . [i.e. the Lord's
prayer.]

(*Sacerdos*) Et ne nos [inducas in
tentationem.]

(*Resp.*) Sed libera nos [a malo.]

(*Sacerdos*) Oremus.

Benedic, domine, nos, et dona tua
que de tua largitate sumus sumpturi.
Per [christum dominum nostrum.]

[*Resp.* Amen.]

(*Lector*) Iube domine benedicere.

(*Sacerdos*) Mense celestis partici-
pes faciat nos rex eterne glorie.
Amen.

(*Lectio*) Deus caritas est, et qui
manet in caritate, in deo manet, et
deus in eo. Sit deus in nobis, et nos
maneamus in ipso.

(*Resp.*) Amen.

ON FISSHE DAYS.

1.2

(*Sacerdos*) Benedicite.

(*Resp.*) Dominus.

(*Psalm*) Edent pauperes, et satu-
rabuntur, et laudabunt dominum qui
requirunt eum: vivent corda eorum
in seculum seculi.

Gloria patri

Sicut erat, &c. . . .

Kyrieleyson.

Christeleyson.

Kyrieleyson.

Pater noster

(*Sacerdos*) Et ne nos

(*Resp.*) Sed libera

(*Sacerdos*) Oremus.

Benedic domine

(*Lector*) Iube domine

(*Sacerdos*) Cibo spiritualis ali-
monie reficiat nos rex eterne glorie.
Amen.

*(*Lectio*) Gracia domini nostri
ihesu christi, et caritas dei, et com-
municatio sancti spiritus, sit semper
cum omnibus nobis.

(*Resp.*) Amen.

* And in lent leve 'Gracia Domini,'
and say:

(*Lectio*) Frange esurienti panem
tuum, et egenos vagosque induc in
domum tuam: cum videris nudum,
operi eum, et carnem tuam ne despex-
eris. Ait dominus omnipotens.

[*Resp.* Amen.]

object is to give people of the present day an idea of the meaning of these things, it is almost useless to print them straight as they are in the MS. Even as I have written them out, *inserting* nothing whatever except the names of the speakers in a bracket, you will perhaps not catch much of the thread. You may remember that at Trinity even now it takes two people to say what is substantially the same Grace as this."

IN VIGILIA PASCHE.

IN DIE PASCHE.

1.3

(*Sacerdos*) Benedicite.
 (*Resp.*) Dominus.
 (*Psalm*) Edent pauperes

1.4

(*Sacerdos*) Benedicite.
 (*Resp.*) Dominus.
 (*Psalm*) Hec dies quam fecit dominus : exultemus et letemur in ea.

Gloria patri

Gloria patri

Sicut erat

Sicut erat

Kyrieleyson.
 Christeleyson.
 Kyrieleyson.
 Pater noster

Kyrieleyson
 Christeleyson.
 Kyrieleyson.
 Pater noster

(*Sacerdos*) Et ne nos

(*Sacerdos*) Et ne

(*Resp.*) Sed libera

(*Sacerdos*) Oremus.

Benedic domine

(*Sacerdos*) Oremus.

Benedic domine nos

(*Lector*) Iube domine benedicere.

(*Sacerdos*) Cibo spiritualis alimonie, &c.

(*Lector*) Iube domine benedicere.

(*Sacerdos*) Mense celestis

(*Leccio*) Si consurrexistis cum christo, que sursum sunt querite, ubi christus est in dextera dei sedens.

[*Resp.* Amen.]

(*Lectio*) Expurgate vetus fermentum, ut sitis nova conspersio sicut estis asimi : etenim pascha nostrum immolatus est christus. Itaque epulemur in domino.

[*Resp.* Amen.]

POST PRANDIUM. 2.1

(*Sacerdos*) Deus pacis et dilectionis maneat semper nobiscum. Tu autem domine, miserere nostri.

(*Resp.*) Deo gratias.

(*Psalm*) Confiteantur tibi, domine, omnia tua : et sancti tui benedicant tibi.

Gloria [patri]

(*Capitulum*) Agimus tibi gratias, omnipotens deus, pro universis beneficiis tuis, qui vivis et regnas deus per omnia secula seculorum. amen.

(*Psalm*) Laudate dominum omnes gentes : laudate eum omnes populi.

Quoniam confirmata est super nos misericordia ejus : et veritas domini manet in eternum.

Gloria patri

Sicut erat

Kyrieleyson.

Christeleyson.

Kyrieleyson.

Pater noster

(*Sacerdos*) Et ne nos

(*Resp.*) Sed libera

(*Sacerdos*) Dispersit, dedit pauperibus :

(*Resp.*) Iustitia ejus manet in seculum seculi.

(*Sacerdos*) Benedicam dominum in omni tempore :

(*Resp.*) Semper laus ejus in ore meo.

(*Sacerdos*) In domino laudabitur anima mea :

(*Resp*) Audiant mansueti, et lententur.

(*Sacerdos*) Magnificate dominum mecum :

(*Resp.*) Et exaltemus nomen ejus in id ipsum.

[On Fish Days.]

GRACE AFTER-DYNER. 2.2

(*Sacerdos*) Deus pacis

(*Psalm*) [Memoriam] fecit mirabilium suorum misericors, et miserator dominus : escam dedit timentibus se.

Gloria

Sic[ut erat . . . (an inch of the MS. broken away.) . .]

[<i>On Easter Eve.</i>] POST PRANDIUM. 2.3	[<i>On Easter Day.</i>] POST PRANDIUM. 2.4
(<i>Sacerdos</i>) Deus pacis et dilec- cionis	(<i>Sacerdos</i>) Qui dat escam omni carni: confitemini deo celi. Tu autem
(<i>Psalm</i>) Memoriam fecit	[<i>Resp.</i> Deo gracias.]
Gloria Sicut erat	
(<i>Capitulum</i>) Agimus tibi gracias	
(<i>Psalm</i>) Laudate dominum omnes gentes Quoniam confirmata	(<i>Psalm</i>) Laudate dominum Quoniam confirmata
Gloria patri Sicut erat	Gloria patri
. . . .	
. . . .	
. . . .	(<i>Sacerdos</i>) In resurrectione tua, Christe:
	(<i>Resp.</i>) Celi et terra letentur. alleluia.

3.1

(*Sacerdos*) Sit nomen domini benedictum :

[*Blank.*]

3.2

(*Resp.*) Ex hoc nunc, et usque in seculum.

. . . .

(*Sacerdos*) Oremus.

Retribuere dignare, domine deus,
omnibus nobis bona facientibus,
propter nomen sanctum tuum, vitam
eternam. amen.

(*Sacerdos*) Benedicamus domino :

(*Resp.*) Deo gracias.

(*Antiphona de sancta maria.*)

Ave regina celorum
Mater regis angelorum
O maria flos verginum
Velut rosa vel lilium
Funde preces ad filium
Pro salute fidelium.

(*Vers.*) Ave Maria

(*Oratio*) Meritis et precibus sue
pie matris, benedicat nos filius dei
patris. amen.

3.3

3.4

(*Sacerdos*) Dominus vobiscum :

(*Resp.*) Et cum spiritu tuo.

(*Sacerdos*) Oremus.

Spiritum in nobis, domine, tue caritatis infunde, ut quos sacramentis paschalibus saciasti, tua facias pietate concordēs. *Per eundem* dominum nostrum ihesum christum, filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat *in unitate* ejusdem spiritus sancti, deus per omnia secula seculorum. amen.

. . . .

(*Sacerdos*) Oremus.

Spiritum in nobis, &c. Per eundem, &c., in unitate

(*Sacerdos*) Benedicamus domino :

(*Resp.*) Deo gratias.

Et eodem modo dicitur per totam ebdomadam.

Retribuere

.

4.1

[On Fish Days]

4.2

SHORT GRACE AFFORE DYNER.

(Sacerdos) Benedicite.

[Blank.]

(Resp.) Dominus.

(Sacerdos) apponenda benedicat dei dextera [In nomine patris et] filii et spiritus sancti. amen.

SHORTE GRACE AFTER DYNER &
AFTER SOPER BOTHE.

(Sacerdos) Pro tali convivio benedicamus domino.

(Resp.) Deo gracias.

(Antiphona de sancta maria)

Mater ora filium

Ut post hoc exilium

Nobis donet gaudium

Sine fine.

(Vers.) Ave Maria . . .

(Sacerdos) Oremus

Meritibus et precibus

[*On Easter Eve.*]

4.3

[*On Easter Day.*]

4.4

[*Blank.*]

[*Blank.*]

5.1

[*On Fish Days.*]

5.2

GRACE AFFORE SOPER.

(Sacerdos) Benedicite.[*Blank.*]*(Resp.)* Dominus.

(Sacerdos) Cenam sanctificet qui
nobis omnia prebet. In nomine
patris

GRACE AFTER SOPER.

(Sacerdos) Benedictus deus in
donis suis :

(Resp.) Et sanctus in omnibus
operibus suis.

(Sacerdos.) Adjutorium nostrum
in nomine domini :

(Resp.) Qui fecit celum et terram.

(Sacerdos) Sit nomen domini
benedictum ;

(Resp.) Ex hoc nunc et usque in
seculum.

. . . .

(Sacerdos) Oremus.

Meritis et precibus sue pie ma-
tris, benedicat nos filius dei patris.

. . . .

[*On Easter Eve.*] 5.3

[*On Easter Day.*] 5.4
ANTE CENAM.

[*Blank.*]

(*Sacerdos*) Benedicite.

(*Resp.*) Dominus.

(*Sacerdos*) Cenam sanctificet qui
nobis omnia prebet. In nomine patris,
et filii, et spiritus sancti. amen.

POST CENAM.

(*Sacerdos*) Hec dies

(*Sacerdos*) In resurrectione tua,
christe :

(*Resp.*) Celi et terra letentur.
alleluia.

(*Sacerdos*) Dominus vobiscum :

(*Resp.*) Et cum spiritu tuo.

(*Sacerdos.*)

Spiritum in nobis

(*Sacerdos*) Benedicamus domino :

(*Resp.*) Deo gracias.

EXPLICIT.

SCHEME OF THE LATIN GRACES.

	Common Days.	Fast Days.	Easter Eve.	Easter Day.	
	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	
Before dinner	A	D	H	L	Before dinner
	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.4	
	B	E	I	M	
After dinner	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.4	After dinner
	C	blank	K	N	
	4.1	4.2	4.3	4.4	
Short Graces	F	blank	blank	blank	Short Graces for either dinner or supper
	5.1	5.2	5.3	5.4	
Before and after <i>supper</i>	G	blank	blank	O	Before and after <i>supper</i>
	Common Days.	Fast Days.	Easter Eve.	Easter Day.	

The alphabetical order is that in which the matter is found written in the manuscript.

HENRY BRADSHAW.

The Boris hede furst.

[*Porkington MS. No. 10, fol. 202 ; ? ab. 1460-70 A.D.*]

Hey, hey, hey, hey, þe borrys hede is armyd gay !¹
 The boris hede in hond I bryng
 Witt garlond gay in porttoryng.
 I pray yow all witt me to synge

[Fol. 202 b.]

Witt hay.

¶¶ Lordys, kny3ttis, and skyers,
 Persons, prystis and wycars,
 The boris hede ys þe fur[s]t mes,

Witt hay.

¶¶ The boris hede, as I yow say,
 He takis his leyfe, & gothe his way
 Soñ aftur þe xij theylffyt day,

Witt hay.

¶¶ Then commys in þe secund kowrs with mekyll
 pryde,
 þe crannis & þe heyrrouns, þe bytturis by þe syde,
 þe partrychys & þe plowers, þe wodcokis & þe
 snyt,

Witt hay.

¶¶ Larkys in hoot schow,² ladys for to pyk,
 Good drynk þerto, lycyvs and fyn,
 Blwet of allmayn,³ romnay and wyin,

Witt hay.

¶¶ Gud⁴ bred, alle & wyin, daer I well say,
 þe boris hede witt musterd armyd soo gay,
 ¶¶ furmante to pōdtage,⁵ witt wennissun fyn,
 & þe hambuls of þe dow, & all þat euer commis in,
 ¶¶ Cappons I-bake witt þe pesys of þe roow,
 Reysons of corrans, witt odyre spysis moo,

[incomplete.]

¹ "When you print I recommend that the first line of the MS. 'Hey, hey,' &c. should stand alone in two lines. They are the burthen of the song, and were a sort of accompaniment, or under-song, sung throughout, while an upper voice sang the words and tune. You will see numbers of the same kind in Wright's Songs and Carols printed by the Percy Society. It was common in the 14th and 15th centuries."—WM. CHAPPELL.

This Carol is printed in *Reliq. Antiq.*, vol. ii., and is inserted here—copied from and read with the MS.—to fill up a blank page. The title is mine.

² ? sewe, stew. ³ ? the name of a wyne. Recipes for the dish *Brouet of Almayne* (H. O.), *Brewet of Almony*, *Breuet de Almonde*, are in Household Ordinances, p. 456 ; *Forme of Cury*, p. 29, and *Liber Cure Cocorum*, p. 12.

⁴ ? MS. End.

⁵ Recipe for *Potage de Frumenty* in Household Ordinances, p. 425.

The Boar's Head.

[*Balliol MS. 354, fl. ij C xij, or leaf 228.*]

Caput Apri Refero,
Resonens laudes domino. } fote

The boris hed In hondis I brynge
with garlondis gay & byrdis syngynge :
I pray you all helpe me to synge,
Qui estis in conviuio.

The boris hede, I vnderstond,
ys cheffe seruyce in all this londe :
wher-so-ever it may he fonde,
Seruitur cum sinapio.

The boris hede, I dare well say,
anon after the xijth day
he taketh his leve & goth a-way,
Exiuit tunc de patria.

See other carols on the Boar's Head, in *Songs and Carols*, Percy Soc., p. 42, 25 ; *Ritson's Ancient Songs* ; *Sandys's Carols and Christmastide*, p. 231, from Ritson, —a different version of the present carol,—&c.

Symon's Lesson of Wysedome for all Maner Chyldryn.

[From MS. Bodl. 832, leaf 174.]

[The Rev. J. R. Lumby has kindly sent me the following amusing 'lesson of wysedome' to 'all maner chyldryn', signed Symon, which he found in the Bodleian. Mr G. Parker has read the proof with the MS. Lydgate sinned against most of its precepts. It makes the rod the great persuader to learning and gentleness.]

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>All maner chyldryn, ye lyften & lere
 A leffon of wysedome þat ys wryte here !
 My chyld, y rede þe be wys, and take hede of
 þis ryme !
 4 Old men yn prouerbe fayde by old tyme
 'A chyld were beter to be vnborne
 Than to be vntaught, and so be lore.'¹
 The chyld þat hath hys wyll alway
 8 Shal thryve late, y thei² wel fay,
 And þer-for euery gode mannys chyld
 That is to wanton and to wyld,
 Lerne wel this leffon for fertayn,
 12 That thou may be þe^e beter man.
 Chyld, y warne þee yn al wyfe
 That þu tel trowth & make no lyes.
 Chyld, be not froward, be not prowde,
 16 But hold vp þy hedde & speke a-lowde ;
 And when eny man spekyth to the,
 Do of þy hode and bow thy kne,
 And wayfch thy handes & þy face,
 20 And be curteys yn euery place.</p> | <p>Children, attend!</p> <p>You'd be better
unborn than
untaught.</p> <p>You mustn't have
your own way
always.</p> <p>Tell the truth,
don't be froward,</p> <p>hold up your
head,
take off your hood
when you're
spoken to.</p> <p>Wash your hands
and face.
Be courteous.</p> |
|--|--|

¹ Compare "Better vnfedde then vntaughte" in *Seager's Schoole of Vertue*, above, p. 348, l. 725.

² thee

- Don't throw
stones at dogs
and hogs.
Mock at no one.
- Don't swear.
Eat what's given
you,
and don't ask for
this and that.
- Honour your
father and
mother :
kneel and ask
their blessing.
- Keep your clothes
clean.
- Don't go bird's-
nesting,
or steal fruit,
or throw stones
at men's windows,
or play in church.
- Don't chatter.
- Get home by
daylight.
- Keep clear of fire
and water,
and the edges of
wells and brooks.
- And where þou comyft, with gode chere
In halle or bowre, bydde "god be here !"
Loke þou caſt to no mannes dogge,
24 With ſtaff ne ſtone at hors ne hogge ;
Loke þat þou not ſcorne ne iape
Noþer with man, maydyn, ne ape ;
Lete no man of þee make playnt ;
28 Swere þou not by god noþer by faynt.
Loke þou be curteys ſtondyng at mete ;
And þat men ȝeuyth þee, þou take & ete ;
And loke that þou nother crye ne crave,
32 And ſay "that and that wold y have ;"
But ſtond þou ſtylle be-fore þ^e borde,
And loke þou ſpeke no lowde worde.
And, chyld, wyrfhep thy fader and thy moder,
36 And loke þat þou greve noþer on ne oþer,
But euer among þou ſhalt knele adowne,
And aſke here bleſſyng and here benefowne.
And, chyld, kepe thy cloþes fayre & clene,
40 And lete no fowle fylth on hem be fene.
Chyld, clem þou not ouer hows ne walle
For no frute ¹, bryddes, ne balle ;
And, chyld, caſt no ſtonys ouer men hows,
44 Ne caſt no ſtonys at no glas wyndowys ;
Ne make no crying, yapis, ne playes,
In holy chyrche on holy dayes.
And, chyld, y warne þee of anoþer thyng,
48 Kepe þee fro many wordes and yangelýng.
And, chyld, whan þou goſt to play,
Loke þou come home by lyght of day.
And, chyld, I warne the of a-noþer mater,
52 Loke þou kepe þee wel fro fyre and water ;
And be ware and wyfe how þat þou lokys
Ouer any brynk, welle, or brokys ;

¹ Cp. Lydgate's *Tricks at School*, *Forewords*, p. xliv.

- And when þou ftondyft at any fchate ¹,
 56 By ware and wyfe þat þou cacche no ftake,
 For meny chyld *with-out* drede
 Ys dede or dyffeyuyd throw ywell hede.
 Chyld, kepe thy boke, cappe, and glouys,
 60 And al thyng þat þee behouys;
 And but þou do, þou fhat fare the wors,
 And þer-to be bete on þe bare ers.
 Chyld, be þou lyer noþer no theffe;
 64 Be þou no mecher² for myfcheffe.
 Chyld, make þou no mowys ne knakkes
 Be-fore no men, ne by-hynd here bakkes,
 But be of fayre femelaunt and contenaunce,
 68 For by fayre manerys men may þee a-vaunce.
 Chyld whan þou goft yn eny ftrete,
 Iff þou eny gode man or woman mete,
 Avale thy hode to hym or to here,
 72 And bydde, "god fpede dame or fere!"
 And be they fmalle or grete,
 This leffon þat þou not for-gete,—
 For hyt is femely to euery mannys chylde,—
 76 And namely to clerkes to be meke & mylde.
 And, chyld, ryfe by tyme and go to fcole,
 And fare not as Wanton fole,
 And lerne as faft as þou may and can,
 80 For owre byfchop is an old man,
 And þer-for þou moft lerne faft
 Iff þou wolt be byffhop when he is paft.
 Chyld, y bydde þe on my bleffing
 84 That þou for-3ete nat þis for no thyng,
 But þou loke, hold hyt wel on þy mynde,

(leaf 175.)
 Take care of your
 book, cap, and
 gloves,
 or you'll be
 birched on your
 bare bottom.

Don't be a liar or
 thief,

or make faces at
 any man.

When you meet
 any one,

lower your hood
 and wish 'em
 "god speed."

Be meek to
 clerks.
 Rise early,
 go to school,

and learn fast

if you want to be
 our bishop.

Attend to all
 these things,

¹ ? meaning. *Skathie*, a fence. Jamieson. *Skaith*, hurt, harm. Halliwell.

² A mychare seems to denote properly a sneaking thief. Way. Prompt., p. 336. *Mychare*, a covetous, sordid fellow. Jamieson. Fr. *pleure-pain* : m. A niggardlie wretch; a puling *micher* or miser. Cotgrave.

for a good child
needs learning,

(leaf 175 b.)
and he who hates
the child spares
the rod.

As a spur makes
a horse go,
so a rod makes a
child learn and
be mild.

So, children,
do well, and you'll
not get a sound
beating.

May God keep
you good!

- For þe best þu shalt hyt fynde ;
For, as þe wyfe man fayth and preuyth,
88 A leve chyld, lore he be-houyth ;
And as men fayth þat ben leryd,
He hatyth þe chyld þat sparyth þe rodde ;
And as þe wyfe man fayth yn his boke
92 Off prouerbis and wyfedomes, ho wol loke,
" As a sharppe spore makyth an hors to renne
Vnder a man that fhold werre wyne,
Ryȝt so a ȝerde may make a chyld
96 To lerne welle hys leſſon, and to be myld."
Lo, chyldryn, here may ȝe al here and ſe
How al chyldryn chaſtyd fhold be ;
And þerfor, chyldere, loke þat ye do well,
100 And no harde betyng ſhall ye be-falle :
Thys may ȝe al be ryght gode men.
God graunt yow grace ſo to preferue yow.

Amen !

Symon.

The Birched School-Boy

OF ABOUT 1500 A.D.

(From the Balliol MS. 354, ffl. ij C xxx.)

[As old Symon talks of the rod (p. 400, ll. 90, 62), as Caxton in his Book of Curtesye promises his 'lytyl John' a breechless feast, or as the Oriel MS. reads it, a 'byrchely' one,¹ & as the Forewords have shown that young people did get floggings in olden time, it may be as well to give here the sketch of a boy, flea-bitten no doubt, with little bobs of hazel twigs, that Richard Hill has preserved for us. Boys of the present generation happily don't know the sensation of unwelcome warmth that a sound flogging produced, and how after it one had to sit on the bottom of one's spine on the edge of the hard form, in the position recommended at College for getting well forward in rowing. But they may rest assured that if their lot had fallen on a birching school, they'd have heartily joined the school-boy of 1500 in wishing his and their masters at the devil, even though they as truant boys had been 'milking ducks, as their mothers bade them.']

hay ! hay ! by this day !
what avayleth it me thowgh I say nay ?

¶ I wold ffayn be a clarke ;
but yet hit is a strange werke ;²
the byrchyn twyggis be so sharpe,
hit makith me haue a faynt harte.
what avaylith it me thowgh I say nay ?

Learning is
strange work ;

the birch twigs
are so sharp.

¶ On monday in the mornyng whan I shall rise
at vj. of the klok,³ hyt is the gise

I'd sooner go 20
miles than go to
school on
Mondays.

¹ See Caxton's Book of Curtesye, in the Society's Extra Series, 1868.

² Compare the very curious song on the difficulty of learning singing, in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, i. 291, from Arundel MS. 292, leaf 71, back.

³ See Rhodes, p. 72, l. 61 ; and Seager, p. 338, l. 110.

to go to skole without a-vise
 I had lever go xx^{ti} myle twyse !
 what avaylith it me thowgh I say nay ?

My master asks
 where I've been.

'Milking ducks,'
 I tell him,

¶ My master lokith as he were madde :
 " wher hast *thou* be, thow sory ladde ?"
 " Milked dukkis, my moder badde :"
 hit was no mervayle thow I were sadde.
 what vaylith it me thowgh I say nay ?

and he gives me
 pepper for it.

¶ My master pepered my ars with well good spede ;
 hit was worse than ffynkll sede ;
 he wold not leve till it did blede.
 Myche sorow haue be for his dede !
 what vaylith it me thowgh I say nay ?

I only wish he
 was a hare, and
 my booke a wild
 cat,

¶ I wold my master were a watt¹
 & my boke a wyld Catt,
 & a brase of grehowndis in his toppe :
 I wold be glade for to se that !
 what vayleth it me thowgh I say nay ?

and all his booke
 dogs.

Would'nt I blow
 my horn !
 Don't I wish he
 was dead !

¶ I wold my master were an hare,
 & all his bokis howndis were,
 & I my self a Ioly hontere :
 to blowe my horn I wold not spare !
 ffor if he were dede I wold not care.
 what vaylith me thowgh I say nay ?

Explicit.

¹ a hare.

The Song of the School Boy at Christmas.

[Printed also in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, i. 116, 'From MS. Sloane, No. 1584, of the beginning of the sixteenth century, or latter part of the fifteenth, fol. 33^{ro}., written in Lincolnshire or Nottinghamshire, perhaps, to judge by the mention of persons and places, in the neighbourhood of Grantham or Newark.' J. O. Halliwell.]

Ante finem termini Baculus portamus,
 Caput hustiarii frangere debemus ;
 Si preceptor nos petit quo debemus Ire,
 Breuiter respondemus, "non est tibi scire."
 O pro nobilis docter, Now we youe pray,
 Vt velitis concedere to gyff hus leff to play.
 Nunc proponimus Ire, without any ney,
 Scolam dissolvere ; I tell itt youe in fey,
 Sicut istud festum, merth-is for to make,
 Accipimus nostram diem, owr leve for to take.
 Post natale festum, full sor shall we qwake,
 Quum nos Revenimus, latens for to make.
 Ergo nos Rogamus, hartly and holle,
 Vt isto die possimus, to brek upe the scole.

Non minus hic peccat qui sensum condit in agro,
 Quam qui doctrinam Claudet in ore suo.

Copy of the Report of the

Committee on the
Education of the
Deaf and Dumb
in the State of
New York

For the Year
1870-71
Presented to the
Legislature of the
State of New York
at the Session
held at Albany
January 1872
By
J. B. ALLEN,
Secretary of the
Board of Regents
of the State of
New York

Albany: J. B. Allen, Printer,
1872.

Chapter IV of the History of the Republic

The first part of the chapter is devoted to a description of the political situation of the Republic at the beginning of the century. It is a period of great change and uncertainty, and the author describes the various factions and their interests.

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Furnivall, Frederick James, 1825-1910

The babees book Aristotle's ABC, Urbanitatis, Stans puer ad mensam, the
xytill childrenes lytil boke, The bokes of nurture of Hugh Rhodes and
John Russell, Wynkyn de Worde's boke of kernynge, The booke of demeanor,
The boke of curtasye, Seager's schoole of vertue, etc. etc. ; with some
French and Latin poems on like subjects, and some forewords on education
Bd.: 1

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